Vol. LXVII—No. 5

Assembly Proceedings

Official Report

Bengal Legislative Assembly

Eighteenth Session, 1944

The 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th May, 1944

Bengal Legislative Assembly
Accn no 284
Library

Superintendent, Government Printing
Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal
1944

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble RICHARD GARDINER CASEY, C.H., D.S.O., M.C.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN, K.C.I.E., in charge of the Home (Civil Defence Co-ordination) Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY, in charge of the Department of Civil Supplies.

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI, in charge of the Finance Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN, in charge of the Education Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. BARADA PROSANNA PAIN, in charge of the Department of Communications and Works.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN, in charge of the Department of Agriculture (Rural Reconstruction).

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA, M.B.E., in charge of the Revenue Department (Evacuation and Relief).

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur, in charge of the Judicial and Legislative Departments.

The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN, C.B.E., in charge of the Departments of Commerce, Labour and Industries (including Postwar Reconstruction).

The Hon'ble Mr. PREMHARI BARMA, in charge of the Forests and Excise Department.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD, in charge of the Department of Public Health and Local Self-Government.

The Hon'ble Mr. PULIN BEHARY MULLICK, in charge of the Publicity Department.

The Hon'ble Mr. JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL, in charge of the Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness Department.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

SPEAKER.

The Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI.

DEPUTY SPEAKER.

SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY, Esq.

SECRETARY.

K. ALI AFZAL, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS

Official Report of the Eighteenth Session.

Volume LXVII– No. 5.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 8th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 177 members.

Oath.

Mr. J. H. Methold made an oath of allegiance to the Crown.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Illness of security prisoner Sj. Promode Das Gupta.

***280.** (SHORT NOTICE.) **Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state if it is a fact—

(i) that Promode Das Gupta, a security prisoner, now detained in Dum Dum Central Jail, has been suffering from acute asthma for a long time past;

(ii) that the long and acute suffering has almost made him invalid; and

(iii) that the said security prisoner has petitioned the Government in view of his long and acute suffering for his release so that he may be treated in his home atmosphere?

(b) If the answer to clause (a) is in the affirmative, do the Government consider the desirability of releasing him immediately?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a)(i) and (iii) Yes.

(ii) No.

(b) Does not arise.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the weight of the prisoner when he entered the jail and what is his present weight?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The weight of the prisoner on 15th June, 1942, was 112 lbs. and his weight now is 100 lbs.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the present condition of Babu Promode Das Gupta?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: His ailment has now been diagnosed and it is found that he is suffering from chronic bronchial asthma for which symptomatic treatment is given to him and his condition is not very bad as one would expect from a patient who is suffering from chronic asthma.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the answer just now given, does the Hon'ble Minister still maintain that the prisoner is not an invalid?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir.

Treatment of prisoners in Alipore Central Jail.

***281. Mr. RADHANATH DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether treatment by up-to-date medical appliances is adopted in the Alipore Central Jail Hospital; and

(*ii*) whether tuberculosis patients are treated by the modern artificial Pneumothorax and modern Diatheramy treatment?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether—

(*i*) one Haider Ali, a division III prisoner of the Alipore Central Jail, is being treated accordingly; and

(*ii*) care has been taken of him for the diagnosis and proper treatment by an expert?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Light restriction in Calcutta.

***282. Mr. SYED SAHABE-ALAM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether he is considering the desirability of—

(*i*) withdrawing, or

(*ii*) reducing

A.R.P. light restrictions in Calcutta?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) No.

(*b*) Because the necessity for maintaining the present degree of obscuration still exists.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the necessity for maintaining the present degree of obscuration still exists, why then bright lights have recently been introduced by the organisers of the carnival in front of the Victoria Memorial in the maidan?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want notice.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Is not the Hon'ble Minister aware that a carnival has recently been opened in the maidan in front of the Victoria Memorial?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want notice.

Mr. P. BANERJI: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of enquiring into the matter and stopping the carnival if it is found that the bright lights of the carnival exposing the southern portion of the Victoria Memorial are likely to be a source of danger?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The matter will be looked into.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what sort of obscuration does Government mean in reply (*b*)?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I would refer the honourable member to instructions and *communiqués* issued from time to time regarding the obscuration of lights.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that obscuration of lights is mainly meant as a precaution against bombing by the enemy?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir. Obscuration of lights has been prescribed in order to prevent target areas of the city from being visible from the air.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in broad daylight the Kidderpore Docks were bombed by the enemy?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the A.R.P. authorities have got any instruction from the Government circle not to prosecute the organisers of the carnival which is being held in the maidan?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question was raised by another member and I said that I wanted notice. I also promised that this matter would be looked into.

Muslim Officers of Police and use of half pants.

***283. Dr. SANAULLAH:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department aware—

(*i*) that compulsory wearing of half pants by the Muslim Officers of the Bengal and Calcutta Police forces hurts their religious sentiment;

(*ii*) that the pants (shorts) do not cover the whole coverable part ("satar"); and

(*iii*) that five times daily prayer cannot be performed by using them?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of changing the half pants for full pants in cases of Muslim Officers wanting them?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*)(*i*) No.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) Yes.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: মন্ত্রীমহোদয় দয়া করে বলবেন কি নামাজের মধ্যে হাঁটু পর্যন্ত ঢেকে রাখতে হবে এ কথা জ্ঞাত আছেন কি না?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question has already been answered.

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: এ কথার উত্তর দেওয়া হয় নাই। উত্তর দিলেও আমার মনের মত উত্তর হয় নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: উনি বলছেন উত্তর দেওয়া হয়েছে। প্রশ্ন করবার সময় প্রশ্ন করবেন যাঁর উত্তর দেবার তিনি উত্তর দেবেন, সে উত্তরটা আপনার কিম্বা পৃথিবীর কারোই মনের মত না হতে পারে।

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: Sir, উনি যে আমাকে উত্তর দিয়েছেন সেটা আমাকে বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া উচিৎ।

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: To question (*a*)(*ii*) "is the Hon'ble Minister aware that half pants (shorts) do not cover the whole coverable part (*satar*)" the answer is "Yes". To question (*a*)(*iii*) "is the Hon'ble Minister aware that five times daily prayer cannot be performed by using them", the answer is "Yes". To question (*a*)(*i*), the answer is "No". Government is not aware that there has been any agitation or protest by Muslim officers.

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, if the answer to (*a*)(*ii*) and (*iii*) is yes, how the answer to question (*b*) "Does not arise" is correct?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That answer has been given. Because Government have not received any protest regarding the wearing of half-pants by Muslim police officers.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the wearing of half-pants by the Muslim officers of the Bengal and Calcutta Police force is obligatory?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It is not obligatory to all but for some branches of the Bengal and Calcutta Police force.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are those branches?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It is not compulsory for all officers of the Bengal Police to wear shorts. As a matter of fact the I.P. officers and members of certain other police services may use them only as an informal working dress on duties of a purely informal nature. For Inspectors, Sergeants and Sub-Inspectors wearing of shorts is optional. This, however, forms part of their working dress on duties of a purely informal nature. Only for the Assistant Sub-Inspectors and constables wearing of shorts is compulsory.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware of the fact that the wearing of shorts by the Muslim officers of the Bengal and Calcutta police is against their religious doctrine?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is a matter of opinion, but I may point out to the honourable member that if any officer wants to say his prayer he can always do so by changing his clothes or by wearing a cloth on top of his shorts.

Mr. ABUL HOSAIN AHMED: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is ready to correct his answer—"Does not arise" by a straight reply of "Yes" or "No"?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, the question (*b*) is as follows: if the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of changing the half-pants for full pants of Muslim officers wanting them? But as the answer to the previous question is "no", therefore this question (*b*) does not arise at all.

Dr. SANAULLAH: Will the Hon'ble Minister be prepared so to amend the rules as to make the wearing of half-pants optional?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That matter has not been before Government and Government has not received any representation regarding the change of the prescribed dress for the police.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that a strong feeling exists among the Muslims of this province and also all over the world that this sort of dress should be abolished?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government is not aware of any such feeling.

State prisoners in Bengal.

***284. Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the total number of Regulation III prisoners in Bengal;

(*b*) whether it is a fact that all those who were ordered to be released by the Hon'ble Calcutta High Court on moving *Habeas Corpus* petition, on 3rd June, 1943, were arrested immediately under Regulation III of 1818;

(*c*) whether the appeal of Bengal Government against this decision to the Hon'ble Federal Court of Delhi has been dismissed;

(*d*) whether in view of the Hon'ble Federal Court's decision these State prisoners will now be released;

(*e*) whether it is a fact that after re-arrest under Regulation III these State prisoners are being treated in all material respects exactly as security prisoners as before 3rd June, 1943, regarding their clothing, fooding, toilet articles, interviews, censoring of books, periodicals and letters, etc.;

(*f*) whether the Security Prisoners Rules are being applied to these State prisoners by changing the word "Security" into "State";

(*g*) whether even these rules have not been shown to these State prisoners in Presidency Jail, in spite of repeated requests by them;

(*h*) whether it is a fact that the alleged grounds of such detention have not been communicated to any of the State prisoners in Presidency Jail as is provided in rule 1 of the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation, 1818;

(*i*) whether it is a fact that no personal allowance is being given to any of the State prisoners for buying books, periodicals, writing materials (as exercise books, ink, pen, pencil, etc.), smoking materials, musical instruments, radio, etc.; and

(*j*) whether it is a fact that among the Regulation III prisoners, there are three members of this House and they are also getting a daily allowance of only Re.1-8 per day, as all the other security prisoners and though it is clearly provided in the State Prisoners Regulation they are to be maintained according to their ranks?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) 16.

(*b*) and (*c*) Yes.

(*d*) and (*e*) No.

(*f*) The Bengal Security Prisoners Rules, 1940, were themselves framed largely on the lines of the Bengal State Prisoners Rules, 1936. The fact that the Bengal State Prisoners Rules, 1943, bear a close similarity to the Bengal Security Prisoners Rules, 1940, cannot, therefore, give any cause for complaint. The Bengal State Prisoners Rules, 1943, are in strict conformity with the Regulation III of 1818.

(*g*) State prisoners have been permitted to see the Bengal State Prisoners Rules, 1943.

(*h*) Regulation 1 of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulations (Regulation III of 1818) nowhere prescribes that grounds of detention are to be communicated to the State prisoners. It only prescribes that the prisoners should, at all time, be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Government all circumstances relating to the *supposed* ground. In this connection the honourable member is referred to my reply to the starred question No. 70 of the current session.

(*i*) The State prisoners get a personal allowance of Rs 30 per month in addition to the diet allowance of Re.1-8 per diem.

(*j*) I consider that a diet allowance of Re.1-8 per day is adequate for the maintenance of the security and State prisoner, according to his rank.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: With reference to answer (*h*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how is it possible for the State prisoners to know the ground of detention and to bring to the notice of Government all the circumstances relating to the supposed ground?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This question was answered by the Hon'ble Chief Minister on the floor of the House some time back and I refer the honourable member to that.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: The answer is that Regulation I nowhere prescribes that grounds of detention are to be communicated to the State prisoners. It only prescribes that the prisoners should, at all

time, be allowed freely to bring to the notice of the Government all circumstances relating to the supposed ground. My submission is that if the prisoners are allowed to bring to the notice of Government all circumstances relating to the supposed ground, how can they exercise that right without knowing the ground?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is why the word "supposed" is there: Whatever ground the prisoner supposes is the reason for his detention, he can bring to the notice of Government. It is up to him to bring to the notice of Government facts connected with the matter.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the State prisoners are permitted to know from Government the grounds of their detention?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Regulation I does not prescribe that Government are to communicate to prisoners the grounds of their detention. It is up to the prisoners to put up their grounds which they believe to be the reasons for their detention.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if a prisoner desires to know the grounds of his detention, there is any objection to the Government informing him of the same?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMED ALI: It is up to Government to decide whether they would like these to be kept secret or to be communicated to the prisoners. It depends upon individual cases

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider that if a prisoner does not think that there is any ground for his detention, he is precluded from making any representation against detention to Government?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Certainly not He can always make representation against detention.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Does it not imply that before making a representation he must suppose that there are grounds existing for detaining him?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, he must suppose that there must be grounds. A prisoner is not detained without reasons.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether after the issue of the recent Ordinance, Government consider it desirable to communicate the grounds of detention to prisoners held in detention under Regulation III?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is entirely a different matter. It is only stated that it is not obligatory or compulsory on Government to communicate to the prisoners the grounds of detention.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Do the Government not think it desirable after the issue of the recent Ordinance to communicate the grounds of detention in the cases of Regulation III prisoners?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This question does not strictly arise out of the main question, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It is for the Speaker to decide that. I put the question whether after the issue of the recent Ordinance by the Central Government, Government consider it desirable that the grounds of detention should be communicated to the Regulation III prisoners? It is a question of policy, and no answer is forthcoming. He says that the question does not arise. How is it that the question does not arise?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Rai Chaudhuri, your question is that in view of the recent Ordinance whether Government consider it desirable to inform the State prisoners of the grounds of detention. I do not know whether the question of Ordinance comes in at all under the present question. I am sorry I could not be all attentive.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, in order to help you, may I point out that the answer given to question (*h*) is that Regulation I of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulations nowhere prescribes that grounds of detention are to be communicated to the State prisoners. Before Mr. Rai Chaudhuri asked this question, a series of supplementaries were asked to elicit whether Government were prepared to communicate the reasons in certain classes of cases to which the Hon'ble Parliamentary Secretary had replied that there was nothing obligatory on Government and Government were free either to communicate or not to communicate as they thought fit, and that is why the question of desirability as a matter of policy has been raised.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: But he introduces a new factor He brings in the Ordinance and the Ordinance is not part of the question.

Mr. SPEAKER: How do you say that it does not arise?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Because he brings in the new Ordinance. He says whether under the Ordinance Government consider it desirable. Question (*h*) deals with whether it is obligatory on the part of the Government to communicate to prisoners under Regulation III the grounds of their detention. I gave the reply and also replied to supplementary questions. Now the honourable member brings in the Ordinance. I say the Ordinance does not figure in the question and therefore the matter does not arise.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, may I submit as Dr. Sanyal has raised a point.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the best course would be for Mr. Rai Chaudhuri to speak first and then you may speak.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Part (*h*) of the question runs thus: whether it is a fact that the alleged grounds of such detention have not been communicated to any of the State prisoners in Presidency Jail as is provided in rule 1 of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818? The answer is Regulation I of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulations (Regulation III of 1818), nowhere prescribes that grounds of detention are to be communicated to the State prisoners. That is the statement of law. Then

my question arises whether in view of the recent Ordinance, Government consider it desirable to communicate the grounds of detention to Regulation III prisoners or not. That is the question.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is a request for action.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, Sir.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Then I ask for notice.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: With reference to answer (*j*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the rank of a security prisoner—for example, that of Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar—is not in any way inferior to the rank of the Parliamentary Secretary who is giving the reply?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government consider the desirability of raising the dietary allowance of Rs. 1-8 to a higher amount which will be adequate to the rank of security prisoners like Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar and others who are the members of this House?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government consider that the sum of Rs. 1-8 per day is now adequate for the maintenance of security prisoners according to their rank

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the reply that State prisoners are entitled to submit their defence, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether without knowing the grounds of charges defence can at all be submitted?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is an argumentative question and does not arise.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the answer just now given by the Parliamentary Secretary, will he consider the desirability of reducing his own dietary expenditure to Rs. 1-8 per diem?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It has already been reduced to less than Rs. 1-8 per day.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the reply that State prisoners are entitled to submit their defence and in view of the fact that defence cannot be sumitted without looking into the grounds, do Government think it desirable that grounds of charges should be forwarded to them?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether Government are considering to give these security prisoners and State prisoners their life insurance premiums and their educational expenses, etc.?

Mr. SPEAKER: How does that question arise?

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: This is a question in connection with the privileges of prisoners under Regulation III.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question does not arise. This deals with State prisoners and not security prisoners.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether Government are considering to give these State prisoners, according to Regulation III of 1818, life insurance allowances, educational allowances and the debts they incurred while they were outside?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that since the year 1916 there were rules and regulations to forward the charges against State prisoners and will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons why they have deviated from that policy?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is not correct

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state on what basis he says that the information is not correct? I say that it is correct and it is absolutely callous ignorance that has prompted him to say like that.

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I would like to submit that we ourselves know that this is a fact.

Mr. SPEAKER: That does not matter.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: On the face of it he says that it is incorrect. I am not ready to abide by that decision

Mr. SPEAKER: The point is that when he says that it is incorrect, it is not for you to discuss.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*a*)—16, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government is considering the desirability of converting any of these Regulation III prisoners in Bengal again under the Defence of India Rules in view of the fact that the difficulties that were lying in the way of Government in detaining them under the Defence of India Rules are now practically over?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice

Petitions for leave and allowance from security prisoners.

***285. Mr. SATYAPRIYA BANERJEE:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware of the fact—

(*i*) that Sreejut Santisaran Roy Choudhury, now a security prisoner lodged in Dum Dum Central Jail, submitted a petition on the 14th November, 1942, from Khulna Jail praying for leave to make necessary arrangements for *sradh* ceremony of his elder brother who died of cholera;

(*ii*) that on or about 16th November, 1942, he again applied for leave to see his old mother who was dying of cholera; and

(*iii*) that the leave was refused to him in either cases?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that Sreejut Kanailal Das prayed in his petition of the 6th November, 1942, for reconsideration of his case for the old age and failing health of his father and to the straitened pecuniary condition of the family?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the decision arrived at in the matter?

(*e*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that Sreejut Kishorimohan Chatterjee, a security prisoner of Dum Dum Central Jail, applied for family allowance on the 27th November, 1942, from the Khulna Jail and sent a reminder on the 3rd January, 1943, from Dum Dum Central Jail?

(*f*) If so, what action has been taken in the matter?

(*g*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Sreejut Kalicharan Khanna, a security prisoner of Dum Dum Central Jail, applied on the 14th December, 1942, for medical treatment by Dr. B. C. Roy, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta and Dr. A. K. Ghosh at his expense in this jail?

(*h*) If the answer to (*g*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the decisions arrived at in the matter?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*)(*i*) and (*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) Yes, but he was allowed facilities for the performance of the *sradh* inside the jail.

(*b*) Leave was refused on security grounds.

(*c*) and (*e*) Yes.

(*d*) It was not considered a suitable case for grant of family allowance.

(*f*) A family allowance of Rs.50 per month has been granted to the security prisoner with effect from the date of arrest.

(*g*) and (*h*) The security prisoner has since been released. No question of his medical treatment therefore arises.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why he could not be allowed to see his dying mother under proper guard?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This was refused when the previous Ministry was in office and when the honourable member was a member supporting the Government. The reasons or motives cannot be ascribed by the present Ministry.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order. Is not the answer adopted by the present Ministry? It might have been the case with the old Ministry.

Mr. SPEAKER: It does not arise.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order. Whether the answer is adopted by the present Ministry. The answer is that leave was refused on security grounds.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I said leave was refused when the last Ministry was in office.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the policy of the present Government with regard to such petitions?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a question of policy which cannot be answered on a question like this.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that during the present Ministry not a single case of petition with regard to performance of *sradh* has been allowed?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The present Ministry has adopted a policy by which in certain cases the prisoners are allowed to go to see their near relatives who are ailing or are lying in death beds. This policy has been adopted by this Ministry. It was not in force before this Ministry came into office.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: My question has not been replied.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the answer just given by the Hon'ble Minister, will he kindly inform the House whether in the last three months at least ten applications of this kind have been refused?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

SJ. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the leave application of Mr. Sarkhel detained in Barisal jail praying to attend the *sradh* of his mother, he being the only son, was refused?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the last reply given by the Hon'ble Minister, will he be pleased to state if the leave asked by Babu Nripati Bhusan Chatterji, security prisoner lodged in Midnapore Central Jail, who asked leave to see his mother in her death bed, has been very recently refused?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I am not aware; it may be that the case was refused but in the case of Satyapriya Banerjee it was allowed.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: That is the only case.

Expenditure incurred for relief works in unions of Hajiganj police-station.

***286. Maulvi JONAB ALI MAJUMDAR:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the amount of money spent by Government in different unions of the Hajiganj police-station in the subdivision of Chandpur, Tippera, from August to 31st December, 1943, union by union, with date—

(1) for test relief works,
(2) for gruel kitchen,
(3) for free distribution of clothes, and
(4) for gratuitous relief;

(b) the amount of money proposed to be sanctioned and allotted for earth work in the shape of test relief works in different unions of the Hajiganj police-station during this winter and spring season by Government or through the agency of the local District Board of Tippera;

(c) whether he is aware of any allegations that all the money sanctioned by Government in this connection were not properly spent for the relief of the starving and poor people of the localities concerned; and

(d) whether Government is considering the desirability of forming a small Committee consisting of officials and representative non-officials of the thana to advise the local officials in carrying out and supervising the relief works and other relief measures?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea): (a) A statement showing the amount spent is laid on the Table. The different dates of expenditure are not readily available.

(b) Test relief in the shape of earth work has been started in the affected areas of the police-station through the agency of the District Board. No specific allotment has been made for these areas.

(c) No.

(d) Yes.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) (i) of starred question No. 286.

HAJIGANJ POLICE-STATION.

Name of Union Board	Test relief works.	Gruel kitchens.	Free distribution of cloths.	Gratuitous Relief (dry doles).
	Rs. a. p.	Rs.		Rs. a. p.
1. Rajargaon	2,273 1 0	1,045		
2. Kalacho	..	1,045		
3. Hajiganj	2,699 12 0	1,245		349 6 9
4. Barkul		1,545		
5. Hatila	1,510 5 6	1,545		
6. Tamta	.	1,245		
7. Gandharpur	7,901 4 0	1,545		
8. Suchipara	.	1,545		
9. Mehar	....	1,045		
10. Roysree	...	1,245		
11. Chitoshi	8,199 4 0	1,445		
12. Ramchandrapur	7,028 2 0	...		
13. Bakila	6,808 8 9	....		

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who was the paymaster of the amount so far as the test relief work through the district board is concerned?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice. I cannot say that.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that except the paymaster and the President of the district board nobody else was present at the time of payment?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: No.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Who else then?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not aware.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to make an enquiry whether it is a fact that except the paymaster who is an overseer and the President no other person was present at the time of distribution of money to the men?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Does the Hon'ble Minister know that so far as test relief work in the Chandpur subdivision is concerned, the money was paid not in the presence of anybody else even in spite of the request of local M.L.As.?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Government have no such information.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state so far as test relief work in the Chandpur subdivision is concerned whether he is prepared to form a committee to make an enquiry?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Government is certainly prepared to make an enquiry if specific cases are brought to their notice.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: There was some question with regard to this thing long long before this question. That has not yet been answered.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter. That is not a supplementary question.

Purchase of permanent settled estates in Chittagong by Government.

***287. Khan Bahadur Haji BADI AHMED CHOWDHURY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state how many permanent settled estates the Government has purchased in Chittagong from 1940 to 1943?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: 192.

Dearness allowance to primary school teachers of Chittagong.

***288. Maulana MD. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing for the Chittagong district—

(*i*) the number of free primary schools;

(*ii*) the number of aided primary schools;

(*iii*) the present number of teachers referred to in (*i*) and (*ii*) (to be shown separately);

(*iv*) the scale of pay of teachers according to qualification in free primary schools and aided primary schools;

(*v*) the total amount of dearness allowance sanctioned during 1943-44 and the rate per head and the amount spent up to 31st December, 1943; and

(*vi*) the amount allotted for 1944-45 and the rate per head of dearness allowance?

(*b*) If no allotment is made for 1944-45, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of sanctioning dearness allowance for poorly paid primary teachers of aided and free schools according to the rate sanctioned by Government for their inferior servants?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the date from which the order can be brought into force?

(*d*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he proposes to give any other remedy to those teachers?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*)(*i*) 839 (managed).

(*ii*) 777 including 125 primary sections attached to secondary schools and madrassahs (they are also free).

(*iii*) (1) 2,221 and (2) 375 (teachers of primary section) and 1,304 (teachers of other aided primary schools).

(*iv*) *Managed free primary schools*—

Matric Trained Head Teacher—Rs.16.

Matric or non-Matric Trained Head Teacher—Rs.14.

Matric or non-Matric Trained Assistant Teacher—Rs.12.

Non-Matric and Untrained Teacher—Rs.10.

Aided primary schools.—Teachers of primary section attached to secondary schools and madrassahs are paid as in managed primary schools.

Other Schools—

Matric or F.M. trained—Rs.12

Trained—Rs.8 to Rs.10

Untrained—Rs.4 to Rs.6

(according to classification of schools).

(*v*) No separate allotment was made on account of dearness allowance. The amount for the purpose, however, is included in the additional allotment placed by Government for improvement of primary education.

Teachers of managed primary schools and primary sections attached to secondary schools and madrassahs were paid dearness allowance at Rs.5 each per month from August, 1942, up to August, 1943, and at Rs.8 each per month for September, October and November, 1943, and they are being paid at Rs.5 each per month at present.

A sum of Rs. 1,07,887-3-6 was spent on account of payment of dearness allowance to teachers in 1943-44 (up to December, 1943).

(*vi*), (*b*) and (*c*) Teachers of managed primary schools and primary sections attached to secondary schools and madrassahs will be paid dearness

allowance at Rs.5 per head per mensem from the District Primary Education Fund from the beginning of the year. Government will also pay dearness allowance at the rate of Rs.3 per head per mensem to teachers of all approved primary schools in the district, including those mentioned above. The amounts required during 1944-45 for payment of dearness allowance from the funds of the District School Board and Government have not been estimated but will be allotted in due course.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Election of Union Boards of Gopalganj Circle, Faridpur.

*289. **Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether he is aware that elections of many Union Boards of the Gopalganj Circle of the Faridpur district were held in the years 1942 and 1943?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the names of Union Boards with date of election against each;

(*ii*) the date or dates on which names of elected as well as of nominated members were submitted by the Subdivisional Officer for District Magistrate's approval and publication in the *Calcutta Gazette*; and

(*iii*) the date or dates of receipt of those papers in the District Magistrate's office?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the reasons for non-publication of the names as yet; and

(*ii*) the dates of the last reconstitution of the said Union Boards?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he considers it desirable to take any steps to see the Union Boards reconstituted early?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*c*) (*ii*) A statement is laid on the Library Table.

(*c*) (*i*) Time was required to find suitable candidates. There was some delay due to the transfer of the District Magistrate and the change of the Chairman, District Board The names of all the Union Boards concerned, except seven, have already been published. The remainder will be published shortly.

(*d*) No, as action is being taken by local officers.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the publication was held up under the order of Government?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the publication was held up after the names were submitted by the Subdivisional Officer?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: With regard to 15 union boards the then District Magistrate was transferred before he came to any final decision . and the present District Magistrate referred the names to the

Chairman of the District Board and on receipt of the report of the Chairman, the names of eight union boards have been published and those of seven are under consideration by the District Magistrate.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether instruction was issued to the present Subdivisional Magistrate to replace the old nominations by obtaining names from the local Muslim Leaguers?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Certainly not.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the present Subdivisional Magistrate held a conference in January with half a dozen Muslim Leaguers and replaced openly the old nominations and invited new names?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government had nothing to do with these nominations. The District Magistrate was the final authority.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the delay is not due to the reason given in the answer but it was due to the difference among the Muslim Leaguers themselves regarding their candidates?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: There was no instruction issued to the District Magistrate or as a matter of fact to the Subdivisional Officer. As I have already said, the District Magistrate had the final authority in these matters.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government takes any responsibility in the action of the District Magistrates in regard to nominations of members to the union boards?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes; if any irregularity is brought to the notice of Government, Government certainly takes action.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the dates when the life of the previous union boards in the district in regard to the 15 union boards mentioned by the Hon'ble Minister in his reply respectively expired?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Dates are given in the statement.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that District Magistrates usually send these nominations to the Commissioners of Divisions for approval?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that District Magistrates send the nominations to the Secretariat for approval?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Never.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state which particular item in the statement contains the information regarding the expiry of the life of respective union boards?

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot cross-examine him like that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The question related to the date of election and so did the answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can easily infer from that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am waiting for his reply.

Mr. SPEAKER: No reply is called for. If you like you may put any other supplementary question.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what time is ordinarily required to find out suitable candidates for nomination to union boards?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think I should allow that question.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I only want to know the time required.

Mr. SPEAKER: Still I do not think I can allow that question.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have laid down any instruction or rule to ensure that nominations to union boards after the election is completed may be completed within any reasonable length of time?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No such particular instructions are given but general instructions are given to the District Magistrates to expedite matters.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to sate whether in the cases referred to regarding union boards of Gopalganj circle of Faridpur district any instructions were issued with a view to expediting nominations?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what remedy or what possible remedy people have against the continuity of any union board beyond the statutory period owing to the delay in the publication of nominations?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Matters are expedited, but the delay in this case was due to the fact that both the Chairman and the District Magistrate were changed.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the likely consequences of changes in the offices of Chairman and District Magistrate?

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot allow that question.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that nominations were held up because of the change in Chairman and District Magistrate of Faridpur?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No, that was not the only reason.

Vital Statistics in Bengal.

***290. Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the vital statistics of each district of Bengal from April, 1943, to August, 1943, month by month, with that of the corresponding period of 1942?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason if there was a large number of deaths in any of these two periods?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what measures, if any, were taken by Government during the periods to keep the death rate to the average level; and

(*ii*) why they failed?

(*d*) If no measure was taken, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*e*) What measures, if any, the Government have taken to keep the death rate to the average level during the next 4 months, i.e., up to December, 1943?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) Statements supplying required information are laid on the Library Table.

(*b*) The statement of deaths laid on the Library Table shows that there was a general increase in total deaths during the months of April to August, 1943, over the corresponding figures for 1942 in all the districts of Bengal except Jessore, Pabna, Dacca and Faridpur districts. The increase was mainly due to larger number of deaths from cholera and malaria, but in Chittagong, Calcutta and Midnapore there was also an increase under the head "other causes".

(*c*) (*i*) A statement is laid on the Library Table.

(*ii*) I cannot say.

(*d*) Does not arise.

(*e*) The following steps have been taken by Government to deal with the situation:—

(1) More than 2,000 beds were provided in 11 hospitals, in and around Calcutta for medical treatment of sick destitutes.

(2) Sanction was accorded to establishment of 60 hundred-bedded hospitals and 500 twenty-bedded dispensary-*cum*-hospitals in the 12 worst affected districts.

(3) A central depot was established in each of these districts for speedy supply of drugs to these hospitals.

(4) Several Medical Officers and Sanitary Inspectors were obtained from the Government of Burma and they have been employed on emergency relief work in the Province. 200 sweepers were brought from the United Provinces for various emergency hospitals.

(5) Fifty-six Military Medical Officers were lent by Government of India to work as Subdivisional Health Officers. Government of Bengal pay their travelling allowances and other expenses.

(6) Sanction was accorded to a scheme of control of malaria providing for establishment of treatment centres attached to 1,400 existing dispensaries in the Province for free distribution of quinine.

(7) A scheme was sanctioned for control of cholera and smallpox providing for employment of 500 medical licentiates and 500 health assistants or 1,000 sanitary assistants for anti-epidemic work in the districts.

(8) Large quantities of quinine, anti-cholera vaccine and smallpox lymph, drugs and disinfectants have also been distributed.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the various reasons included under the general head "Other causes" which accounted for a large number of deaths in Calcutta and Midnapore?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Those causes are specially famine, starvation and malnutrition.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the answer (*c*) refers to the period regarding which the question was asked, namely, the period from September to December, 1943.

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the measures out of these eight which related to the specific question asked with reference to the period from September to December, 1943?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Will the honourable member please repeat the question?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The questioner asked for information about measures taken by Government to keep down the death rate between September and December, 1943, and the answer given includes evidently the measures taken by Government thereafter and also partly within the period. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the specific reply he has got to give to the specific question asked?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government gives an annual subsidy of Rs. 2,000 for rural public health units in each thana in all the districts of Bengal. In addition to the usual measures undertaken by the rural health staff, preventive measures were taken against cholera by appointment of medical officers, sanitary inspectors and health assistants while arrangement was made for free distribution of quinine through hospitals and dispensaries. Sale of quinine was also arranged through reliable chemists. Epidemic doctors were appointed to cope with the epidemic outbreak of malaria during that period and the subsequent statement, the statement under (*c*) shows the comprehensive scheme undertaken by Government during that period as well as subsequently.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: With reference to answer (*c*)(2), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the twelve worst-affected districts?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the system that is existing at present for the collection of death figures is not satisfactory and that therefore the figures collected by that agency cannot be relied upon?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is an argumentative question. I cannot allow that.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Occasional inundation of certain parts of Contai subdivision.

131. Mr. KRISHNA PRASAD MANDAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works (Irrigation) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*a*) that the Kalighai river with water of Barachowka basin often inundates considerable portion of Pataspur police-station and Bhagabanpur police-station in Contai subdivision in Midnapore district;

(*b*) that Government did not repair Barachowka Embankment in 1943 by relief works;

(*c*) that the local revenue paying landlords did not repair it; and

(*d*) that 1944 crop has failed in a considerable portion of Pataspur and Bhagabanpur police-stations?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. BARADA PRASANNA PAIN): (*a*) Inundation takes place occasionally when there is a breach in the embankment on the right bank of the Kalighai river.

(*b*) and (*c*) Government could not undertake the repair as it is a zemindary embankment. The zemindars did not undertake the repairs.

(*d*) Yes; in certain portions of the area.

Expenditure incurred for Kalighai drainage scheme.

132. Mr. KRISHNA PRASAD MANDAL: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works (Irrigation) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that Government have spent a great deal of money in respect of Kalighai drainage in Contai subdivision in Midnapore district; and

(*ii*) that the river remains silted and dry for the major portion of the year?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this has affected agricultural and trade facilities of the neighbouring localities?

The Hon'ble Mr. BARADA PRASANNA PAIN: (*a*) (*i*) The total amount spent is Rs.4,05,224-3, of which Rs.87,110 has been spent on actual work in the Contai subdivision.

(*ii*) The upper reaches of the river which are beyond the tidal zone remain more or less dry during the dry season.

(*b*) No.

Family allowance of security prisoner Sj. Priyaranjan Das Gupta.

133. Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that Sreejut Priyaranjan Das Gupta, at present a security prisoner in the Rajshahi Central Jail, had, before arrest in December, 1941, a monthly income of Rs.70 per month, Rs.40 as assistant in the Accounts Department, Calcutta Corporation, and Rs.30 from tuition and business;

(*ii*) that he has a mother and seven other members in his family dependent on him; and

(*iii*) that he has been, after repeated petitions, sanctioned in October, 1943, a family allowance from the 1st April, 1943, at Rs.40 per month?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is considering the desirability of increasing the family allowance from the date of his arrest, i.e., December, 1941?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) My information is that his pre-arrest income was Rs.40 per month as a temporary clerk in the Accounts Department of the Calcutta Corporation.

(*ii*) My information is that he has an uncle who also substantially helps the family with money.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*b*) No.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*a*) (*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state definitely what sort of pecuniary help is given to the prisoner by his uncle and if given, is it given monthly or in a regular way?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The prisoner's uncle has taken up war service. He used to send Rs. 180 per mensem to his home. The amount was subsequently reduced to Rs. 100 per mensem after the arrest of the prisoner and that is why Government sanctioned family allowance to the security prisoner

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the uncle of this gentleman lives separately from the family of Priyaranjan Das Gupta?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: He is in war service and now he sends Rs. 100 to his family.

Increment of family allowance of security prisoners.

134. Mr. PRATUL CHANDRA GANGULI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Hon'ble Chief Minister announced that the amount of allowances granted to the families of the security prisoners up to December, 1942, will be increased by 100 per cent.?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state in how many cases the above announcement has been given effect to?

(*c*) Is it a fact that the allowances granted to the families of the following security prisoners before December, 1942, have not at all been increased—

(1) Sreejut Atindra Mohan Roy—the amount of whose allowance is Rs.30 only for his old mother, wife, son and daughter and other dependents;

(2) Sreejut Jamini Mohan Pal the amount of the allowance is only Rs.15 for his old mother, wife and children and other dependents;

(3) Sreejut Makhal Lal Dutt—the amount of the allowance is only Rs 12 for his old mother and other dependents;

(4) Sreejut Jadu Nath Bhattacharji—the amount of allowance is only Rs.12 only for his wife, daughter and other dependents; and

(5) Sreejut Tarani Bhusan Shome?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the allowances granted to the above security prisoners are inadequate for the support of their families?

(*e*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

(*f*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of increasing the amount of allowances granted to the above security prisoners by 100 per cent. in accordance with the announcement of the Hon'ble Chief Minister?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) I refer the honourable member to the Press Note, dated the 22nd June, 1943, in the matter wherein the express condition of such enhancement of family allowance is that it should in no case exceed that part of the security prisoner's income of which he has been deprived by reason of his detention

(*b*) This information cannot be collected without an undue expenditure of time and labour which is not justified in the present emergency.

(*c*) and (*f*) No, the allowances have since been increased as follows:

(1) Babu Atindra Mohan Roy from Rs 30 to Rs 60 per month

(2) Babu Jamini Mohan Pal from Rs 15 to Rs 30 per month

(3) Babu Makhal Lal Dutt from Rs 12 to Rs 20 per month

(4) Babu Jadu Nath Bhattacharji from Rs.12 to Rs 25 per month.

(5) Babu Tarani Bhusan Shome from Rs 20 to Rs 45 per month.

(*d*) No

(*e*) Does not arise.

(*f*) The allowances of Babus Atindra Mohan Roy, Jamini Mohan Pal and Jadu Nath Bhattacharji, have already been enhanced by 100 per cent, but those of Babus Makhal Lal Dutt and Tarani Bhusan Shome have not been so increased because of the condition mentioned in reply to (*a*)

Mr. NISHITHA NTTH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, whether in the case of Makhal Lal Das the allowance previously granted has not been doubled according to the policy of Government?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It has not been doubled because of the answer given in part (*a*) of the answer, namely, that it should in no case exceed that part of the security prisoner's income of which he has been

deprived by reason of his detention. This cent. per cent. increase is covered by that clause. But this does not always operate against the security prisoners in general. If you refer to No. (5) you will find that the allowance has been raised from Rs. 20 to Rs. 45 instead of Rs. 40 as would have been the case in accordance with the liberal policy of Government for cent. per cent. increase.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: May I remind you, Mr. Speaker, that on a former occasion it was your decision that the expression "liberal policy" should not be used in answering questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, I remember.

Petitions for family allowances from security prisoners of Midnapore district.

135. Mr. SIBNATH BANERJEE: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(*i*) the number of petitions for family allowances received up to date from the security prisoners belonging to the Midnapore district;

(*ii*) the number of them that have so far been disposed of;

(*iii*) whether the petitions of the following security prisoners have been received by Government; and

(*iv*) what, if any, amounts have been granted to each of them as family allowances, viz.?—

(1) Sreejut Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Contai.
(2) Sreejut Ramakanta Maiti, Contai.
(3) Sreejut Behari Lal Paria, Contai.
(4) Sreejut Basanta Kumar Das, Contai.
(5) Dr. Rashbehari Pal, Contai.
(6) Sreejut Sudhir Chandra Das, Contai.
(7) Sreejut Dibakar Pradhan, Contai
(8) Sreejut Jyotish Chandra Bera, Contai
(9) Sreejut Bepin Behari Adhikary, Contai.
(10) Sreejut Nirmal Kumar Roy, Contai.
(11) Sreejut Bhupal Chandra Panda, Tamluk.
(12) Dr. Kunja Behari Pattanaik, Tamluk.
(13) Sreejut Chandi Charan Dutta, Tamluk.
(14) Sreejut Rajani Kanta Pramanik, Tamluk.
(15) Dr. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, Ghatal.
(16) Sreejut Jahar Lal Baksi, Ghatal.
(17) Sreejut Bhabesh Chandra Bose, Midnapore Sadar.
(18) Sreejut Bhabendra Nath Mukherjee, Midnapore Sadar.
(19) Sreejut Rabindra Nath Mitra, Midnapore Sadar.
(20) Sreejut Radharaman Chakravarty, Midnapore Sadar.
(21) Sreejut Purna Chandra Chakravarty, Midnapore Sadar.
(22) Sreejut Aditya Kumar Bankuri, Midnapore Sadar.
(23) Sreejut Sailendra Nath Dutt, Midnapore Sadar.
(24) Sreejut Debendra Nath Das, Midnapore Sadar.

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of dealing with these cases as special cases in view of their distressed conditions caused by the last cyclone in that district?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) and (*ii*) The particulars are not readily available.

(*iii*) The Hon'ble Home Minister has no information about Nos. 12 and 20 who do not appear to be security prisoners: No petitions for allowance have been received from Nos. 14 and 18. He has received the petitions of the other prisoners. Prisoners Nos. 7 and 13 have since been released.

(*iv*) Nos. 1, 7, 8 and 17—No allowance has been sanctioned.

Nos. 12, 14, 18, 20—I refer the honourable member to my reply to (*iii*) of the question.

Nos. 2, 10, 23, 24—These cases are still under consideration.

(3)—Rs.45 per month.

(4)—Rs.60 per month.

(5)—Rs.60 per month.

(6)—Rs 10 per month.

(9)—Rs.50 per month.

(11)—Rs 20 per month.

(13)—Rs.25 per month.

(15)—Rs.40 per month

(16)—Rs 30 per month

(19)—Rs.75 per month

(21)—Rs 20 per month

(22)—Rs.20 per month

(*b*) The Hon'ble Home Minister has given special instructions to all concerned to deal with these cases as expeditiously as possible.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons why in respect of Nos. (1), (7), (8) and (17) no allowance has been sanctioned?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Because they were not considered to be fit cases for the sanction of allowances.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that No. (1) Sreejut Pramatha Nath Banerjee of Contai, had been the sole earning member of his family?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The family has not been deprived of any legitimate source of income by his detention, and therefore no family allowance was sanctioned.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the source of information regarding the present income or source of income which has not been affected by his detention?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The family has an income of Rs. 100 from business which is run by his two adult sons.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that Sreejut Pramatha Nath Banerjee was the proprietor and was running the business which has suffered immensely in his absence?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The information of Government is that the two adult sons of the prisoner are running the business, and even before his arrest the security prisoner was a President of a Union Board and never paid any attention to his business.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the duties of a President of a Union Board do not conflict with the duties of a businessman and sometimes business is furthered thereby?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of revising the answer just given if I tell him that when he was free Sreejut Pramatha Nath Banerjee went as far as Dacca to enquire whether cloth might be available from the Dhakeswari and Lakshminarayan Cotton Mills to be sold in his shop at Midnapore?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: If the honourable member makes that statement, then it may be so. But, as I have said, he did not devote much attention to business and business has not suffered because it is being run by his two adult sons.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to reply (*a*) (*iv*) regarding Nos. (2), (10), (23) and (24), whose cases are still under consideration, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how long they are in detention, when they actually filed their petitions for maintenance, since how long are their petitions under consideration and when do the Government think that they will arrive at a decision regarding these cases?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With regard to No. (16), Sreejut Jahar Lal Baksi, and No. (15) Dr. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh of Ghatal, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the report of Government regarding their average earning on the basis of which the present allowances of Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 respectively have been allotted?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice if I am to give details.

Petition for grant of family allowance by certain security prisoners.

136. Babu JNANENDRA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that security prisoners Babu Dwijendra Chandra Bhattacharyya of Mymensingh, at present detained in the Mymensingh Jail, and Babu Priyalal Sarkar of Barisal, at present detained in the Dacca Central Jail, applied to the Government for the grant of family allowances; and

(*ii*) that they have been granted no family allowances?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*ii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that—

(*i*) Babu Dwijendra Chandra Bhattacharyya used to maintain his wife and others before his arrest from his earnings as—

(1) a paid employee of the Jute Regulation Department of the Government, and

(2) as a private tutor; and

(*ii*) Babu Priyalal Sarkar used to maintain his sister, and her son from his earning as a private tutor?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of granting the said security prisoners adequate family allowance?

(*e*) If the answer to (*d*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) Yes, except in the case of Babu Priyalal Sarkar to whom a family allowance of Rs.20 per mensem has been granted.

(*b*) The case of Babu Dwijendra Chandra Bhattacharyya was not considered a fit one for grant of family allowance.

(*c*) (*i*) My information is that the prisoner on one occasion worked as a copyist in the Jute Regulation Office for 3 weeks on a monthly salary of Rs. 35 and I have no information if he had any income as a private tutor. His wife was maintained and is being maintained by his father who has an annual income of Rs. 2,000 from landed properties.

(*ii*) My information is that the two sons and a daughter of the sister were dependent on the prisoner and they were maintained by the prisoner's income from private tuition and the income from the joint property.

(*d*) No. A family allowance of Rs.20 per mensem has been granted to the prisoner Priyalal Sarkar.

(*e*) My reply to (*b*) above may be seen

Breach of Traffic Rules by Military lorries.

137. Mr. SYED SAHABE-ALAM: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

(*i*) of A.R.P. restrictions regarding screening of head lamps and spot lights of motor vehicles;

(*ii*) that military lorries and other military vehicles use powerful lights which blind and glare drivers of other cars;

(*iii*) that military cars and lorries disobey traffic signals and endanger other motorists;

(*iv*) that military vehicles are often parked in "No Parking" area and "Bus Stops"; and

(*v*) that military cars with left hand drive are permitted on the road?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, what action do the Government propose to take in the matter?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) and (*v*) Yes.

(*ii*) 'to (*iv*) Yes, on occasion.

(*b*) Government have from time to time made representations to the appropriate authorities in respect of lighting and traffic matters and will continue to do so whenever necessary.

Motor accidents on Comilla-Daudkandi Road.

138. Mr. RAMIZUDDIN AHMED: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware of a large number of motor accidents resulting in many casualties during the last few months on the Comilla-Daudkandi P.W.D. Road in the district of Tippera?

(*b*) Is it a fact—

(*i*) that many of the accidents were due to too much overloading even on the top of the motor buses;

(*ii*) that the number of the motor buses running by that road was reduced; and

(*iii*) that there is no other means of communication for the public in that area?

(*c*) If the answers to (*a*) and (*b*) are in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of increasing the number of the motor buses and their trips on that road?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) No. Only 4 accidents were reported during the three months ending February, 1944, and only one villager was killed.

(*b*) (*i*) No.

(*ii*) Yes, from 19 to 14 since the outbreak of the war.

(*iii*) No. Rickshaws and hackney carriages also ply on the road.

(*c*) Does not arise.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the buses carry passengers over the tops?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government are not aware.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is a demand of buses both at Comilla and at Daudkandi?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, there is demand for more buses.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government will make arrangements to allay the distress and meet the demand of passengers?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The question of communication and transport is very acute, and it is not only so with regard to Comilla-Daudkandi traffic but practically all over Bengal.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to the answer regarding difficulties of communication and transport all over Bengal, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state——

Mr. SPEAKER: Well, that question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, my question arises out of the answer to the supplementary question with regard to the difficulties of communication.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry that question ought not to have been introduced and I cannot allow any supplementary question on that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why the number of buses licensed was reduced from 19 to 14 as answered in *(b) (ii)*?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any Regional Transport Authority operating in that district which issues instructions regarding the licensing and the overcrowding of buses?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Regional Transport Authority is in existence in that area, and I am not aware what instructions were issued by that Authority.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have issued any instructions to the local regional authorities for relaxing the provisions of the Motor Vehicles Rules concerning overcrowding and rules which are calculated to control accidents?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I am not aware of any such instruction issued by Government.

Mr. RAMIZUDDIN AHMED: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of trips that every motor was allowed in 1941 and the number of trips that every motor is allowed now?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the number of hours of work of the drivers and conductors in that area has been kept very high and this is one potent reason for accidents.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.)

(After adjournment.)

Adjournment Motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you were good enough to give consent to the adjournment motion regarding maladiministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control, such as salt, coke, mustard oil, kerosene and sugar in the mofussil of Bengal of which I gave notice. A short statement is being handed over to you as required under the rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: The proper thing for you is to move for leave of the House. Do not make a speech at this stage.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I beg leave of the House to move the adjournment motion in the following terms:—

This Assembly do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control such as salt, coke, mustard oil, kerosene oil and sugar in the mofussil of Bengal. The short statement as required under the rules runs as follows——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not necessary. You need not read that.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: An adjournment motion must discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance. It is neither definite nor urgent. It is not definite because if you read the motion you will find that it is vague. The nature of the maladministration has not been indicated and therefore it is vague and it is not at all urgent. We discussed this question many times in different forms and different shapes and sometimes decisions were also taken and I feel that this motion is out of order.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: I would like to say that I find the greatest amount of difficulty in answering a resolution of this type when the maladministration which is referred to has not been specifically defined. Also, Sir, I would say that it is not a matter of recent occurrence. Whatever is good or bad has been going on for some time. If there has been maladministration there has been maladministration; if there has been proper distribution there has been proper distribution. I say nothing has happened of recent occurrence to justify an adjournment motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: That the matter is of vital importance to the community is undeniable. In my opinion it is also urgent and I think it is of sufficiently recent occurrence and also of a sufficiently definite nature. I do not think there is anything which can make this motion out of order and therefore I allow it. Is there any objection?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes, there is objection.

Mr. SPEAKER: So I read the short statement.

"Reports are pouring in recently and are also noticed to have been published in some local journals during the last week inviting attention to the severe hardship felt by people in different parts of the mofussil of Bengal due to shortage of supply of essential articles like salt, coke, kerosene oil, mustard oil and sugar, and to the discriminatory distribution of whatever supply is available in favour of officials and their henchmen. It is reported that in spite of Government's recent announcement of policy regarding setting up of representative food committee with persons elected at properly convened public meetings in villages and wards and otherwise than by mere nomination, local officers have been systematically ignoring public opinion and defying the publicly proclaimed policy of Government and even refusing to reconstitute old food committees hurriedly set up last year mostly with nominated members. The maladministration in the distribution of essential articles noted above and discriminatory treatment in favour of officials and their henchmen is reported to be due to the action of local supply officers working under the guidance of the local executive officers. The position should be forthwith improved and maladministration should be checked without delay in order to bring about relief."

Those members who are in support of the motion will kindly rise in their places.

(Some members rose in their seats and a count was taken.)

The requisite number of members have risen in their places. The honourable member has got the leave of the House. What time will suit you?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Any time.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Straightaway.

Mr. SPEAKER: We have got two small matters and we will finish them. After that we will begin at half past five.

Short-notice Questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would like to give certain information regarding two short-notice questions put by Mr. Charu Chandra Roy and the information is as follows: Short-notice question No. 566 by Mr. Charu Chandra Roy, M.L.A., regarding illness of Sreejuts Kedareswar Sen and Ramesh Chandra Acharjya was received in office on the 30th March, 1944. It was sent to the administrative department for consent by the Hon'ble Minister concerned on the 31st March, 1944, and intimation to this effect was also sent to Mr. Roy on that date and the Hon'ble the Home Minister's refusal of consent was received in office on the 10th April, 1944. Thereupon the same question, of which a separate notice had already been given as an ordinary question by Mr. Roy, was admitted on 17th April, 1944, and was sent to the administrative department for reply on the 19th April, 1944, and intimation to this effect was sent to Mr. Roy on the 20th April, 1944.

Short-notice question No 574 regarding illness of Sj Radha Raman Mitra, security prisoner, was received in the office of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 1st April, 1944. It was sent to the Hon'ble Minister concerned on the 3rd April, 1944, for his consent, intimation having been sent to Mr. Roy on that very day. Refusal of consent of the Hon'ble Minister concerned was received in this office on the 28th April, 1944. Thereupon Mr. Roy was informed and was asked to state whether he would like to have the question treated as an ordinary question. No reply has yet been received from the member, but in the meantime a reply from the department concerned has already been received.

Message from the Bengal Legislative Council.

Secretary then read out the following message received from the Bengal Legislative Council, namely:—

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Embankment (Amendment) Bill, 1944, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 25th April, 1944".

Mr. SPEAKER: There is yet three minutes to 5-30 p.m.

Enquiry regarding a special motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, can I fill up this gap by making an enquiry regarding a special motion of which I gave notice?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, what about the motion of the Hon'ble the Education Minister? It is time that he should move his motion

(The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan rose in his seat.)

Point of order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I rise on a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. There is still three minutes time more. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Secondary Education Bill has got a motion for consideration of the Secondary Education Bill. He can move it

now and his speech may be *delivered afterwards. (Cries of "no, no" from the Opposition Benches and counter cries of "yes, yes, he can" from the Coalition Benches.)*

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am on a point of order, Sir.

Nawabzada K. NASIRULLAH: On what?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: How can he rise on a point of order at this stage?

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Are the members opposite entitled to behave in this manner, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, what is your point of order?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I would invite your attention to rule 95 of the Assembly Procedure Rules regarding special motion. We gave notice of a special motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (Amidst noise and interruptions.) Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be taken into consideration at once. (Applause from the Coalition Party benches.)

Sir, I shall deliver my speech on the next occasion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am on a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, you know it perfectly well that you cannot raise any point of order on a subject which is not before the House. I cannot allow this. I have fixed 5-30 p.m. as the time for moving the adjournment motion and you can move your adjournment motion now.

Adjournment Motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control such as salt, coke, mustard oil, kerosene oil and sugar in the mufussil of Bengal.

Sir, in moving this motion, I would most humbly beseech of the Hon'ble Minister in charge and particularly of some of the vociferous members of the Government party who without knowing the facts of the case are trying unnecessarily to create a disturbance at this stage to have some patience and give me a hearing. Sir, when I seek to move a motion they can feel sure that I am on solid grounds both as regards urgency and about the time.

Sir, during the last recess it was brought to my notice that several of the district officials have been distributing the amount of sugar, coke, salt, mustard oil and such other essential articles that they were obtaining through Government assistance in a discriminatory manner giving preference to certain classes of consumers to the exclusion and utter helplessness of the

ordinary civil population. I made personal enquiries of the affairs regarding sugar in Murshidabad. I have also got reports regarding the maladministration going on at Rajshahi. I obtained reports about Pabna, about Nadia, about Khulna, about Jalpaiguri and, Sir, I came to the conclusion that there was definite case made out for taking the time of this House and bringing to the Government the seriousness of the situation.

What is today happening, as everyone is aware, is that there is acute shortage of some of the essential articles apart from food in the mufussil. Some districts are entirely bereft of salt supply. The price of salt in certain areas went up to about 8 annas a seer and more. (A voice from the ministerialist benches: One rupee a seer.) My friend over there has corrected me and said that it went up to Re. 1 a seer. I am thankful to him. Even now it is found that kerosene oil is almost an unapproachable and rare commodity for the bulk of our rural population. Sugar is almost impossible to obtain. Even at a place like Pabna which is only a few miles away from the Gopalpur Sugar Mill I found a similar situation, although there was some kind of an arrangement for distribution under a ration basis. Sir, in Murshidabad, the position is just the same. I am not putting all these points before you, Sir, with a view to raise unnecessary recriminations. I am suggesting all these with the most humble submission that I can possibly command with a view to find out if a remedy can be suggested. The District Magistrate of Murshidabad at the time told me that he had to make the sugar allotment under certain difficulties. Only 70 bags of sugar were allotted to the district per month and that allotment also was not received in time and therefore every month he has to keep some surplus in hand to carry on till the next month. Government had issued instructions to several departments under which Government officers of various grades have to be given certain supply preferentially on a rationed basis.

They are collected together under what is known as Government Ration Stores wherefrom Government officers and staff receive their supply. The first and foremost duty has been imposed on the district supply staff to maintain proper supply of sugar, kerosene oil, coke and so on to Government officers. Then, Sir, second in the category comes the police. Third comes the jail. Fourth in Murshidabad comes the orphanage, fifth, the destitute hospital, sadar hospital and other hospitals. Along with the first list of Government officials come not only direct Government servants entrusted with essential work but also those who are now for the time being engaged in Court of Wards service as well as various sections of the Industries Department including sericulture and the like. These persons have not only been given preference or priority but a particular quota for each has also been laid down. They are being given 1¼ seers per week per head of sugar and after all these priorities are exhausted preference has to be given to certain classes of consumers who either due to special occasional festivities, social obligations or religious ceremonies, require a certain amount of concession. Leaving all that out, the amount left over is so meagre that it is virtually impossible for the district official to do justice to the ordinary citizen. I wanted to ascertain whether there was any policy laid down by Government to ensure this kind of preferential supply to Government officers and their henchmen. There was no definite

answer to the same and I was informed afterwards by the Directorate of Civil Supplies that so far as that office was concerned, they had not issued any such definite instructions to give preferential supply to any official or to any class of consumers but they realised that there might be difficulty due to local officials trying to help their friends and themselves first. Only recently it has been brought to my notice that in Rajshahi this abuse has been rampant. The district officials when they get supply try to get the requirements of their own gang and their friends supplied first and foremost and anything left over goes to the public. Recently one wagon of coal was obtained at Rajshahi after long starvation of coal and this coal was calculated at first as enough to be able to supply about 10 seers per family. But, Sir, the district officials issued permits of supplies to the local officials in this order. The Superintendent of Police got 25 maunds, Deputy Superintendent of Police 15 maunds, District Magistrate 25 maunds, Subdivisional Officer 10 maunds and even the Personal Assistant to the Deputy Director of Civil Supplies got 20 maunds while others got nothing. When this matter was ventilated through the press—there is a Hindu journal, *Hindu Ranjika*, which published these facts and wanted an explanation—it was noticed that one of the dealers who revealed these facts to the public was peremptorily served with an order. A true copy of this was reproduced in the journal. The order is dated 19th April, 1944. "Whereas a complaint has been made that you refused to honour permit No. 5608 issued on you for 10 maunds of coal, you will show cause on 21st April, 1944, why suitable action should not be taken against you. (Sd.) S. K. Mitter, District Licensing Officer and Return Officer." This permit of 10 maunds was issued in favour of nobody else than the District Magistrate, —a second allotment over and above the former allotment,—and the coal dealer concerned submitted that if he had to give at that rate, it would be impossible for him to meet other requirements. It was for this offence that he was called upon to explain why he did not honour the permit order of the supply officer. Sir, this has been going on not merely in one district but in every district, and it is revealed that this state of affairs has been possible because the Civil Supplies Directorate here has not laid down any general policy of distribution. It is up to Government now to explain why they have left the whole thing entirely to the sweet will and discretion of local officials and if they have done so, what remedy they have devised to see that the district officials' distribution does not go wrong. It was contemplated that Food Committees in all local areas would be elected and it was expected that properly constituted Food Committees would undertake the responsibility of local distribution. I am ashamed to submit that in spite of glorious wishes expressed and pious expressions of desire the Government local chiefs have completely set at naught the pious wishes expressed by the Hon'ble Minister in this House and also the press *communiqués*. None of these desires are being fulfilled. Sir, nominations have been the only method by which Food Committees have been constituted. It was expressed—and I have got the necessary document with me where the local Department of Civil Supplies instructed—that none but elected members would constitute Food Committees in the primary stage, that is, in villages and in wards in towns. But I would submit that not one committee has been so constituted and that the old

committees have not been reconstituted in the manner expected in the Government circular. It is time, Sir, that the Civil Supplies Directorate does not merely sit idle after issuing *communiqués* and directions. It is up to them to see that their officers carry out their policy and actually it is up to the members of this House, and particularly the members of the Government party to see and ensure that the policy that we in this House determine and the Government lays down, is not set at naught by local official in this reckless manner. I submit, Sir, that it is time that all the Food Committees hitherto constituted be dissolved and that proper representation of local people on the basis of election and not on the basis of nomination be made the rule and not the exception.

With these humble words, I move my motion for acceptance of the House.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, maladministration regarding civil supplies has been the order of the day. I will place a few facts before the House regarding my district, Dinajpur. The quota of salt that has been allotted to my district is only 10,000 maunds per month.

The quota of salt that has been allotted for Dinajpur is only 10,000 maunds per month, but the supply is not regular and certain. Then, Sir, the supply to Dinajpur is not distributed properly and through proper persons who can really serve the people's needs but through the favourites of the officials who are being given the permit or licence to sell salt. And these favourites always send the article to the black market which brings them huge profit but which puts the people to immense difficulties. Sir, salt is selling at Dinajpur between eight and twelve annas a seer. If I remember aright, Sir, the Hon'ble Minister for Civil Supplies gave us an assurance during the Budget discussion that as there is dearth of salt everywhere, Government will not interfere with the movement of salt. Now, only very recently a number of persons were carrying salt to the extent of 51 bags weighing 102 maunds from Dinajpur to other stations for distribution in mofussil areas among people who are now in dire need of salt. Sir, we know that salt is the only sauce which the poor people of this province take with rice. When those persons were carrying that consignment of salt to mofussil areas for distribution among their relations and other poor people, the Deputy Director of Civil Supplies seized the whole lot without previously giving any kind of notice or without stating the law or the ordinance under which he was seizing the salt from the compartments in the train. This is how these officers of Government are carrying on their work complicating matters still further in mofussil areas.

Then, Sir, I shall refer to the power of Additional Magistrate given to the Deputy Director of Civil Supplies. It means that there is a duel system of Government running through the districts of Bengal. We do not know whether we should approach the District Magistrate or the Deputy Director of Civil Supplies. Conflict is always going on between these two authorities and the poor people are suffering therefrom. I urge upon the Government to come to a proper solution of this acute problem.

As regards the distribution of sugar, I may say in the first instance that it is a rare thing in the mofussil. The cultivators who produce sugar-cane cannot give their children sugar or even *gur* when their children are

suffering from ailments. In Dinajpur sugar is now being sold at a price ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8 per seer, and even if these facts are put before the authorities no steps whatever are taken by them to prevent black-marketing.

With regard to coal in a town with a population of about 27,000 coal reaches there at an interval of five or six months in one or two wagons the weight of which varies from 250 to 500 maunds. As soon as a consignment of coal reaches there the merchant concerned is directed by the Civil Supply Officer now designated as the Licensing Officer not to sell coal to the public without permit. When members of the public will approach that officer for permit no permit will be issued on a hundred and one pretexts, but permits will be immediately issued to Government officials, the District Magistrate, the Subdivisional Officer, the Superintendent of Police, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and other officers very liberally. They will be given permit to buy coal weighing 15 or 10 or 5 maunds at a time and the public would be left to themselves to find out fuel for themselves. Sir, the price of fuel is rising day by day and no steps have been taken to control its price. If Government will please enquire into the matter and find out to whom the permits have been issued so far in the town of Dinajpur they will find that 75 per cent. of coal which is usually sent at an interval of six months, if not more, goes to the officers of Government and the public in general is not cared for at all.

As regards kerosene oil only 25 tins have been allotted for each union. You can imagine whether by allotting 25 tins you can serve the people of a union, not to speak of satisfactorily serving it, but only to give it the minimum supply. As a matter of fact, Sir, the villages are going without any kerosene oil, so to speak. As regards district towns permits are issued liberally to officers of Government but the towns people in general do not get their daily supply. In order to remove this difficulty the food committee that has been formed in the district town of Dinajpur recommended times without number to the authorities to ration kerosene oil but nobody has paid any attention to this recommendation. Even the food committee went so far as to suggest to take charge of the distribution of kerosene equitably among the residents of the town, but that has not been agreed to by the authorities because if the food committee takes the charge of distribution the officers cannot get their quota according to their sweet will. Hazacks are being lighted now in the quarters of Government officers while the towns people in general are now living quite in darkness. Sir, this sort of partiality has been the order of the day in Dinajpur and it requires thorough investigation and adoption of proper remedial measures without any further delay.

Mr. ASIMUDDIN AHMED : গভর্ণমেণ্ট জিনিষপত্রের মূল্য control করতে চান মানুষের অসুবিধা দূর করবার জন্য। যেসব জিনিষ সাধারণ লোকে জোগাড় করতে পারে না, সেই সমস্ত জিনিষ সুবিধা দরে গভর্ণমেণ্ট supply করবেন এবং লোকের অভাব দূর করবেন এইজন্য control করা হয়। কিন্তু এইসব control করার ফলে যেসব অসুবিধা হয়েছে, control না করে সাধারণভাবে ছেড়ে দেওয়া হলে দেশের লোকের সুবিধা হোত।

আমার অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে বলছি control rateএ কোন জিনিষ পাওয়া যায় না। কেরোসিনের কথা প্রথমে বোলব। এই কেরোসিন গভর্ণমেণ্ট agentদের মারফতে distribute

করা হয়। এই এজেণ্টদের মারফত control rateএ যে কেরোসিন বিতরণ হয় তাতে সাধারণ লোকের মাসে তিন চার দিনের বেশী চলে না। বাকী মাসের সরবরাহ তাদের black market থেকে জোগাড় করতে হয়। Militaryদের থেকেও এত কেরোসিন black marketingএ পাওয়া যায় যে গাড়ি নিয়ে তারা বিক্রয় করে।

তারপর Supply Officerরা একেবারেই চোর। তারা টাকা ছাড়া কোন কাজ করতে চায় না। বেশীর ভাগ supply ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের মেম্বর এবং গভর্ণমেণ্ট কর্ম্মচারীদের মধ্যেই বিতরণ করা হচ্ছে। তাছাড়া অনেকগুলি control দোকান করা হয়েছে, কিন্তু কোন জিনিষপত্র গভর্ণমেণ্ট সেখানে দেন না। গভর্ণমেণ্ট মহকুমায় মহকুমায়, জেলায় জেলায় ফুড কমিটি করেছেন, কিন্তু এসেম্‌ব্লী মেম্বরগণ ঐ কমিটিতে মেম্বর থাকার বিধান থাকা সত্বেও মেম্বরগণ কোনরূপ নোটিশ পেয়েছেন বলে মনে হয় না। কাজেই জিজ্ঞাসা করছি এইসব bogus কার্য্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট কেন কোরছেন। আমার মনে হয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট control ছেড়ে দিলে লোকে জিনিষপত্র পাবে। জিনিষ দেশে আছে। চিনি ১॥০ টাকা সের দিলে পাওয়া যায়। কেরোসিন, mustard oil বেশী দাম দিলে পাওয়া যায়। চায়ের দোকানে লোকে চা খাচ্ছে, সেখানে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে চিনি পাওয়া যাচ্ছে। এই সব আসে কোথা থেকে? গভর্ণমেণ্টও অনুসন্ধান করেন না। ২০/২২৲ টাকা টিনপ্রতি দিলে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ কেরোসিন তৈল পাওয়া যায়। কিন্তু আমরা কেরোসিন তৈল পাই না। এই রকম কোরে গভর্ণমেণ্টের একটা অন্যায় নীতি বা ক্ষমতা পরিচালনা করা হোতেছে, আইনের নামে বে-আইনি করা হোতেছে আজ বেশী বক্তৃতা দেওয়ার প্রয়োজন নেই। আজ মানুষের জীবন-মরণ সমস্যা উপস্থিত। কেরোসিন ছাড়া চলে না, কিন্তু কেরোসিন তৈল পাওয়া যায় না। আবার যদি ১৷০/১॥০ টাকা সের দেওয়া যায় তাহলে তখনই পাওয়া যায়। এই রকম অবস্থায় গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি কোরবেন? গভর্ণমেণ্টের যদি ক্ষমতা থাকে তাহলে কিছু করা উচিত। যদি বলেন ক্ষমতার বাইরে তাহলে আমার মনে হয় controlটা ছেড়ে দেওয়াই উচিত।

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to add a few words to abuses in administration referred to by Dr. Sanyal.

Sir, I begin with sugar. During the recess of this House up to the 17th April, I had been to my headquarters and on the 15th April I could not get a chittak of sugar for tea. There was the marriage ceremony of the Subdivisional Officer's daughter on the 21st and bags of sugar came out for the *mairas* and *gailas* to prepare sweets and curds for the ceremony. Previously on the occasion of the *Fateha-Yaz-Daham* I was here and I wrote to the Dist. authorities at Gopalganj to supply my people with sugar. I got the report that with the utmost effort my people could get only 8 seers of sugar moving from shop to shop. Previous to this, 122 bags of sugar went out under the orders of the Subdivisional Magistrate but not a chittak could be had for the purpose it was meant. I wrote a letter to the Subdivisional Officer protesting against it and there were written complaints from the mofussil people and I forwarded them to the Subdivisional Officer, but no action was taken. Sir, it is now well-known that Government officers and their favourites are getting sufficient quantities of sugar, but when we approach for even small quantities of sugar for our tea, it is denied.

Sir, we have also got no kerosene. I shall tell the House that I tabled a question which has not yet come up to the House with an answer. The Subdivisional Officer in his frenzy or in his whimsical mind distributed kerosene by tins while we were getting only 1½ or 2 seers of kerosene per week under a system of rationing that was introduced by the local relief committee. He showed no reason for the distribution of tins to the chosen people.

Sir, regarding the agency of salt in my district, I would tell the House that the Secretary of the District Muslim League took the agency in the *benami* of his brother-in-law who is a gentleman of doubtful honesty and who was implicated in a criminal case but somehow escaped. He has a control shop. Then subdivisional sub-agencies were created and one gentleman of my subdivision applied for a sub-agency. He was allowed to deposit money and money was duly deposited with the Faridpur Co-operative Central Bank, but subsequently for reasons best known to the Secretary of the District Muslim League, his sub-agency was cancelled overnight and a bogus Chaudhury and Company was taken in the list. I would submit to the House that there was no registered company or any company in the name of Chaudhury and Company. Report goes to say that there is dearth of salt and it is being sold at rupee one per seer. Kerosene is being distributed in an anomalous manner at random by the Subdivisional Officer himself through the Circle Officer and the Jute Regulation Officer. There is no fixed system, there is no regularity, and consequently there is dearth of kerosene oil and inconvenience is being caused in the mufassal areas.

Next I will tell the House something about the food committees. The Subdivisional Food Committee of Gopalganj presided over by the Subdivisional Magistrate himself passed a unanimous resolution that there should be a food committee only for the town of Gopalganj. Subdivisional headquarters. The Circle Officer of Gopalganj by that resolution was authorised to convene a meeting of the residents and make an election and constitute the town food committee. The Circle Officer in pursuance of that resolution convened a meeting and an election was held duly, but it was not up to the satisfaction of the Subdivisional Magistrate and the names were not published nor were the names forwarded to the District Magistrate. The matter was again referred back to the self-same Circle Officer by the Subdivisional Officer and the Circle Officer in his turn reported that the election was done under the unanimous resolution of the Subdivisional Food Committee. There was no irregularity in this meeting and the election was quite all right. Even after that the Subdivisional Officer did not allow that food committee to function, nor did he forward the names to the District Magistrate and to my surprise—as I was at home during recess at that time—on the 15th April last ration cards were distributed to the town population over the signature of one gentleman who was the Secretary of the old Relief Committee, a body *functus officio* on that date, because under the new order of Government ration cards were to be issued on the 16th April by the Food Committee. There was a legally constituted food committee of the town but that was not allowed to function because either the personnel were not to the liking of the Subdivisional Officer or he believed that his policy of favouritism in the matter of distribution would not be carried out by those people.

Sir, maladministration in the distribution of these essential articles is going on in this fashion. There was no change in the old constitution of many food committees although there was a Government circular directing that all organisations and associations should be taken into consideration and members from them should be elected and co-opted. But that had been a scarecrow to the officers and they did not act up to the Government circular. If these things are allowed to go on in this way, hardship will continue to be caused. I would, therefore, request the Hon'ble Minister for Civil Supplies to look into this matter and issue strong orders, so that this sort of maladministration is checked.

Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the matter of procurement of essential commodities, the Government of Bengal and the Government of India together may be 100 per cent. responsible. But, Sir, in my humble opinion, in the matter of distribution of available commodities both the Government here and the people are equally responsible. Where Government have failed, my friends opposite will please enlighten us, but, Sir, I want to place before this House where the people have failed to help Government in making proper distribution of available commodities.

Sir, so far as Government is concerned, where non-official food committees had been properly organised and are functioning, I have found the Hon'ble Minister in charge not only sympathetic, but whenever his assistance was necessary I found him always encouraging and knowing him as I do I am fully confident that he will do everything to assist the growth and functioning of non-official food committees. In my own district Burdwan, I find to my great satisfaction that there is no such thing as maldistribution of essential commodities, because there all parties are combined together and formed themselves into a strong and representative food committee. Every ounce of commodity available to the district is delivered straightaway to the Secretary of the food committee. In the city, mahalla, etc., the richest and the poorest both have got to apply to the Secretary, Burdwan City Food Committee, for every ounce of commodity that they may require. Here, Sir, I am painfully aware that great attempts are being made by my friends opposite and their followers in the country to see that nowhere properly constituted food committees can grow and function. Every measure helpful to the proper distribution of commodities enunciated by the Government is being vehemently opposed here in this Chamber and also outside it by my friends opposite, particularly by the followers of our esteemed friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. As Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League I had occasion to visit several places and everywhere I found the same story. In spite of the opposition and obstruction put forward by the followers of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee we had been by the grace of God able to constitute ourselves into a representative committee with the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur as President. We have been able to satisfy our own needs. I think, Sir, that the only remedy of ensuring proper distribution of available foodstuffs is to encourage the growth of popular food committees. This will be possible if our friends opposite instead of merely criticising the Government and carrying on extensive propaganda to see that the policy of Government is defeated, fully realise the hundred difficulties that confront us. Therefore I would very seriously and most humbly request my friends opposite to come forward to help us in

creating representative food committees all over Bengal on an elective basis. I am fully confident that if there is real co-operation by all sections of the people and there is a joint demand Government will only be too glad to transfer the responsibility of distribution of foodstuffs from themselves to the representative committees.

Sir, it is not that Government is discouraging these food committees and not sharing responsibilities with them. My friends opposite and their followers everywhere are carrying on an extensive propaganda to see that everything which the Government is doing is undone. When Government want to be the only purchaser of foodgrains my friends opposite carry on an extensive propaganda telling people not to sell an ounce to Government. When Government want that people must have confidence in them and in their policy my friends opposite try to carry on propaganda to distrust the Government. When it is necessary that Government officials should take care in executing the policy of Government and show sympathy with the people, my friends opposite carry on propaganda and encourage officers to disobey Government orders and not to show any sympathy towards the people. This is the difficulty we feel in the country. I know from personal experience what great difficulties we in Burdwan had to face in connection with the organisation of these food committees. If my friends opposite and their friends co-operate with us and carry on propaganda in the country on behalf of the people's food committees and take interest in organising and electing proper representative food committees in the villages and in wards of municipalities and if they jointly and severally press upon the local officers and demand delivery of the available commodities, then everything will soon be all right. (Interruption.)

It appears to me that at present the criticism that is made in this Chamber is merely barren criticism meant to create distrust and want of confidence in Government. If my friends opposite are serious, let them try this method. Let them advise their followers outside the Chamber to co-operate with those who are willing to take responsibility of distributing these things through representative food committees. The only solution, so far as we are concerned, is that we must on the food issue combine together and sink our political differences. If that is done, I hope there will be proper distribution in the country. If we find afterwards that there is any defect in the policy of Government and if we make a joint demand for its removal, Government will have no other alternative but to yield to our demand, and as I have already said, Government—as I know their mind—will be only too glad to transfer the responsibility of distributing from themselves to the people if they are satisfied that in every district there are strong and representative food committees. I want my friends opposite just to see that proper food committees are constituted everywhere and if after that there is any defect in the Government policy anywhere, then we shall agree with the Opposition and combine with them in forcing the hands of Government to yield to our demand. Before that, whatever criticism is made here is simply hypocritical and mere barren criticism calculated to create distrust and discourage Government as such. Therefore with this manner of criticism we can have no sympathy.

With these words, I oppose the motion moved by my friend Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal.

Maulvi SYED AHMED KHAN: Sir, এই adjournment motionএর সমর্থনে আমি বলতে চাই—বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্টের supply এবং distribution policy দুটোই অতি জঘন্য। আমার বন্ধু মন্ত্রী-সভা সমর্থক আবুল হাসেম সাহেব বলেছেন—এটা নাকি সুন্দরভাবে চলেছে। গভর্ণমেণ্ট অফিসার, Supply Departmentএর লোক, মন্ত্রী-সভার সমর্থক এম-এল-এদের বেলায় যে সুন্দরভাবে চলেছে—তাতে আর সন্দেহ কি? এ গেল সহর সম্বন্ধে। কিন্তু গ্রামেও দেখা যায় কি ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেণ্ট, মেম্বর, কেরাণী ছাড়া তথাকথিত ফুড কমিটি যাদের নিয়ে করা হয়েছে, যারা নাকি গ্রামের মামলাবাজ ও ঘুষখোরের দল, চিরকাল নিরীহ গ্রামবাসীর অর্থ শোষণ কোরে এসেছে, গভর্ণমেণ্টের supply ও distribution policyর দ্বারা তারাই শুধু লাভবান তো হচেচই তার উপর নিরক্ষর দরিদ্র জনসাধারণকে আরো বেশী কোরে ঠকিয়ে খাবার সুযোগ পাচেছ।

এর আর একটা কুফল এই হয়েছে—Supply Departmentএর অধিকাংশ Officerকে ঘুষখোরে পরিণত করেছে। গভর্ণমেণ্টের agent যারা নিযুক্ত হয় তারা বিনা ঘুষে প্রায়ই নিযুক্ত হতে পারছে না। আর যারা ঐসব ঘুষ দিতে সাহায্য করে তারাই হচেছ Food Committeeর মেম্বর। তারা গ্রামে যেয়ে যথেষ্ট পরিমাণ ধান যোগাড় করে দিচেছ এবং নিজেরা controlএর দরে সব জিনিষ কিনে নিয়ে অপেক্ষাকৃত ধনী লোকদের নিকট চড়া দামে বিক্রয় করে যথেষ্ট লাভবান হচেছ। এই অবস্থায় আমার বন্ধু আবুল হাসেম সাহেব বলছেন যে, ব্যবস্থাটা খুব সুন্দরভাবেই চলেছে!! এবং গ্রামে কোন অফিসার গেলে সেই সব ধনী লোকেরা সাক্ষী দেয় যে গ্রামে ভাল ব্যবস্থাই হয়েছে। আমি জানি এখন নোয়াখালীতে যিনি Supply Officer, কাজী মহম্মদ আলী সাহেব, তিনি বর্ত্তমান সময়ে ধানের controlএর ব্যাপারে যে সমস্ত dealer নিযুক্ত করেছেন—হাজার হাজার টাকা ঘুষ লওয়া যেসকল জায়গায় সম্ভব হয়েছে, যারা ঘুষ দিতে পেরেছে, তাদেরই তিনি দিয়েছেন। গ্রামের যত সৎলোক তাঁর কাছে গিয়েছে deputation নিয়ে তাদের দরখাস্ত পর্য্যন্ত তিনি ফিরিয়ে দিয়েছেন। এই তো অবস্থা। যারা Food Committeeর ও ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডের মেম্বর ও প্রেসিডেণ্ট, Supply Officer প্রভৃতি, তারা প্রায় প্রত্যেকেই ঘুষখোর। তারা সমস্ত জিনিষ নিজেরা সকলে ভাগ করে নিয়ে অনেক চড়া দামে বিক্রয় করে। আর একটা আশ্চর্য্যের বিষয় এই যে, আমাদের নোয়াখালী জেলায় যেখানে লবণ তৈরী হয় সেখানেও এখন লবণের সের ১৲ টাকা! এটা বৈশাখ মাস, এখনই গ্রামে চা'লের সের বারো আনা এক টাকা কোরে হয়েছে; বর্ষায় যে অবস্থা ভীষণতর হবে তাতে সন্দেহ নাই। এদিকে যারা Government Circleএ রয়েছে, লীগের যারা ভক্ত, তাদেরই বর্ত্তমানে Food Committeeর মেম্বর করা হবে। তাদেরই সাহায্য করা হবে—অন্য কাউকে সাহায্য করা হবে না। এই দুর্নীতির ফল কি দাঁড়াচেছ সেটা এই তথাকথিত লীগ মন্ত্রী-সভার এখনো ভেবে দেখা উচিত। গ্রামে কেরোসিন পাওয়া যায় না। যে সব কেরোসিন Union Boardএর মারফৎ বিতরণের জন্য দেওয়া হয় তা গ্রামবাসীরা প্রায়শঃই পায় না। তারপরে সেই কেরোসিন যতটা পরিমাণে দেওয়া হয় তাতে ঠিকমত বিতরণ করা যদি হতো তাতে গ্রামের সকল লোকের অভাব ঘুচতো না। এ নিয়ে লক্ষ্মীপুর থানা ৬নং রসিকপুর ইউনিয়নের প্রেসিডেণ্ট সামছল হক মাষ্টারের বিরুদ্ধে ১ নং মোকদ্দমা হয়েছে, কিন্তু আজ পর্য্যন্ত এ বিষয়ে একটা enquiry হয় নাই, বা এ নিয়ে কোন উচচ-বাচা করা হয় নাই, ফলে নিরীহ গ্রামবাসীরা কিছু বলতে জানে না, তাই তাদের ঠকিয়ে শয়তানী বুদ্ধি যাদের যথেষ্ট আছে তারাই লাভবান হচেচ। এইভাবে দেশের গরীব লোকদের খাওয়া-পরার দুর্ব্যবস্থা যে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কর্ত্তৃত্বে চলছে সে গভর্ণমেণ্ট এদেশে যদি আরো কিছুদিন চলে, তাহলে দেশের সর্ব্বনাশ হবে। গ্রামের লোক আজ এত নিরুপায় যে ঘুষখোরদের বিরুদ্ধে কোন অভিযোগ পর্য্যন্ত চলে না।

কারণ যাদের কাছে অভিযোগ করবে সেই হাকিমই ঘুষখোর। তারা উল্টা আরো ভয় দেখায় যে যদি আমাদের বিরুদ্ধে কোন রিপোর্ট কর তাহলে Defence of India rule-এ ফেলবো। সেই ভয়ে গ্রামের লোক কিছু বলে না, বলতে সাহস করে না। এমন সুন্দরভাবে ওঁরা বন্দোবস্ত করেছেন যে, দেশের হাজার হাজার লোক কবরে ও শ্মশানে চলে যাচ্ছে। এর বিরুদ্ধে কিছু বল্লেই ওঁরা বলেন—Opposition Leader যে propaganda করছে, আসলে লোক অত মরে নাই। Oppositionতো propaganda করবেই! কিন্তু তোমরা সরকারী পয়সায় আজ গ্রামে গ্রামে ঘুরে কত propaganda করছো তার হিসাব রেখেছ কি? Opposition-এর লোকদের যেখানে সেখানে arrest করছো তোমরা; এমন কি আমাদের এই Assemblyর Deputy Speakerকেও নাকি arrest করার জন্য ওয়ারেন্ট জারি করেছেন, Sir (shame, shame). দেশের লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক মরে যাচেছ, অথচ তোমরা বলছো সুন্দর বন্দোবস্ত; কিন্তু এই সুন্দর বন্দোবস্ত যদি আরো কিছুদিন চলে, তাহলে আরো বহু লক্ষ লোক মারা যাবে। হয় প্রতিকার করতে পার তো কর, নয় ত গদি ছেড়ে দিয়ে চলে এসো। নৈলে দেশের জনসাধারণ গ্রামে গেলে জুতোর গুতোয় মাথা ঠাণ্ডা করে দেবে।

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, মাননীয় সরবরাহ-মন্ত্রী এবং তাঁর বিভাগের সমস্ত যোগ্য কর্ম্মচারীদের ব্যবস্থার ফলে বাংলা দেশে খাদ্য-নিয়ন্ত্রণ, এবং বিশেষভাবে কয়লা, কেরোসিন, তৈল, চিনি প্রভৃতি সরবরাহের যে বন্দোবস্ত হয়েছে সে সম্পর্কে অন্যান্য বক্তাগণ তাঁদের অভিজ্ঞতা ব্যক্ত করেছেন। কিছুক্ষণ পূর্ব্বে বর্দ্ধমান জেলার মুসলীম লীগের সম্পাদক মহাশয় ঠিক মুসলীম লীগের ভঙ্গীতে এই সভায় বলেছেন—যা কিছু সর্ব্বনাশ হয়েছে বাংলা দেশে, তার প্রধান হেতু ডা: শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখোপাধ্যায় এবং তাঁর অনুবর্ত্তী দল। তাঁরা হয়তো এও বলবেন যে, গত বৎসর যে ৩০ লক্ষ লোক মরে গেছে তারা মরেছে ডা: শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জির পরামর্শ অনুসারে (laughter.)—এই গভর্ণমেণ্টকে অপদস্থ করার জন্য। কাজেই এদের যুক্তির বহর ও বুদ্ধির দৌড় সকলের কাছেই সুবিদিত। এখন কথা হচেচ এঁদের জনসাধারণের প্রতি কতখানি শ্রদ্ধা বর্ত্তমান, তা এই সরবরাহ-মন্ত্রীর ব্যবহার দেখলেই বুঝতে পারেন। বিরোধী দলভুক্ত আমার পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বক্তারা যখন বক্তৃতা দিচ্ছিলেন তখন দেখা গেছে তিনি ঘুমুচ্ছেন! কিন্তু যেই মাত্র তাঁর পক্ষের লোক বক্তৃতা দিতে উঠলেন তখনই তিনি সজাগ হলেন। (Mr. ISRAIL: আর এখন?) এখন সজাগ আছেন বলেই অনুমান হয়। এখন কথা হচেচ এটার হেতু কি? আমরা ছেলে বেলায় একটা গল্প শুনেছিলাম—আমাদের একজন মাষ্টার মহাশয় গল্পটা বলেছিলেন। গল্পটা হচেচ এই যে, বিলাতের একটা স্কুলে ছাত্রদের প্রশ্ন জিজ্ঞাসা করা হয়েছিল—What is India? কেউ বল্লে—It is the name of a lion, কেউ বল্লে—It is the name of a river ইত্যাদি। তারপর একটি ছেলে বল্লে—India is the name of something the mention of which causes sleep in the Parliament. অর্থাৎ সে ছিল একজন M. P.র ছেলে; মাঝে মাঝে সে Parliament-এ যেতো; যখনই দেখতো ভারতের কথা উঠতো তখন সকলেই ঘুমুচ্ছে। এই গল্পটা ছেলে বেলায় শুনলেও দেখছি যে গল্পটা মিথ্যা নয়। বর্ত্তমানে Hon'ble Mr. সুরাবর্দ্দী এমন ব্যবহার দেখান যে যখন নানা জেলার অভাব অভিযোগের কথা আলোচনা হচেচ তখন তিনি ঘুমুচ্ছেন, কাজেই তিনি যা ব্যবস্থা করবেন এই ব্যাপার দেখেই বুঝতে পারি।

এখন আমি আমার অভিজ্ঞতার বিষয় বলছি। প্রথমত: আমি বলবো আমার নিজের জেলা বরিশাল সম্বন্ধে। আমি আজ শুনে আশ্চর্য হলেম, কি আশ্চর্য্য হলেম, বলতে পারি না। কয়লা নাকি বরিশালের জনসাধারণের মধ্যে বিতরণ করার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে বা হচেচ। আমরা, যাদের কয়লার agency ছিল, তাদের কাছে গিয়েছিলাম তাঁরা বলেছেন—"কয়লা দেবার

তো কোন কথা নাই।" তাদের কথা শুনে ধারণা ছিল—গভর্ণমেণ্টের নিয়ন্ত্রণের মধ্যে কয়লা নাই। সেটা শূন্যে কোথাও বিলীন হয়েছে, মর্ত্ত্যে অবতরণ করবার সম্ভাবনা নাই। কোথায় বিলীন হয়েছে সে তত্ত্বটা আমাদের সান্যাল মহাশয় কিছু উদ্‌ঘাটিত করেছেন। আমাদের ধারণা ছিল যে কয়লা বোলে কোন জিনিষ আজকাল আর পাওয়া যায় না—বরিশাল জেলায় এইটেই আমি জানি। এক বৎসরের মধ্যে কোন কয়লা আমরা অনেক চেষ্টা কোরেও যোগাড় করতে পারি নাই। আপনারা হয়তো বলবেন—আপনি Oppositionএর M. L. A. সেইজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টের direction ছিল আপনাকে কয়লা না দেওয়ার, সেইরূপই যদি direction থেকে থাকে এবং সেইজন্যই আমি পাই নাই, সেটা হতে পারে!!

গত নভেম্বর মাসে চিনির জন্য দরখাস্ত করেছি বরিশাল townএ। আমি এপ্রিল মাসে শুনলাম—আপনার দরখাস্ত মঞ্জুর করা হয়েছে এপ্রিল মাসে। নভেম্বর মাসের দরখাস্ত এপ্রিল মাসে মঞ্জুর। আমার বাড়ী বরিশাল—আমাকে চিনির দরখাস্ত যাঁরা মঞ্জুর করেন তাঁরাও জানেন S. D. O., District Magistrate যারা তাঁরাও জানেন। যদি আমাদের মতন M. L. A.এর নভেম্বর মাসের দরখাস্ত এপ্রিল মাসে মঞ্জুর হয়—(A VOICE: তার কারণ, চিনি বেশী খেতে দিলে ডায়বেটিস্ হবে।) আমার বন্ধু বলছেন যে চিনি খেলে যে ডায়বেটিস্ হবে, সে একটা মস্ত বড় কথা বটে। একেই তো কলেরা বসন্তে লোক মরছে বিস্তর। আবার চিনি খেয়ে ডায়বেটিসে লোক মরবে কেন? এটাই যদি গভর্ণমেণ্টের চিনির মঞ্জুরী দেরিতে দেওয়ার কারণ হয়ে থাকে তাহলে স্বতন্ত্র কথা।

যে কাঠ টাকায় চার মণ কোরে বরিশালের মফঃস্বলে পাওয়া যেত; গভর্ণমেণ্টের কয়লা নিয়ন্ত্রণের ফলে বরিশাল সহরে ভিজে কাঠ মণকরা ২৲ টাকা ২৷৷০ টাকা হয়েছে। আমি নিজে দেখেছি মাসে চাল ডাল প্রভৃতিতে যত খরচ লাগে শুধু এক কাঠেই লাগে তার চেয়ে বেশী, এই হলো অবস্থা। এর প্রতিকারের উপায় কি? অবশ্য আমাদের মুসলীম লীগের যে যুক্তি সে যুক্তিতে দোষ তো জনসাধারণের। জনসাধারণের তো দোষ নিশ্চয়ই। কেন জনসাধারণ সঙ্ঘবদ্ধ হয়ে এই রকম দুর্নীতিমূলক গভর্ণমেণ্টের অবসান ঘটায় না। কেন জনসাধারণ সঙ্ঘবদ্ধ হয়ে এই রকম দুর্নীতিপরায়ণ মন্ত্রী-সভাকে গদি থেকে নাথি মেরে তাড়ায় না!! এ বিষয়ে গ্রামে গ্রামে যা চলছে ব্যাপার সেদিক থেকে আমি বরিশাল জেলার কতকগুলি ঘটনা বলছি। আমাদের নিজ গ্রামে Food Committee হয়েছে, বরিশাল টাউনে Food Committee হয়েছে, Barisal District Food Committee হয়েছে—কি প্রকারে হয়েছে? এসব কি জনসাধারণের প্রতিনিধি নির্ব্বাচনের উপর ভিত্তি করে হয়েছে? এর উত্তর Supply Officer—(Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Supply Minister.) হাঁ, আমার ভুল হয়েছে, Supply Minister নিজেই দিতে পারেন। আমি জানি তিনি নিজে বরিশাল সম্বন্ধে অবগত আছেন। বরিশালের Food Committee—বরিশালের ৫ জন মিলে একদিন সভা কোরে Food Committee হয়। পিরোজপুরের ফুড কমিটিও সেইভাবেই হয়েছে। এবং গ্রামে গ্রামে ইউনিয়ন ফুড কমিটির কথা যে ওঁরা বলেছেন সেগুলিও ঐভাবেই হয়েছে। কাজেই Food Committeeগুলি নিয়মানুগভাবে যে হয়েছে তা মোটেই নয়। এখন যদি প্রতিবাদ করা হয় তাহলে মুসলীম লীগের সেক্রেটারী বলবেন যে ডাঃ শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জির দল প্রতিবাদ করছে। যখনই লোকেরা কিছু না পেয়ে গোলমাল করে তখনই মুসলীম লীগের সেক্রেটারীর মতে ডাঃ শ্যামাপ্রসাদের দলের লোকেরাই গোলমাল করছে। ফলে দাঁড়াচ্ছে এই যে, জনসাধারণের প্রতিবাদ মুখর হলেই ওঁরা ক্ষেপে যান এবং সেই জন্যই রাগ করে ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট সাহেব নিজের বাড়ী ২০ মণের মধ্যে ১০ মণ কয়লা নিয়ে যান এবং লীগ

সেক্রেটারীও নিজের বাড়ীতে পর্যাপ্ত কয়লা নিয়ে যান। এর কি উপায় আছে? এই রকম যদি না ক্ষেপে তাঁরা দেখতেন যে যত কমই হোক জনসাধারণ কিছু কিছু পাক তাহলে কিছুটা মঙ্গল হত। অবশ্য ওরা বলতে পারেন যে, পাড়াগাঁয়ে তো কথাই আছে যে "যার বাপ হাটে যায় সেই ছেলে কলা খায়।" যাদের হাতে এই সব বণ্টনের ভার তারা ত সব খাবেই—অন্যের ভাগ্যে কিছু জুটুক আর না জুটুক।

এখন সর্ষের তেলের কথাটা বলা যাক। তৈল যখন এলো তখন গভর্ণমেণ্টের ভক্তের দলে তৈল মর্দন কোরে কোরেই তো ফুরিয়ে দিলে, জনসাধারণ পাবে কোথায়? (Laughter.) এখন মর্দন কোরে কোরে সর্ষের তেল গেছে ফুরিয়ে, এইতো গেল তৈলের অবস্থা। তারপর শুধু মর্দনে হয় না সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ঘুষের জল ঢালা আরম্ভ করতে হয়। (Laughter.) এখন যদি এইভাবে যুক্তি দিয়ে দিয়ে দেখি তাহলে দেখা যায় যে এসব হচ্চে ডা: শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জি বা তার অনুবর্ত্তীদের পাপে নয়। আমরা ছেলে বেলায় অনেক গল্প শুনেছি। তখন যে হবুচন্দ্রের কথা শুনেছি সেই হবুচন্দ্র যদি থাকতো তাহলে বলতো আমার গবুচন্দ্রের উপরেও এই মন্ত্রীরা টেক্কা মেরেছে!!

এখন লবণ সম্বন্ধে বলছি। বরিশাল জেলায় প্রচুর লবণ হতে পারে এবং হবার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে। ২০ বৎসর পূর্ব্বে বরিশাল জিলায় মির্জ্জা কালু বলে একটা জায়গায় লবণ তৈরী করতে যেয়ে যে কয়জন লোক বন্দুকের গুলীতে নিহত হয় তারা সকলেই মুসলমান ছিল। তারপর থেকে বরিশাল জেলায় প্রত্যেক বৎসর আমরা সেই মির্জ্জা কালু দিবস উদ্‌যাপন কোরে আসছি। বরিশাল জেলার ভোলা subdivision শুধু বরিশাল জেলাকেই নয় পার্শ্ববর্ত্তী আরো ২।৩টি জেলাকে লবণ supply করতে পারে। অথচ সেই বরিশাল জেলাতেই আজ লবণ দুষ্প্রাপ্য। আমরা এই বর্ত্তমান গভর্ণমেণ্টকে বলতে চাই—বরিশাল জেলায় যদি নির্ব্বিচারে সকলকে লবণ তৈরী করতে দেয়া হয় তাহলে তারা যে শুধু বরিশাল জেলাকেই লবণ সরবরাহ করবে তা নয় আশে পাশের ২।৩ জেলাকেও supply করবে।

এখন কথা হচ্চে যদি control না থাকে, যদি নিয়ন্ত্রণ না থাকে, তাহলে গভর্ণমেণ্টের Officerদের পকেটের মধ্যে টাকা পয়সা চলে আসবে কি করে? আমি জানি বহু জায়গায় S. D. O., Magistrateরা পর্য্যন্ত এই সকল Supply Officerদের সামলাতে পারছেন না। আমাদের জেলাটায় আমি যখন relief work করছিলাম, তখন গরীবদের জন্য কয়েক মণ আটা আনবার জন্য permit পাই। কিন্তু ঐ আটা আমাকে না দিয়ে পিরোজপুরের Supply Officer permit ছিঁড়ে ফেলে; সেই আটা অন্য লোককে দেয়া হয়েছে। এর বিরুদ্ধে লিখে আজ পর্য্যন্ত কোন প্রতিকার পাই নাই। যেখানে Supply Officer এইরূপে একজন M. L. A.কে অগ্রাহ্য করতে পারে সেখানে জনসাধারণের আর আশা কি?

Mr. B. MUKHERJEE: এই স্থগিত রাখবার প্রস্তাব সমর্থন করতে গিয়ে আমি এই বলতে চাই, যে পরিস্থিতিতে বাংলাদেশ উপনীত হয়েছে তাতে মাত্র দুই ঘণ্টার জন্য এসেম্‌ব্লী স্থগিত না রেখে উচিত হচ্চে যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত না সুচারুরূপ ব্যবস্থা হয় ততদিন পর্য্যন্ত এসেম্‌ব্লী একেবারে স্থগিত রাখা।

গত বৎসর যখন চিনি, নুন, কেরোসিনের সুব্যবস্থা গভর্ণমেণ্ট করতে পারেন নাই, তখন তাঁদের এই বলে ক্ষমা করা যেতে পারে যে সেই সময়ে আমাদের অত্যাবশ্যক খাদ্যদ্রব্য চাল ৬০৲ টাকা ৮০৲ টাকা মণে বিক্রয় হয়েছে। সেই সময়ে নুন, কেরোসিনের কথা না ভাবলেও চলতে পারে। কিন্তু আজ বাংলাদেশের প্রত্যেক গ্রাম থেকে নুন, চিনি এবং কেরোসিন সম্বন্ধে হাহাকার রব উঠেছে। আজ যারা গভর্ণমেণ্টের সমর্থক তাঁরা যদি অন্ততঃপক্ষে স্বীকার

করতেন এই এই কারণে তাঁরা প্রতিকার করতে সমর্থ হচ্ছেন না তাহলে তাঁদের sincerity সম্বন্ধে দেশের লোকের কিছুটা আস্থা ফিরে আসতো। কিন্তু তাঁরা যদি একটা complacencyর ভাব নিয়ে প্রচার করেন যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট যতদূর সম্ভব ব্যবস্থা করেছেন, তা সত্বেও যদি সুফল না হয় সেটা দুরদৃষ্ট, এই যুক্তি প্রদান করলে বোঝা যাবে, তাঁরা সম্পূর্ণভাবে ক্ষমার অযোগ্য এই বিষয়ে কোন প্রকার complacencyর ভাব না নিয়ে, নিজেদের সাফাই গাহিবার চেষ্টা না করে, তাঁরা যদি পরিষ্কারভাবে নিজেদের অসমর্থতা সম্বন্ধে confess করেন তাহলে অন্ততঃ খানিকটা সহানুভূতি পেতে পাবেন। যতক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত না এই রকম মনোভাব আসে ততক্ষণ পর্য্যন্ত তাঁরা সহানুভূতি পাবার যোগ্য নন।

অনেকে বলেন ফুড কমিটিগুলির প্রতি দেশের লোক সহানুভূতিসম্পন্ন নহে। অন্ততঃ আমাকে কেউ charge করতে পাবেন না যে এই ফুড কমিটিগুলির সহিত সহযোগিতা করবার জন্য আমি সবচেয়ে প্রথমে এগিয়ে আসিনি। দুই বৎসর পূর্ব্বে যে সমস্ত ফুড কমিটি হয়েছিল এবং যখন বলা হয়েছিল এই ফুড কমিটিগুলির মারফতে আউস ধান্য ক্রয়-বিক্রয় করা হউক, তখন দেখেছিলাম মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় কয়েক মাসের ভেতর সম্পূর্ণভাবে আমলাতন্ত্রের দ্বারা হজম হোয়ে গেলেন। তখন যথেষ্ট উপহাসের সহিত বলা হোয়েছিল এই ফুড কমিটিগুলি Communist foolএর উৎপত্তি ছাড়া আর কিছুই নয়। এইসব স্বেচ্ছাসেবক পরিচালিত ফুড কমিটিগুলির সহিত সহযোগিতা করা দূরে থাকুক, এদের প্রতি সর্ব্বপ্রকার বাধাদান করা হোয়েছে। আজ যখন লীগের অন্তর্ভুক্ত মুসলিম জনসাধারণও তারস্বরে চিৎকার করছে নুন, চিনি, কেরোসিনের অভাব সম্বন্ধে, তখন মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বাধ্য হয়ে ফুড কমিটি গঠন করবার জন্য circular জারী করেছেন। এটা একটা official ফাঁকি ছাড়া আর কিছুই নয়। তাঁরা চান না যে ফুড কমিটিগুলি function করুক।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The debate on this motion started at 5-30 p.m. and under the rules this debate will continue up to 7-30 p.m. if it is not concluded earlier, but the prayer time has intervened. I hold that the prayer time will be included into the time allotted for this motion and therefore the debate will be automatically closed at 7-15 p.m.

Mr. P. BANERJI: I have only five minutes' time and it is very difficult for me to finish my speech within such a short time.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: On a point of privilege, Sir. May I rise to make my humble submission—

Mr. P. BANERJI: If it is not a point of order, then I am not going to yield. He should not indulge in this sort of buffoonery.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Siddiqi, are you on a point of order?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Yes, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The Speaker has ruled that no point of order can be raised on a matter which is not in connection with the business before the House. I would like to know on what business of the House Mr. Siddiqi has risen on a point of order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have allowed him to rise on a point of order.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, this deduction of 15 minutes is in my humble opinion taking a big bunch of minutes out of the right of the House. Prayer time cannot be allowed to be deducted and I should like

to know whether the Chair can take away 5 minutes, 10 minutes or whatever that may be, out of the right of the House. If this deduction is made, I think it will not be fair to the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The same point was raised by the Hon'ble Leader of the House sometime ago when I was in the Chair and I held that the prayer time that intervened would be included within the prescribed time. I cannot alter my opinion. I find that on some other occasion some *other Speaker of this* [illegible] *that and gave full two hours allowed under the rules. I decided on a previous occasion that the prayer time that intervened should be included* ~~within the time prescribed~~ *and I stick to my opinion.*

Mr. P. BANERJI: Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, the mover of the motion and many other members have given a graphic description of the state of affairs in the country and as such I do not wonder at the maladministration of the Directorate of Civil Supplies, for the simple reason that the permit system is going on and history is repeating itself. The permit system was first introduced when the Britishers came to this land. Ever since that time how dishonesty has been going on you are all well aware. As Mr. Asimuddin pointed out, if there had been no control then things would have been better. Mr. David Hendry also rightly said on another occasion that things would have been better if Government had not intervened. Government did not listen. I know personally that sugar is selling at Rs. 2 per seer at some places. In parts of the district of Jessore salt is selling at Rs. 1-8 per seer and kerosene oil at 25 rupees per tin. What is the reason? The reason is that there is black-marketing. Government, dishonest as they are, would not control this dishonesty on the part of their officers. When the officers in the districts are dishonest, the supply officers along with the district officials will naturally make hay while the sun shines. In the course of another debate I said that there are sheristadars, nazirs and peshkars who are dishonest. Today it is manifest that even the district officials are dishonest. That is a matter of history. There has been much labour undertaken by the Hon'ble Minister in his tour from one part of the country to another, but he won't be able to solve the question so long as the officers remain dishonest. Mr. Mukherjee rightly pointed out that this Government had failed. He also rightly said in reply to Mr Hashim that the Opposition was not at fault. But if the Government change their policy and join hands with the Opposition then and then alone things will improve and the people will not suffer in the way they have been doing. I would now request the Hon'ble Minister to change his policy and see that things do improve. If that is to be done the only possible way of achieving it is that Government officers, if they are at fault, should, one after the other, be put behind the prison bars.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is a pity, Sir, a very great pity indeed——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Regarding the point of order raised by Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, I think that the matter should be decided by the Privilege Commitee once for all. I hope that this matter will be put before the Privilege Committee as soon as an opportunity comes.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I submit my most respectful and humble thanks for the suggestion made.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: It is a pity, Sir, that the resolution as framed by Dr. Sanyal is not definite enough for me to be able to meet some of the specific points which he has raised in the course of the dabate. Had he given me previous intimation of the specific points raised by him regarding the distribution of coal, for instance, at Rajshahi or the manner in which supplies were distributed at Pabna, I would have armed myself with sufficient knowledge of the matter to be able to meet his criticism. Now, Sir, when these matters are placed before me all on a sudden, it is not possible for me to know how each officer is behaving in the district and whether he is distributing the supplies equitably or not. A great deal of our difficulties obviously is due to the fact that there is paucity of supplies. I have explained over and over again in this House why the distribution of salt has broken down and why there is not sufficiency of coal in the province. An honourable member raised the question of coal being not available in Barisal. It is absolutely correct that all the arrangements that we have made for the district of Barisal have not been carried out. In place of 25 wagons which we have allotted to Barisal, the latest figures show that only three wagons have been sent. Honourable members should therefore realise that before we come down to the local distribution, there is the question of provincial distribution as well and before the provincial distribution itself is satisfied, there is the question of all-India distribution. If coal is not sent by the Coal Controller in sufficient quantities to Bengal and if we are unable to move the coal which arrives to various districts according to our programme, the local people must necessarily suffer. In the matter of sugar, the movements, as honourable members are aware, have broken down as well. As a matter of fact, all the movements which had been programmed by us, viz., the movements directly from outside provinces to the districts of Bengal, the movements, for instance, in the case of sugar, of salt, of coal, of cloth, of mustard oil, of mustard seeds, of all these commodities have had to be changed, and practically all these commodities are now bottlenecked in Calcutta. They cannot be sent directly to the various places in Northern Bengal and Eastern Bengal as programmed, and there has been a considerable amount of burden thrown upon the movements through Calcutta which has made it extremely difficult for the Railways, for the boats and for steamers and for all such channels through which alone the commodities can be sent out.

Now, Sir, I would certainly look into the specific matters which have been raised by honourable members here, particularly those which I find somewhat difficult to reconcile with equity, viz., that the local officers appropriate to themselves the majority of our supplies and leave very little for the public. This was never contemplated by any Government, and I am sure that if any officers are behaving in this manner, they will very soon rectify themselves.

Sir, a number of questions have been raised regarding food committees, and I extremely regret the observations of my esteemed friend Mr. Bankim Mukherjee on this matter, for the simple reason that I think that he ought

to know that if any one has placed the food committees resolutely before the officers and before the public it has been myself. I am most anxious that these food committees shall function, and I made it clear, absolutely clear to the District Officers and to the officials that the food committees have come to stay. I am free to admit, Sir, that the food committees are not popular with the officials. There is no doubt that the object of the food committees is that the powers of distribution and of allocation should pass more and more to the hands of the public. This is a matter which would undoubtedly be resented by those who had hitherto had the powers of distribution and allocation in their hands, but I think I made it clear to all of them that food committees must be established in accordance with the rules that we have laid down. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On paper.) Not on paper; they are being established very rapidly all over the place. They are coming into being. Officers have resolutely taken them up, and in those places where food committees did not exist they are being brought into being. I expect that by the end of this month—as a matter of fact the figure which was given to me by those who organised it was up to the 15th May, but I am taking stock of the progress that is being made in the formation of the food committees—I can safely state that by the end of this month the food committees will have been established in nearly all parts of Bengal, if not throughout Bengal. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Nominated committees?) On these food committees there are persons some of whom are nominated, some selected and some elected. Honourable members are aware that so far as the base or the foundation is concerned, viz., the Village Food Committees, they will be wholly elected. They will send a certain number of representatives to the Union Food Committees, and on these Union Food Committees there are certain *ex-officio* members, but honourable members know that these *ex-officio* members are mostly non-official in character. If honourable members tell me that Presidents of Union Boards and Chairmen of Debt Settlement Boards and all these responsible persons who are representatives of the people do not carry out their obligations, it becomes extremely difficult for these Committees to function. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: They have been advisory committees.) They are more than advisory committees. Whatever honourable members may say on the floor of the House for purposes possibly of having some effect, some of them must admit in their heart of hearts that distribution has improved a hundredfold, that in many places where kerosene oil was not obtainable in the village it is now being distributed properly. It is true that if an honourable member wants a tin of kerosene oil he will not get it, because he is put into exactly the same position as anybody else, and if his quota happens to be one or two pints he will get that quantity; if he wishes to get more than his quota, he must go to somebody who will get it from the black-market. If honourable members are satisfied with their quotas, there would be no dissatisfaction. I think honourable members will admit that distribution is now on a much better footing than it was before, and one of the points that I took great care to study during my tours, and I believe that all honourable members have taken great care to study, is whether distribution is going on properly or not. Wherever I go I make it quite clear that food committees ought to be set up in accordance with rules and food committees I dare say are being set up.

One word more because there seems to be some divergence of opinion on this question of food committees. I am so keen on the formation of these food committees that if honourable members place before me any difficulties regarding their formation, that they are not being formed in accordance with rules, I shall be prepared to look into every one of them. I have done so. Matters have been brought to my notice in several instances, and in each of these instances not only I have asked for an enquiry but I have gone further into it unofficially, demi-officially and a little bit beyond the ordinary administrative procedure. I have asked for facts and have given my own recommendations so that the food committees should conform to the policy which we have laid down. I, therefore, think that it is somewhat unfair on the part of Mr. Bankim Mukherjee to say that I am not anxious that these food committees should come into being. He says Ministers do not want food committes to function, otherwise they would have functioned. It is the policy of Government that the food committees should come into being. I hope they have got a future before them. I hope they will subsequently help in organising the villages and the unions in such a manner that practically in due course many of the nation-building functions of Government will pass into their hands and that we shall be able to utilise them; we shall be able to utilise these food committees which will be composed of the representatives of the people, the real representatives of the people, who will be there for the purpose of looking after the welfare of entire localities; that these committees will carry out the functions of Government and we shall take them sufficiently into our confidence. There is no reason why the food committees should not, if they so desire, sell foodgrains to Government. I have made suggestions that if the food committees desire to make these purchases and these sales, if they are able to get together the surplus of the village and offer it to the Government agents for sale, I shall be prepared to give them the necessary facilities under the Foodgrains Purchase and Control Order I am looking forward to these food committees subsequently developing, on the one hand into producer societies and on the other consumer societies. Why should not these food committees form themselves in such a manner that everyone of the locality, every single person in the village, shall become a member of the food committee and thereafter distribute equitably in the village the foodgrains or the commodities that we supply to them. There is no reason why they should not do so, and there is ample scope given in the rules and regulations that we are circulating which will enable them to function in that manner.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The motion under discussion is talked out.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-15 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 9th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 9th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 184 members.

(Held-over Unstarred Question No. 139 being called out.)

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, may I suggest that the question be read out?

Mr. SPEAKER: This is an unstarred question and that cannot be done.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: We have got no copies.

Mr. SPEAKER: This will be held over again.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Letters from Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, M.L.A.

***291. Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the date when the following letters and petitions from Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, M.L.A., a security prisoner, reached the addresses—

letter, dated the 22nd and 23rd November, 1942, to the Deputy Secretary, Home Department;

letter, dated the 27th November, 1942, to the Deputy Secretary, Home Department;

another letter, dated the 27th and 28th November, 1942, to the Deputy Secretary, Home Department;

letter, dated the 11th December, 1942, to the Deputy Secretary, Home Department;

letter, dated the 1st March, 1943, to the Deputy Secretary, Home Department;

letter, dated the 2nd March, 1943, to the Deputy Secretary, Home Department; and

letter, dated the 6th May, 1943, to the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the action or actions that has or have been taken in respect of the matters stated in those letters, petitions, etc.?

(*c*) If no action has been taken, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason thereof?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): Mr. Kundu has already been released. The Home Minister does not consider the labour involved in furnishing the information asked for will be justified in the present emergency.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to elucidate how giving dates of receipt of certain letters affects the present emergency?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It will involve some expenditure of time and labour which will not be justified. It will mean that the records in the offices of the Jail Superintendent and the records in the offices of the Home Department and various other departments will have to be scrutinised.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the notice of this question was sent and when this question was sent to the department concerned?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This question was sent from the Assembly Department on the 20th June, 1943.

Mr. SPEAKER: Next.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, I want to put a supplementary question because it is essential. One supplementary question will not affect the time of the House so much.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not a question of time at all. The whole point is that there are similar questions and you can put your supplementary on a different occasion.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: On a point of privilege, Sir. The Hon'ble Minister says the labour involved in furnishing the information asked for will not be justified in the present emergency—এই যদি উত্তর দিতে তিনি justified হন তাহলে কোন প্রশ্নের answerই তো তিনি না দিয়ে পারেন।

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a question of discussion. That cannot be allowed.

Proposed supply of yarns to handloom weavers.

***292. Khan Bahadur FAZLUL QUADIR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce, Labour and Industries Department be pleased to state whether Government provided Rs.2,26,600 in the Budget for 1941-42 to open four depots for supplying mill yarns to the handloom weavers at cost price?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any such central depots were started?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what action, if any, Government have taken to help the handloom weavers since 1942; and

(*ii*) whether he is considering the desirability of exempting all handloom products from the sales tax?

(*e*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that in Bombay and Madras handloom products are exempted from the sales tax?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja Shahabuddin): (*a*) Yes; for supplying yarn to handloom weavers at a reasonable price.

(*b*) No.

(*c*) The scheme was held in abeyance owing to developments in the war situation; the difficulty of getting yarn for civilian purposes and absence of any centrally controlled scheme for supply of yarn at a reasonable price.

(*d*) (*i*) A Textile Control Adviser has been appointed to go, among others, into the question of supply of yarn to handloom weavers of this Province. As success of any scheme for distribution of yarn, however, depends mainly on the marketing of finished products, a scheme for reorganisation of the handloom weaving industry envisaging *inter alia* the supply of yarn to handloom weavers and the marketing of their finished products is now under consideration.

(*ii*) No. Government are not considering exempting handloom products other than those already exempted by Finance Department Notification No. 130F.T., dated the 29th March, 1944, a copy of which is placed on the Library Table.

(*e*) Sales of cloth woven on handlooms and sold by persons dealing exclusively in such cloth are not taxed in Madras. As far as I am aware there is no sales tax except on motor spirit in Bombay.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any advertisement was published inviting any party to take up this problem?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: So far as I know, no such advertisement was published

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what does he mean by "centrally controlled scheme"? Does the Central Government come in here?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: This is a scheme which has to be made in consultation with the Government of India

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister please say whether he is aware that even today there are cotton mills in Bengal which are weaving concerns and they get their regular supply of yarn in large quantities?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I am not aware of it.

Mr. ABUL HOSSAIN AHMED: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who is responsible for the failure in preparing the centrally controlled scheme and the reasons for such failure?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: We do not accept the responsibility—we are not in charge of it.

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is not aware that the handloom weavers are in extreme difficulty in procuring yarn for themselves without Government patronage and help?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Yes, it is for this reason that now Government is taking steps for preparing a scheme for the purpose of distribution of yarn.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the date of the appointment of the Textile Control Adviser?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: It was done very recently. As regards the actual date I want notice. I cannot say that off-hand.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government have ever approached the Central Government for initiating a scheme of supply of yarns to Bengal?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Yes. The Government of Bengal approached the Central Government for initiating a scheme but owing to the emergency of war that was held in abeyance.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when did the Government of Bengal approach the Central Government in connection with the supply of yarns?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I want notice.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that the Madras handloom-produced *lungis* are largely imported in Bengal?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I know that a large quantity of *lungis* are imported from Madras

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why when *lungis* imported from Madras get a good market in Bengal, the Bengal weavers should not be encouraged, but on the other hand should be taxed?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I do not understand how this question can arise.

Mr. SPEAKER: So you are not prepared to answer it. All right. Next question

Grievances of Hut owners of Calcutta.

***293. Mr. GIASUDDIN AHMED:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware of any grievances of Hut owners of Calcutta?

(*b*) Is he aware of the fact that the Hut Owners' Association, Calcutta, waited on a deputation on the Revenue Minister on the 20th November, 1942, for redress of their grievances?

(*c*) Is he aware that among other demands the deputationists pressed specially for—

(*i*) suspension of all ejectment suits instituted against them since the beginning of the war during its pendency by executive action or a special ordinance; and

(*ii*) postponement till the end of the war of all decrees for arrears of rent and provision for repayment of outstandings by 36 instalments thereafter?

(*d*) *Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact—*

(*i*) that further representations to the same effect were submitted to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 5th April, 1943; and

(*ii*) that a further representation was also made to the Governor on the 14th September, 1943?

(*e*) Is he aware of the fact that on the 17th September, 1943, the Assistant Secretary to the Governor intimated that the said memorial had been forwarded to the Revenue Department for necessary action?

(*f*) If the answers to (*a*) and (*e*) are in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, has been taken in the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea): (*a*) to (*e*) Yes.

(*f*) In view of the fact that the demand for houses in Calcutta even in the *bustee* areas has tremendously increased, the hut owners are not expected to experience any difficulties in realising rents from their *thika projas* and in paying their own rents to their landlords. No action is, therefore, called for at present.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the answer to question (*c*) (*i*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, my question has not been answered. The question is: is he aware that among other demands the deputationists pressed specially for——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. He says he wants notice. I cannot help it. Next question.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, we are not getting sufficient time to put supplementary questions. You are calling the next question immediately.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am ready to give as much time as you like provided you rise promptly.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, you are not giving sufficient time. We are not machines; we are after all men.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, I would draw your attention to the fact that with regard to question No. 292 although we stood up thrice, because some other gentleman stood up at the same time, as a matter of courtesy we waited till our turn came. But immediately after that gentleman finished you called the next question. Under the circumstances it was simply impossible for us to put supplementary questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you resume your seat?

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Yes, Sir, I will resume my seat but that won't improve the situation.

Mr. SPEAKER: Sometimes I have seen that members have risen in their seats twice or thrice, but perhaps because the same question has been put by somebody else, they have not risen again. That is my experience

and that is why I only desire that you should rise promptly. There may be occasions when I have been very prompt in calling the next question, but I hope you will rise promptly in your seats, so that there may not be any delay.

Mr. Sarkar, you want to put some more supplementaries to question No. 293?

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right, you go on.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: With reference to question (*c*) (*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the answer?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: "Yes".

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, the question is——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Sarkar, you cannot discuss. The answer is "yes". If you are not satisfied with the answer, you can put supplementary questions if you like.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, the answer is only "yes". There must be some specific answer to a specific question. I asked Government as to whether they are in a position to suspend all decrees during the war.

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not sure as to whether the honourable member has read the question carefully. The answer is "yes".

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the decision of Government has been communicated to the memorialists?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice, because this took place long before I took over charge. I cannot say that off-hand.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is prepared to accept the demand as formulated in (*c*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: As I have already stated in reply to answer (*f*), no action is called for at present.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to answer (*c*) (*i*) since the Hon'ble Minister is aware of the fact, will he be pleased to state what action Government have taken in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: No action is called for, as I have already stated.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: The Hon'ble Minister admits that he is aware of the fact by his reply "yes", and at the same time he says no action is necessary, how is it consistent?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Amount sanctioned and spent for Kaliaghai scheme in Midnapore.

*294. **Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works (Irrigation) Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(*i*) the total amount spent in widening out the bed of the river Kaliaghai in Sabong, district Midnapore (under different heads);

(*ii*) the total amount administratively sanctioned for the Kaliaghai scheme;

(*iii*) the total length of the river bed; and

(*iv*) the names of the prominent points of places between which the obstacles have been removed?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any representation to extend the work of widening the river bed was ever made?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the action, if any, taken on the representation?

(*d*) If no action has been taken, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the danger apprehended in the representation has been examined by their experts?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain): (*a*)(*i*) Rs 4,05,224-3 as follows:—

Work—Rs.3,86,855.

Land Acquisition—Rs.16,887-12.

Supervision—Rs.1,481-7.

(*ii*) Rs.85,931 at pre-war rates

(*iii*) About 74 miles.

(*iv*) Obstacles have been removed from Langolkota to Ganpat Khal in police-station Sabong Sadar (South) subdivision by removing *chak* bunds and from the upper end of Lejibheri (village Salmara) to Seulipur by removing silt from the bed.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) The matter is under enquiry.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL: With reference to answer (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is any time limit for that enquiry?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Yes, a period of four years, because consecutive floods of three or four years will have to be watched in order to make that enquiry.

Mr. ISWAR CHANDRA MAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when this enquiry will be finished?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: As I have already stated it will take three to four years.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Women political prisoners of Dinajpur Jail.

145. Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA-MAZUMDAR: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that numerous grievances, relating to the bad arrangements and unsuitability for women political prisoners of Dinajpur Jail were communicated to Government and the jail authorities by the women security prisoners ever since they were detained in that jail;

(*ii*) that Mrs. Lila Roy and some other prisoners of Dinajpur Jail were on hunger-strike since the 22nd March, till the 30th March, 1943; and

(*iii*) that Mrs Labonya Das Gupta has been in a state of acute ill health for a long time?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the ailments Mrs. Das Gupta is suffering from?

(*c*) Are Government considering the desirability of—

(*i*) keeping all the women security prisoners in the same jail; and

(*ii*) making proper arrangements to suit their requirements and melt all their reasonable grievances?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of women security prisoners who have been granted any family allowances?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) and (*iii*) Yes.

(*ii*) Mrs. Lila Roy was on hunger-strike from 22nd March, 1943, to 30th March, 1943, but the other two prisoners were on hunger-strike from 27th March, 1943, to 30th March, 1943.

(*b*) She gets periodical acute attacks of gastric pain associated with acidity, vomiting, heart-burn and sleeplessness

(*c*) (*i*) No.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*d*) Nine.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*a*) (*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is satisfied as to the genuineness of the grievances complained of?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: These grievances relate to a period when this Ministry was not in office After this Ministry came into office, some of the grievances were redressed.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have received any petition from Mrs. Labonya Das Gupta asking to be transferred to a suitable jail for treatment?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want notice.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: *Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether on account of acute ill-health of Mrs. Labonya Das Gupta Government is considering the desirability of releasing her on grounds of health?*

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question is not before Government now.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to refer to (*a*) (*iii*)?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: She is not an invalid. She is only suffering from severe gastric pain.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Government consider the desirability of transferring Mrs. Das Gupta to the Medical College for treatment unless the Government is prepared to release her forthwith?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: If the condition of the security prisoner is such as to necessitate her transfer to the Medical College Hospital for treatment then Government will consider it.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Government enquired of the Civil Surgeon who is the Superintendent of the Jail about the disease and about the possibility of curing the disease in Dinajpur without the aid of a medical expert?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: She is under the treatment of the Civil Surgeon of Dinajpur

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: How long she has been suffering from gastric pain, acidity, heart burn, etc ?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*c*) (*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House the reason for giving the answer "no"?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: In the interests of public security and safety it is not considered expedient to disclose the reasons.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell the House what was the weight of Mrs. Labonya Das Gupta when she entered the jail and what is her present weight?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*e*), will the Hon'ble Minister please tell the House the number of women prisoners that applied for family allowance?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice. There are only 17 women security prisoners in Bengal and 9 of them are getting allowance.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KNUDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any application for allowance has been rejected?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House the maximum amount of maintenance allowance and minimum that have been granted in the case of these 9 women security prisoners?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The maximum amount is Rs. 80 and the minimum Rs. 15 per month

Relief measures in Bakarganj.

146. Srijut NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether he is aware that the Bakarganj District Board waited upon the Government on a deputation in May last when acute distress was prevailing in the district for test work and other relief measures?

(*b*) Is it a fact that the Hon'ble Minister directed the deputationists to forward schemes to Government through Board for test works.

(*c*) If so, whether any schemes were forwarded through the Board?

(*d*) If not, on whose schemes the relief operation was undertaken?

(*e*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Subdivisional Officers concerned, specially the Sadar Subdivisional Officer were consulted with regard to the schemes?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) in which of the subdivisions relief operations were undertaken; and

(*ii*) what amounts were spent in respective subdivisions?

(*g*) Is it a fact that the Relief Commissioner inspected the test works and the works were suddenly suspended?

(*h*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why the work was suspended?

(*i*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any test relief works were undertaken in Pirojpur North where distress was prevailing?

(*j*) If not, why not?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*), (*e*) and (*g*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*i*) No.

(*c*) Does not arise.

(*d*) Test relief operation was undertaken by the District Board after drawing up schemes with the approval of the Collector.

(*f*)(*i*) In Bhola and Sadar subdivisions.

(*ii*) Bhola—Rs.1,65,103.

Sadar—Rs.2,75,769.

(*h*) Because the Relief Commissioner found that the operations were not being satisfactorily managed by the District Board.

(*j*) The situation in Pirojpur was not so acute as to warrant the opening of test works.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that the Chairman of the Barisal District Board, the Vice-Chairman of the Barisal District Board and another member of the Barisal District

Board who is also a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly waited upon him at the Writers' Buildings and he verbally asked them to prepare a scheme of relief for the district of Bakarganj?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: For the information of the member I may say that any scheme of relief is prepared by the District Board and executed subject to the approval of the District Magistrate and the Minister has nothing to do with it.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Government aware of the fact that the Relief Commissioner, Mr. Martin, went to Barisal and inspected the relief centres at Bhola?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I think so.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that at Bhola the Relief Commissioner found only some 20 men working while more than 50 were marked present?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is it not a fact that the Hindu labourers in the Bhola subdivision though they offered themselves for test relief work were refused on the ground that no more men were necessary?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not aware.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that Mr. Martin had a conference at Barisal where the District Magistrate, the Sadar Subdivisional Officer and many respectable leaders of public opinion were present and that he characterised the relief work as scandalous?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not aware.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: With reference to answer (*j*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many deaths due to starvation occurred in Pirojpur north?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that a representation was made to the Hon'ble Minister by Mr. Sadaruddin Ahmed, M.L.A., a member of the District Board, pointing out that the Sadar Subdivisional Officer of the Bakarganj district was not consulted in the preparation of any scheme or in the distribution of relief in the Bakarganj district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The answer is in the negative.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the Subdivisional Officers themselves stated that they were not consulted.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question is too vague to be answered.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that in the Pirojpur subdivision, north, in every union board Government opened 3 or 4 gruel kitchens for the suffering people there?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Gruel kitchens are opened wherever necessary. I cannot say off-hand how many in each subdivision.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that in Pirojpur, north, thousands of people were starving and cases of death from starvation were innumerable?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is not a fact.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that people from many parts of the Sadar subdivision, specially from Chakhar and Khalishakota unions have submitted a list of persons to the Subdivisional Officer with the remark of the M. L. A. of the constituency that such and such persons died of starvation?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is too long a question. I cannot allow that.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that deaths were taking place——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not the subject matter of the present question.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: I just wish to draw your attention to question (i) which reads as follows: "Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any test relief works were undertaken in Pirojpur, north, where distress was prevailing?" The reply to that question is: "The situation in Pirojpur was not so acute as to warrant the opening of test relief works". It is for this reason that I have been asking supplementary questions to impress upon the Government that the situation was indeed very acute and that relief was necessary.

Mr. SPEAKER: You put your supplementary question.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that with regard to the test relief work in the Sadar subdivision there was a great protest from the public against the manner in which test relief work was being done in the Sadar subdivision?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is too vague a question.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: With reference to answer (j), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the standard of acuteness which induced the Government to open test relief works?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is very difficult to answer.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (j), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, if the situation in Pirojpur was not so acute as to warrant the opening of test works, as stated in the answer, whether the Government started gruel kitchens there as a luxury?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. ABDUL MOTALEB MALIK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any relief work was done at Pirojpur?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Yes.

Distribution of relief in certain parts of Tippera district.

147. Mr. JAGAT CHANDRA MANDAL: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the Scheduled Caste people of Daudkandi, Homna and Muradnagor police-stations of the North subdivision Sadar Comilla, Banchharampur and Nasirnagor police-stations of Brahmanbaria subdivision and Matlab and Chandpur police-stations of Chandpur subdivision of the district of Tippera have been receiving reliefs from Relief Committees; and

(*ii*) whether the Scheduled Castes are represented in the District or Union Relief Committees?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Government are contemplating to take for helping those people?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*) (*i*) Yes. Relief is distributed to deserving persons of all communities according to priority lists.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*b*) Does not arise.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: In answer to question (*a*) (*i*), the Hon'ble Minister stated that relief was distributed to deserving persons of all communities according to priority lists. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who prepared the priority lists?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It was prepared by the local union board.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to question (*a*) (*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state definitely whether the Scheduled Caste people of Daudkandi, Homna and Muradnagar police-stations of the Sadar North subdivision, Comilla, Banchharampur, etc., have been receiving any relief from Relief Committees?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Certainly.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: With reference to answers (*a*) (*ii*) and (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if we are to understand that as there are Scheduled Caste representatives in those Committees, therefore the Scheduled Caste does not require any steps to be taken for relief in their distress?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is an argumentative question and I do not allow that.

Extension of service of Chief Engineer, Public Health.

148. Maulvi MD. ABDUL HAKIM VIKRAMPURI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that the present Chief Engineer, Public Health, is under extension of service;

(*ii*) that the post was advertised for Muslim candidates;

(*iii*) *that some qualified Muslim candidates were not interviewed by the* Public Service Commission; and

(*iv*) that the present Chief Engineer, Public Health, was appointed by Government to sit with the Commission to advise the Commission at the time of interviewing the candidates?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, he proposes to take in the matter?

(*c*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iv*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

(*d*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of—

(*i*) asking the Commission to re-advertise the post for Muslims; and

(*ii*) appointing some officer other than the Chief Engineer, Public Health, as Adviser to the Commission?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: (*a*)(*i*) No.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) I am not aware of the qualifications of candidates not interviewed by the Commission.

(*iv*) No: the late Chief Engineer was appointed.

(*b*) and (*d*)(*i*) The post has been re-advertised for Muslims.

(*c*) The appointment was made in accordance with usual practice

(*d*) (*ii*) I will consider the suggestion.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the late Chief Engineer, Public Health Department, though he was not a candidate for extension, was appointed by Government?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I have nothing to add.

Adjournment motion.

Mr. ASIMUDDIN AHMED: আমার motion হচ্ছে এই · That this Assembly do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the unjust and arbitrary removal by Government of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman of the Rangpur District Board and the appointment of Maulvi Ahmed Hosain as Chairman in his place without giving the Board an opportunity to elect its own Chairman. আমি এবার Houseএর permission চাই।

Mr. SPEAKER: Leave has been asked to move the adjournment motion standing in the name of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed. Is there any objection?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: We object to it, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Objection has been raised to leave being granted for the motion that has just now been read. I read the statement appended to the motion:—

Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, a prominent member belonging to the Opposition, was duly elected Chairman of the Rangpur District Board and has been carrying on the work of the Board with the support of the majority of its members. The Ministry in order to capture the Board and strengthen

its position in the district of Rangpur has arbitrarily removed Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar without giving him a chance to explain his conduct. Not only has Mr. Sarkar been removed arbitrarily and unconstitutionally but Government has appointed one of its own supporters as Chairman of the Board without giving the Board a chance to elect its own Chairman. Hence this motion.

As objection has been raised to the motion for leave I would request those members who are in support of the present motion for leave to rise in their seats.

(A counting was made by the First Assistant Secretary and reported to Mr. Speaker.)

As only 49 members have risen in their seats............(Objection was taken by the Opposition to the wrong counting of the members rising in their seats)............If you object I order for a second counting.

(After the second counting the number was reported to Mr. Speaker by the First Assistant Secretary.)

Mr. SPEAKER: The number is still 49............(Cries of "Will you kindly count yourself" from the Opposition benches)............Will you kindly resume your seats? I think if you will patiently hear me you will accept my statement. The position is this: I asked my First Assistant Secretary to count and he counted and the number was found to be 49 .... (Cries of "no", "no", "more than fifty", "more than fifty" from the Opposition benches)... . . I hope you will kindly allow me to make my statement ---

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Your Assistant Secretary did not notice those two members standing over there (pointing to the back benches of the European block).

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Are we to understand that even if a mistake is committed we should be guided by that mistake? After all, your Assistant Secretary may commit a mistake.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: He has deliberately done it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly resume your seat for a moment and allow me to make my position clear?

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: What is the necessity of making a statement? We feel sure we are more than 50.

Mr. SPEAKER: What am I to do?

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: You count yourself.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I find there are 53. Barring myself there will be 52.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Dr Sanyal was not present. You exclude him. All the rest were present here

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: From the very beginning your Assistant Secretary has made a definite statement that he did not count Dr. Sanaullah and Mr. Razzak. It is for you to ascertain from them as to whether they did stand up. If they did stand up that is the end of the whole matter.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: You count them yourself.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: *Two members were not admittedly* counted by the Assistant Secretary although they were standing all the time visibly and demonstrably. Every one on this side has seen them. I think, Sir, as it is a question of one vote only and as there was genuine room for mistake, you will again ask the members to stand up.

(Cries of "no", "no" from Government Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it is only fair to the Speaker that you will allow him to explain what has actually taken place. If you do not do that, it is sheer waste of time. As to what is to be done after ascertainment of facts that is another matter altogether, but if you do not allow me to state facts what can I do? The real position is this: I asked my First Assistant Secretary who is here in the absence of the Secretary to count as to how many honourable members rose in their seats. He gave me the number to be 49. As the margin was only one I asked him to count again. He counted again and he again told me that it was 49 There was again protest and again I asked him to count. (Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Only twice.) The second counting you do not know. That I ordered before I declared the number. I myself ordered it on my own initiative. (Interruption.) The whole trouble is that you are not allowing me to finish my statement. It is unfair. No business can be carried on if you do not allow me to finish. You are apprehensive that perhaps your objection may not be accepted. Whether your objection is accepted or not, that is a different matter altogether Let me state what I know of the matter and what I know of the facts.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: We are anxious to hear you but we have no doubt that our contention will be accepted.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter.

Then the question of law will arise. There has been objection from the other side that even assuming that the number was more than 49 on account of the declaration I made that cannot be revised. That is also another matter.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: What about these two members?

Mr. SPEAKER: Then for the third time I asked the First Assistant Secretary and he again gave the number 49. After I have made the declaration he now says that he did not count the two gentlemen sitting there. That is the whole trouble. He admits that. So it comes to this that there were 51 persons present. The Government side is now pressing that there has been subsequent entry. That is one contention and the second contention is——

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: There is the question of law——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter. There may be a question of law also. Whether it is tenable or untenable that is another matter. It has also been raised that once I have made a declaration whether I can revise it. This is the position which I have up to now been able to ascertain. Let us hear what Mr. Fazlur Rahman has to say.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Before you hear Mr. Fazlur Rahman we would like to refer to a ruling of yourself. There was a division in this House when they were in the opposition.

Mr. SPEAKER: *That is another matter. I will hear you later.*

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: *You always insist "Let me finish". I* now insist—let me finish. There was a clear-cut division in paper and pen. There was a counting and you decleared the division result. Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali, Mr. Nasarullah and others counted again and they brought the paper before you. You revised and declared that the previous calculation was wrong. If you could say that calculation was wrong why should you not revise it in this matter.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, one member has said that it is a question of fact. Even if it is a question of fact, what is the fact? Your Assistant Secretary has given you the number—not one time but three times.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He has no legal position in the House.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: He is now acting as Secretary and that was the fact brought to the notice of the Speaker. If the Assistant Secretary has no position in the House, then I say that you have declared it as a fact.

Now, Sir, the other question is that you have received information that there were only 49 persons and that was three times repeated, and then pressure, duress and all sorts of things were brought to bear on you. The doors were not closed; therefore other members could come in. Taking all these facts into consideration, you cannot but accept the fact that it was not 49 at the time when you asked the members to stand up. You have already declared, Sir, that the mover has not the leave of the House and it is no longer open to you—you are not authorised and it is not within your jurisdiction—to revise that decision. The moment you have said that the mover has not the leave of the House, the matter is not before us. It is not within your jurisdiction to reopen that matter.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, with regard to the latest statement of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, may I say one word? The Assistant Secretary might have misinformed you on a particular point which has now been established by the statement of the Assistant Secretary and you have accepted that position. Supposing that he had told you that Mr. Fazlur Rahman had ceased to be the Chief Whip of the Government Party and supposing that it was later brought to your notice that, that was not so, would you still insist that he was not the Chief Whip? (Laughter.) It is a pure question of mistake of fact.

Mr. SPEAKER: One legal point has been raised, and that comes to this. Assuming the fact that there were actually 51 members present, and the officer in counting made a mistake and he stated it to be 49 and therefore a wrong declaration was made by the Speaker on that information whether it is open to the Speaker to revise that declaration again in the same sitting and at the same time before any business is taken up. That is the point. Now as to the question of fact whether there were 51 or 49 members present, we have got to ascertain it from facts——

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No point of order arises on a statement made by the Speaker. Therefore the first point that arises in this connection is with regard to the fact whether there were 49 or 51 members present. Now so far as the argument that has been put forward on behalf of Government

is concerned, namely, that the doors were not closed, there might have been occasions when new members came in. That point is raised but as to that I think the answer is quite clear and it is this that the Assistant Secretary said that two persons sitting at that corner were not counted. Therefore the point involved is whether they came in from the beginning or afterwards. If the facts are analysed, it means that if I am to give a verdict on the fact that there were only 49 members present I have got to disbelieve my officer. But the real position is that it is quite possible that there might have been present honourable members who were not in the House; they might have come later. But that is ruled out by the fact that my officer says that he failed to count two honourable members who were there from the very beginning. The question therefore remains whether I am to believe my officer or not on this point. I think I cannot but accept the statement made by my officer. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition benches.) So far as fact is concerned therefore that is decided.

As regards the point of law involved in this matter, the question is whether I can revise my decision. That is a question on which I would ask the opinion of the Leader of the House and then I will decide.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No point of order arises on this. It is a question of law.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I am of opinion that if you are in a position to satisfy yourself about a particular fact after verification according to what has been claimed then I think you ought to be able to make your decision, but if you feel that there are possibilities of an element of doubt arising and the facts being not as they are put forward and there was a possibility of persons coming in as in this particular instance, of which you cannot be sure then you have to decide accordingly. If you are not absolutely certain about the fact then I do not think you can revise your decision. But if you are certain that the facts are correct and there is no doubt then in that case you can revise your decision.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, in my opinion there is no question of law involved in it. As the Leader of the House hase pointed out, if you are satisfied that actually 50 members or more did stand then you can revise your decision. In fact, Sir, if you look at rule 100 of the Assembly Procedure Rules, you will find that it makes the position perfectly clear. If objection is taken as was taken in the present case, the Speaker shall request those members who support the motion to rise in their places and if not less than 50 members rise, as in fact 51 members did rise in this case he shall similarly intimate the hour. The decision which you gave rested upon the information which was given to you by your officer that only 49 members actually stood up. If you accept the statement of your officer that he did not count 2 members, there is no option on your part but to revise your decision and say that the required number did stand and then the rules must follow.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: The analysis of facts made by you clearly establishes that we were 51 on this side on our legs. That is clearly established.

Now as to the law whether you can reopen your decision I submit that the precedent submitted by my friend Mr. Atul Krishna Ghose of this House *is quite all right. In the Central Legislative Assembly in giving* a verdict on a decision the President of that House declared wrongly but subsequently he corrected himself on ascertaining facts and revised his decision. So you have precedent for revising your decision.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want to submit one point. Some members rose in their seats for asking the leave of the House to adjourn. The members were counted not once or twice but three times. It was then stated that there were only 49 members who rose in support of the motion. The members on our side also counted the number of members that had stood up and declared it to be 49. After having carefully checked the number you made the same statement twice. Once it was protested against by the members of the Opposition and you then ordered a recount. After the recount also you said that 49 members had stood up in their seats. Subsequently the First Assistant Secretary makes a statement that he did not count two members. It may be that he has made a mistake, a *bona fide* mistake. Nevertheless, it was a mistake. All the members were counted not once or twice but three times. After counting three times the number was given. The presumption is that the First Assistant Secretary counted all the members who were standing. But subsequently if the First Assistant Secretary revises his statement it may be that he has made a *bona fide* mistake. He cannot possibly recollect which of the two members he did not count. Therefore on the question of facts we ought to presume that only 49 members stood up. We must accept the original statement of the First Assistant Secretary that only 49 members stood up. It is not left to the First Assistant Secretary to revise the figures which he himself gave.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: We had also counted from the very beginning. We found that the number was more than 50. Therefore the statement of Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali has no substance.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The First Assistant Secretary cannot possibly recollect which two members he did not count. It may be that there was a genuine *bona fide* mistake on his part.

Mr. SPEAKER: I want to make one point quite clear and that is this. Sometimes it so happens that certain members do not stand in the first instance but stand subsequently. Now I want to know from the two members opposite whether they stood from the very beginning or whether they stood up subsequently. If they had risen subsequently the First Assistant Secretary could not have counted them in the first instance. (Interruption.)

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: You have not replied to my point, Sir. Even assuming that they had stood up—we accept that they had stood up—my submission is that they had already been taken into account.

Mr. SPEAKER: As regards that I have already said that I cannot disbelieve my officer. (Interruption) মৌলানা আব্দুর রেজ্জাক ও ডাঃ সোনাউল্লা, আমি এক এক করে আপনাদের দু'জনকেই জিজ্ঞাসা করছি। মৌলানা আব্দুর রেজ্জাক আপনি এই মোসনের প্রথম থেকেই দাঁড়িয়েছিলেন কি না ?

Maulvi ABDUR RAZZAK : আমি প্রথমেই একটা কথা বলছি; দিন দুপুরে এ রকম যে হ'তে পারে এ আমার কখনো জানা ছিল না।

Mr. SPEAKER : ও সব থাক, আপনি প্রথম থেকে দাঁড়িয়েছিলেন কি না বলুন?

Maulvi ABDUR RAZZAK : হাঁ, প্রথম থেকেই দাঁড়িয়েছিলাম।

Dr. SANAULLAH: I stood up from the very beginning. (Interruption.)

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.)

(After adjournment.)

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Sir, I have been practising in the lower courts and you in the highest tribunal. Your First Asistant Secretary made a statement that only 49 members stood up. I would tell you that he counted not once or twice but three times and then he said that 49 members stood up. Subsequently he said he did not count two members. The pertinent question in this connection would be how such a knowledge had dawned upon him at the last stage. Every member must have been standing. He could not have any recollection of whom he counted and whom he did not count. He did not have a picture before his eyes. All the members were standing. How could he say now that they were standing but that he did not count them A revelation like this could not be a sure guide. I would therefore request you not to accept his statement.

Maulvi MOHAMMED ISRAIL: From the observations made by Maulvi Abdur Razzak and Dr. Sanaullah we have come to know that both of them were standing from the very beginning. Therefore there could be no question of the First Assistant Secretary committing any mistake in the beginning Those two members were standing just in front. We also counted several times We also found the figure to be 49.

I want to bring another fact to your notice Maulvi Abdur Razzak without understanding what actually transpired uttered the expression মিথ্যক। You should ask him, Sir, to withdraw that word.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: We never said that they were not standing.

Mr. SPEAKER: The word will be expunged.

Khan Bahadur Haji BADI AHMED CHOUDHURY: আমি এ সম্বন্ধে না বলিলে সত্য গোপন করা হবে। প্রথমে আমি দাঁড়াবার জন্য চেষ্টা করে গুণে দেখি ৫১ মেম্বর হয়েছে। তারপরে ৪৯ মেম্বর হয়েছে এই ঘোষণা হবার পর আবার নিজে গুণে দেখি ৫১। দ্বিতীয় বারের বেলায় আমি উঠ্বার চেষ্টা করি কিন্তু মালিক সাহেব আমাকে বাধা দিয়েছিলেন। তখন আমি পুনরায় গুণে দেখি ৫১ আছে, আবার তবু আপনার সেক্রেটারী গুণতে ভুল কোরে ৪৯ বোলেছেন।

Dr. ABDUL MOTALEB MALIK: On a point of personal explanation, Sir, উনিতো বলে' গেলেন পরের বার দাঁড়াতে চেষ্টা করায় মালিক সাহেব ওঁকে বাধা দিয়েছেন, ওঁকে জিজ্ঞাসা করি উনিতো বড় সত্যবাদী সেজেছেন কিন্তু সত্যই কি মালিক সাহেব বাধা দিয়েছিলেন? মিথ্যাবাদী কোথাকার।

Mr. SPEAKER : খান বাহাদুর সাহেব, আপনি দয়া কোরে ওখান থেকে উঠে অন্য জায়গায় বসুন।

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: He was sitting there all along, and now at this stage to ask him to go elsewhere, I do not think, is proper, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: In the interest of the orderly conduct of *the House I can order him to go somewhere else.*

Khan Bahadur Haji BADI AHMED CHOUDHURY: আমি এ রকম অবস্থায় এখান থেকে বাইরে চলে যাওয়াই ভাল মনে করি।

(After making his statement Khan Bahadur Haji Badi Ahmed Choudhury left the Chamber as a mark of protest.)

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Sir, this is very insulting to the House; he was not creating any disorder.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is an unfortunate thing. What I noticed was that Khan Bahadur Abdul Wahab Khan was preventing the two members with both his hands stretched out or something like that. I may be wrong but that was my impression. Therefore I thought that it would be in the interest of the order of the House that he should go somewhere else.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I bow to your ruling, Sir, but at the same time as a member of this House I would like to request you after your order has been already carried out that you as a matter of courtesy will invite that gentleman back to this House as he has left this House as a mark of protest against your order under circumstances in which every member of this House ought to have done the same thing. I am sitting here from 4 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. and if you at 5-31 p.m., under whatever circumstances it may be, pass an order on me to leave my present seat and go elsewhere, that is certainly not a dignified thing on my part to do and as a member of this House I protest against this sort of order

Mr. SPEAKER: At first what happened I did not notice but I only noticed that Khan Bahadur Abdul Wahab Khan was stretching out his hands on both sides and I thought that there was something unseemly going on. I now find that it was a wrong impression of mine as has been pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Shahabuddin and certainly I am prepared to apologise to the member. I committed a mistake and now I find that it was done out of fun as I have just now been informed by Mr. Shahabuddin but I had got altogether a different impression. In that case certainly the honourable member has got every right to feel insulted but, as I have already said, I did it from quite a different impression and if my impression is incorrect I feel that an apology I owe to him. Whatever that may be, if the honourable member has left as a mark of protest I will certainly invite him to come back to the House and I will send an officer of mine to invite him and bring him in.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will you kindly ask your Secretary to bring him in?

(At this stage the Assembly Registrar brought Khan Bahadur Haji Badi Ahmed Choudhury back to the Chamber when the latter reoccupied his previous seat amidst joyous greetings from the Opposition benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Now it is an unfortunate incident that has taken place —a mistake in counting. It is said on the one hand that some of the honourable members counted and found the number to be 51; on the other

hand others have stated that they also counted and found it to be 49. There was a dispute with regard to two honourable members of this House. As regards these two honourable members their statements have been taken. They have made definite statements that they did rise in their seats from the very beginning. Now, to err is human; to commit mistakes in counting is not unnatural, but to commit a mistake as to whether a certain honourable member of this House did rise in his seat or not is to my mind impossible. Therefore I do take it that those two honourable members did rise in their seats from the very beginning. As to the question whether the Assistant Secretary did count those two gentlemen or not, I have already made it clear that I accept the statement of the Assistant Secretary that he did fail to count those two gentlemen. It has been stated that it must be a revelation from Heaven to understand that these two gentlemen were standing and that he failed to count them. This fact was brought to his notice as to whether he counted them or not, and in reply to that he said that he did not count them. Therefore my finding of fact is that there was a failure on the part of the First Assistant Secretary to count Maulana Abdur Razzak and Dr. Sanaullah and that on account of that failure the number was stated to be 49. It was on the basis of that wrong counting that I declared that the honourable member giving notice of the motion had not got the leave of the House. But as it is now admitted that the Speaker has got the power to revise the previous order and as it has now definitely been found that there were actually 51 members who had risen in their seats signifying their assent to the motion, I declare my previous order as cancelled and I declare also that the honourable member, Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed, has got the leave of the House to move his adjournment motion. (The ruling of Mr. Speaker was received by the Opposition with table-thumping and shouts of rejoicings.)

Mr. ASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the unjust and arbitrary removal by Government of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman of the Rangpur District Board and the appointment of Maulvi Ahmed Hosain as Chairman in his place without giving the Board an opportunity to elect its own Chairman.

Sir, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar এই Houseএর একজন prominent member. তিনি majorityর supportএ রংপুর District Boardএর Chairman নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন এবং তিনি এই ডিষ্ট্রীক্ট বোর্ডের নানা প্রকার সংস্কার ও উন্নতি করিয়াছিলেন এবং এই দুর্ভিক্ষের দিনে তিনি যথেষ্ট ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন এবং সেই জন্য রংপুর জেলার অধিবাসীরা তাঁহার উপর সন্তুষ্ট আছেন। রাজনৈতিক কারণে গভর্ণমেণ্ট পার্টির strength বাড়াইবার জন্য তাঁহাকে রংপুর District Boardএর পদ হইতে বেআইনিভাবে সরাইয়া Mr. Ahmed Hossain সাহেবকে ঐ পদে বসাইয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। এমন কি Abu Hossain Sarkarকে তাঁহার conduct explain করবার সুযোগ পর্যান্ত দেওয়া হয় নাই। আমার মনে হয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট হিংসাবশতঃ এটা করেছেন। আশা করি আমার adjournment motion আপনারা সকলে support করবেন।

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have been removed from the Chairmanship of the District Board of Rangpur by an order of Government, which was communicated officially to me at

8 p.m. yesterday. The order runs like this: Whereas Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar, M.L.A., Chairman of the Rangpur District Board, has refused to implement the resolution passed by the Board at the special meeting held on the 22nd February, 1944, relating to the appointment of a Finance Committee which was his duty as Chairman to do and thereby refused to act within the meaning of section 28 of the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885, now, therefore, in exercise of the power conferred by the said section, the Governor is pleased to remove the said Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar, M.L.A., from his office of the Chairman of the Rangpur District Board with effect from the date of this order, dated the 5th May, 1944.

And another order immediately followed: In exercise of the power conferred by section 29 of the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885, the Governor is pleased to appoint Maulvi Ahmed Hosain, M.L.A., to be the Chairman of the Rangpur District Board in the vacancy caused by the removal of Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar, M.L.A.

Now, Sir, the action taken by the Government, they say, comes under section 28 of the Bengal Local Self-Government Act. Section 28 runs thus: The Provincial Government may remove any Chairman of a District Board or Local Board from his office if he refuses to act, or becomes incapable of acting, or is declared insolvent, or is convicted of any such offence, or subjected by a Criminal Court to any such order, as, in the opinion of the Provincial Government formed after due enquiry, unfits him to be Chairman, or on the application of the Board, if he persistently neglects his duty as Chairman.

Now, Sir, the only question here is whether the allegation of the Government that I did not implement the resolution regarding the Finance Committee elected on the 22nd February does come within the mischief of section 28 of the Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 1885. The facts relating to that resolution must be given so that the House may come to know all about it. On the 22nd February there were two special meetings of the District Board—one for fixing the rate of road cess and the other for appointing the statutory three committees of the District Board. When the first meeting was going to be held, the Muslim League members in order to fail the meeting for want of quorum went outside and I had to adjourn that meeting. When the second meeting was taken up, the Muslim League members came in but unfortunately the three Subdivisional Officers who had supported me suddenly stood neutral and a Finance Committee was elected with all the members belonging to the Muslim League.

They formed a Committee not to prepare the budget but to make a deadlock. Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakrabarty, M.L.A., the Parliamentary Secretary of the Government of Bengal, was then present. He made a fervent appeal not to create a deadlock in the District Board because provincial politics should not be introduced in the District Board. There a positive statement was made by the then leader of the Muslim League that they were out to create a deadlock so long as Government did not remove Mr. Abu Hosain Sarkar from Chairmanship. After this a Vice-Chairman was taken in excluding me. At that time the Vice-Chairman was not enjoying the delegated power. The power of Vice-Chairman for different reasons was withdrawn and he did not know the financial position of the Board for the last six months. Therefore I made a note in the proceedings

that this Finance Committee was formed excluding the Chairman. Hence some difficulty might be felt; so further consideration was necessary and I adjourned the meeting. The Vice-Chairman who was taken in was in duty bound to call a meeting of the Committee. Up to the date of the next meeting on the 4th March the Vice-Chairman did not call the meeting. So, in the meeting of the 4th March I made a statement that the Committee was formed excluding the Chairman and as the majority of the members of the Committee refused to sit and did not prepare the budget, I wanted directions from the District Board as to what should be done. Under the advice of the majority of the members of the District Board I had to propose some names from both the parties in equal number to form a Finance Committee and the District Board approved of my suggestion, and that Finance Committee prepared the budget. On the third meeting day when the proceedings of both those two meetings came before the House for confirmation, the District Board declared the Finance Committee elected on the 22nd February inoperative as majority of the members did not sit and refused to sit and accepted the budget prepared by the second Finance Committee and passed the budget altogether.

Now, Sir, I was removed for not implementing a Finance Committee which was declared inoperative in the meeting of the District Board held on the 31st March, 1944 I have been removed for not doing something which I had not the power to implement The Finance Committee could not function and I had not the power to implement in any way the action of that Finance Committee. Therefore, Sir, it was a thing which could not be done, and still I was ordered to do that. Unfortunately perhaps the last part of the thing, namely, that the Finance Committee held on the 22nd February, 1944, was declared inoperative by the District Board was not brought before the Ministry If it had been brought before the Ministry and if in spite of that the Ministry passed the order, I think that such an atrocious and illegal order cannot be conceived of.

Now, Sir, no explanation was called for from me. Another thing should be considered very carefully. Whatever has been done has been done by the District Board. The meeting of the 22nd February was held by the District Board; the second Finance Committee was formed by the District Board and the first Finance Committee was declared inoperative by the District Board The Chairman did not come into the picture at all. The Chairman has nothing to do with all this. He was merely an executive officer who had to carry out the orders of the District Board. If anybody had to be taken to task, it was the District Board. If any District Board does anything wrong, ample power is given under section 120 of the Bengal Local Self-Government Act under which Government can take steps against the District Board Here the District Board has done a thing. Whether it is legal or illegal is a matter for decision, but the procedure that is prescribed in section 120 should have been followed. "It shall be the duty," the section runs, "of the Provincial Government and of all Commissioners and Magistrates of districts, acting under the orders of the Provincial Government, to see that the proceedings of local authorities are in conformity with law and with the rules in force thereunder. The Provincial Government may, by order in writing, annul any proceeding which it considers not to be in conformity with law and with the said rules and may

do all things necessary to secure such conformity". Such conformity means conformity with law. The question of removing any Chairman or member does not arise. What the local Government is empowered to see is that all things are done according to law. If anything is not done according to law they will direct the District Board to do so according to law and not remove the Chairman. I submit, Sir, this aspect of the thing perhaps did not come to the mind of the Government of Bengal.

Again, Sir, one question may arise whether the District Board by electing a second Finance Committee on the 4th March did anything wrong. I say, Sir, that it is a statutory body. The District Board is to elect a committee. If one committee is inoperative and does not sit, the District Board is entitled to have another committee and that committee will see that the District Board has done the right thing by declaring the first committee inoperative.

Before I finish, Sir, I submit that there was a background for a forcible order of this nature. I was elected as Chairman of the District Board when Mr. Fazlul Huq was in power. The Ministry changed and from that time the Muslim League members tried to oust me. On or about the 31st July, 1943, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, now the Chief Whip of the Government party, went there and secured some signatures in order to place a motion of removal in the District Board. After that Mr. Suhrawardy went there and immediately after his departure a motion of removal was placed in the District Board in the month of August. Accordingly I fixed the date for a meeting on the 18th December for taking up that motion, but before 18th December came the Muslim League members convened another meeting on the 4th December in a private house, namely, in the house of Md. Amin, a member of the District Board, but subsequently it was discovered that seven signatures were not genuine. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Shame, shame.) Three members of the District Board filed a suit in the Munsif's Court at Rangpur in order to declare both the meetings illegal, namely, the meeting called by me and the meeting called by the requisitionists, because the requisite number of genuine signature were not found. There was a prayer for injunction. That injunction matter came up to the Judge's Court and the Judge did not grant an injunction. But he in a way declared the meeting in Md. Amin's house as illegal, and the case is still pending. The plaint has been amended in a way, so that the resolution passed in the meeting of the 4th December in the house of Mr. Amin may be declared illegal. So Government, when they found that a pending case was there and the signatures were alleged to be forged and they would not be able to pass any order on that motion, took recourse to this obstruction, and it is reported that Mr. Shahabuddin was guiding from here. I also saw, Sir, that as soon as any meeting was going to be held a telegram——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Sarkar, you have used the expression that the signatures of seven members were forged. I think that the matter is still pending in court.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: I meant, Sir, that the signatures are alleged to be forged. Now, Sir, failing there, instructions were given from the members of the Provincial Government to create obstruction and

that was the obstructionist tactics which was taken recourse to by the Muslim League members from 22nd February, 1944.

Sir, as I submitted, there is a background in this unusual order and because the Government were determined to remove me and to instal in my place a Muslim Leaguer, Mr. Ahmed Hosain, they passed this order. Mr. Ahmed Hosain is none other than the President of the District Muslim League and a member of this House supporting this Government.

Now, Sir, the statutory provision of the Bengal Local Self-Government Act is that there will be only 48 members in the District Board of Rangpur, of whom 12 will be appointed. By virtue of this appointment of Mr. Ahmed Hosain, the number of members has been raised to 49. Government have thus broken the statutory provision which they themselves have made. There is another provision which says that out of the total number, three-fourths at least would be elected. This time they have made the number of nominated members more than it should be in proportion to the elected members. The Board was not given an opportunity of electing three members. The statutory provisions have been ridden roughshod with a clear intention of putting their favourite candidate, their party candidate, on the District Board If this kind of thing happens everywhere in the day time, I think that no Hitler can go further than this It is true some Chairmen of District Boards were removed when Mr. Fazlul Huq was in power. There were some grounds and under a proper resolution of the District Board they were removed This time without any resolution of the District—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Let me finish the sentence, Sir. This time without any resolution of the District Board, without any cause, without any rhyme or reason, without in fact anything they have removed me. This is sheer nonsense, malicious and atrocious.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this motion with the greatest sense of responsibility and I must admit with a certain sense of shame and humiliation. Belonging as I do to the Congress party in this House we have during the last 7 years witnessed similar attempts by parties in power to distribute patronage by means fair and foul. But we have not yet come across a more atrocious conduct on the part of the Government of the day that is functioning in the name of democracy and fairness. I should think that if this is a picture of democracy that we Indians are going to unfold before the world, there will be hardly any chance for freedom for the country and for purity in our public life. (Interruption.) I am surprised that some members are even now giving expression to their feline instincts by certain noises which can only be befiting the zoo. Here is an instance in which one honourable member of this House who had been a duly elected Chairman of a local body was removed peremptorily without assigning any reason whatever and even on the face of it the order appears to be aboslutely illegal and without any foundation. Immediately following that order of removal, order No. 507-L.S.-G., dated 5th May 1944, there is another order passed, order No. 508-L.S.-G. of the same date, by which Government have appointed the President of the District Muslim League, Rangpur, another member of this House supporting the Government, as Chairman of the Rangpur District Board,

vice the member so removed. We, in this House, have during the last 7 years watched the respective abilities of the two members functioning in this legislature, and I am sure members of both sections would find no difficulty in agreeing as regards the respective personal abilities of the person removed and the person who has been installed in his place and realise who is a more capable person to function as the Chairman of the Rangpur District Board. Again, Sir, without having any regard for efficiency and ability, if we want to look at the position from the legal point of view we notice that the Government of the day do not even care to look into the number of members of the District Board and they have imported an outsider who is not a member of the District Board to become a Chairman and nominated him in addition to the number of the full quota of 48 already functioning. (Interruption.) Some members have been interjecting as regards similar act done by the previous Government. I am not here to defend the action of any previous Ministry in this connection. I am going to give a catalogue of such instances. My friend Mr. Majid will remember that when those friends were in the Opposition they wanted to raise a similar question. We, on this side, stood by them and protested most vehemently against the conduct of the then Government in regard to the removal of our friend. Mr. Yusuf Ali Choudhury, from the Chairmanship of the District Board of Faridpur. We stand on solid grounds of fair dealings. The first such case of vandalism took place when Mr. Waliur Rahman was removed in July, 1939, from the Chairmanship of the District Board of Jessore. The second case was the removal of Mr. Yusuf Ali Choudhury and the third case happened when again the person who was appointed in place of Mr. Yusuf Ali Choudhury not by nomination as in the present case but I understand through election which was arranged later on, he being a member of the party of which Mr Fazlul Huq was the Leader, was peremptorily again removed and Mr Yusuf Ali Choudhury was reinstated as Chairman of the District Board under a fiat. (A VOICE: What about Bogra?)

Coming to Bogra, I understand that Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali who was the then Chairman of the District Board of Bogra personally resigned and requested the then Government to appoint his father as the Chairman and his father was appointed as the Chairman. I am not supporting the case, but in any case the position appears to be a little more than what can evoke such opposition. Probably our friends do not recollect that there was yet another case which should have been brought to light, the case of Bankura where the then Muslim League Chairman Dr. Siddique was removed by the then Government in power and the District Magistrate was appointed as the Chairman of the District Board. There were also similar instances in regard to certain other districts and municipalities.

I am not here to support any one of these cases but, Sir, this particular case of Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar has a peculiar feature of its own. In other cases so far given there was a semblance of a no-confidence motion either passed at a meeting properly constituted by the members of the Board or otherwise, but in every case previous to this the Government acted on some kind of a no-confidence motion against the then sitting Chairman. Here in this case, however, there was no no-confidence motion passed

(Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: There was.) and strangely, the Parliamentary Secretary asserts that there was a no-confidence motion. We have just heard from Mr. Abu Hussain Sarkar the character of that no-confidence motion, which was supposed to have been passed in the house of a particular member of the Board. This matter was contested immediately in the court and is now a subject-matter of dispute in the court and is lying there under certain difficult situation. Sir, with regard to Khulna, recently there has been similarly a case of removal of the Chairman where there was again no no-confidence motion. The no-confidence motion that was sought to be passed was scotched, because one member went to the court and got an injunction, and the result of this was that the meeting which was supposed to have been called was void. (Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: There was no injunction.) I stand corrected. There was no injunction, but the court ultimately declared the resolution not to be effective.

On the background of all this it appears that it is the present Government that has got to its credit at least three definite instances where honourable members functioning as Chairmen of local bodies have been removed by methods fair or foul, more foul than fair.

On the other hand of the scale we find again cases of *bona fide* resolutions of no-confidence passed against members who are supporting the present Government; they are shelved and eternally kept in the cold storage for reasons best known to the Government. One such case that can be cited today is that of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Communications, Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain, the glorious Chairman of the Howrah Municipality. On the 26th April, 1943, a no-confidence motion was passed against him while the Chairman himself presided; there was no irregularity of the meeting, and sixteen specific charges of maladministration and inefficiency were brought to light and recorded including misapplication of municipal funds. Since then the Chairman has no majority in the Board, and the Finance Committee and other committees were constituted there without the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman attending or caring to attend the meetings thereof; even so, the Government never cared—it happened more than a year ago—yet to look into the grievances of the public there. The majority of the members of that body had through a memorial approached the Governor of Bengal for the removal of the Minister-Chairman, and yet although the Governor on very many occasions assured through letters, written from the Private Secretary to the Governor, that the matter was receiving attention, the matter still hangs and is still I presume, continuing to receive attention. I do not know how long it will take for the Governor to ascertain the position. No attempt even is made to enquire into the allegations made, and on the face of it it appears that the Government is determined to issue patronage at other places and to fail to maintain the independence and integrity of local bodies in the manner that they are now doing.

Sir, the position seems to be intolerable. It is the case today of the removal of a Krishak Praja Party leader; tomorrow it will be the case of a Muslim League leader; and this is exactly the position that we apprehend more on the Secondary Education Bill and other similar pieces of legislation where communal and party electorates are conceived of in the field of education, research and science. Sir, we had been given assurances on the

floor of the House by the "honest and God-fearing" Minister in charge of Local Self-Government, the great gentleman who one day asserted that he fears none and favours none; and here is an instance of that God-fearing *gentleman, who in his own gang is regarded as off his head, having come* out with a fiat which is nothing short of criminal, and who has knowingly done it. He probably knows that it is possible to challenge this matter in the court of law but he has the protection that being a member of the Government and concerned with the action of Government, he will have sixty days' notice before any suit may be brought during which period there will be no injunction; thereafter, the case can be prolonged for a further period so that the statutory period of the Chairmanship and the membership of the District Board will expire by that time. This is a kind of thing that we very strongly and most emphatically protest against. We appeal to the House and particularly to those members who like the proverbial monkeys try to sit in the middle and associate themselves either with the left or with the right as their personal inclinations and convenience arise, to state clearly what they think of such measures and methods of party politics being introduced into the arena of public life in the manner in which that is sought to be done today.

Sir, we have witnessed many instances of this character, but this surpasses all. Here the Chairman has not only made it clear on the floor of the House that there was no offence on his part at all—there was a Finance Committee constituted but the committee never met The Board had to carry out certain statutory duties and the Board had therefore appointed a second Finance Committee and rescinded or revoked the first one and had carried out the duty that was imposed upon the Board under the law. The Government knew very well that it could not possibly do anything to this Chairman legally and took extra legal methods.

Sir, I brush my eyes to see who signed the document; it was one European I.C.S officer I presume that the order was also countersigned by the Australian Governor of this Province who, when he came to this Province, assured that he would distribute justice and fairness. Sir, the Ministers are mere advisers. I would like to know here who gave that executive order on which the European British I.C.S. officer acted, and I would claim that nothing like this would stand in the way of India's fight for freedom. We shall go on in spite of the reactionary elements trying to maintain themselves in power in this ignominious way.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my esteeemd friend, Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed. Sir, a dire injustice has been done to the Chairman of the Rangpur District Board and this is a flagrant violation of all canons of law and rules of procedure in this matter of removal. I have carefully heard the speech of Mr. Sarkar and it appears that Government have taken action under section 28 of Local Self-Government Act of which only the last portion can be applicable to the question of removal. The point is that Government can take action either on their own motion or on the application of the Board to remove a Chairman for his persistent negligence of duty. The charge against him, as stated in the notification is that he did not implement the Finance Committee. I submit, Sir, the Chairman has nothing to do

with the constitution of the Finance Committee. There were statutory committees to be constituted in the District Board and the Chairman issued the notice over his signature containing the agenda relating to the constitution of certain committees for 1944-45 and as given out by Mr. Sarkar, the Muslim League majority members present in the meeting constituted a Finance Committee on the 22nd February. That did not function nor did it help framing of the budget. Then on the 4th March he made a statement to the House and another Finance Committee was constituted by the Board and when these proceedings came up in the next meeting of the Board for confirmation it was the Board and not Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, the Chairman, who confirmed the proceedings of 4th March and rejected the proceedings of the 22nd February and also nullified the Finance Committee constituted by the Muslim League members on that date. Sir, I fail to understand where was the negligence of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar. He was in the chair to carry out the transaction in the House. His solitary vote could not constitute the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee was constituted by the majority of members present in that meeting. Where was his negligence and how could he implement the Finance Committee? Still the Government removed him ostensibly under section 28 and under the last portion of that section. By no stretch of imagination Government could apply first part of that section in the case of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar.

Sir, there could have been a no-confidence motion if his action was not appreciated by the members and if there was majority of members in the House those members could under the law table a no-confidence motion against him in the House and if that was carried it could have been forwarded to Government for taking action and Government could take action on that. Sir, the facts revealed in the notification refer to the constitution of the statutory sub-committee of Finance. If there was anything wrong, if the Board arbitrarily refused to confirm the proceedings of the 22nd February and if the Board without jurisdiction constituted another sub-committee and wrongly confirmed its proceedings, it was in the power of Government to supersede the Board under another section of the Act, but Government could not take action under section 28 of that Act against Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, the Chairman.

Sir, Dr. Sanyal has referred to the case of Faridpur District Board and I having the honour of being a member of that District Board should like to speak on the subject. Mr. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury was negligent of his duty. There were reports by the local and Government Auditors regarding accounts and other things of the Board. They came up before the Government and Government sent a letter to the Chairman for showing cause why the Board should not be superseded. Being terrified by this measure the members of the Board by majority passed a resolution that the Board had nothing to do with that. The Chairman in his individual capacity was responsible for those wrongs and the resolution of no-confidence was passed in the House in a special meeting and by majority and three of the Subdivisional Officers took part in it. Then the resolution was forwarded to the Government with an application from the Board with the requisite number of signatures of members.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: He is giving the details of the removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar and incidentally he might refer to the removal

of the various Chairmen of various District Boards as Dr. Sanyal has done. How is all this relevant?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please leave the matter to me. As soon as I find that he is irrelevant I will stop him.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Sir, through you I might tell my friend Mr. Majid that I have enough sense of relevancy.

Then Government took action on that application of the Board and under section 28 Maulvi Yusuf Ali Chowdhury was removed for persistent negligence of duty. That was quite in order, that was quite lawful. A similar case could have come forward from Rangpur District Board before the Government and if Government took action on that it would have been quite fair and proper. It is a glaring injustice done to Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar. He may be a member of the Opposition, but he is a brilliant member of the District Board as well as of this House and he enjoyed the confidence of the majority. There was a clique and a conspiracy against him and because he is sitting in the Opposition there is heart-burning of the members of the district and anyhow by hook or by crook he should be removed and some honourable friend of his district should occupy the Chairman's *gadi.* If this be the order of the day, law and order should go away from the country.

Sir, the other day we read in the newspapers that for wrongful dismissal of a Lady Superintendent of a municipality an Hon'ble Minister of the Punjab was removed from office by His Excellency the Governor of that Province. Sir, this is rather a worse case than that. How could a Chairman for no fault of his whatsoever be removed? If there was any fault, the fault was of the Board and not of the Chairman, and the Minister concerned is liable for dismissal by the Governor of this Province for this wrongful act.

Sir, there are similar instances of this kind of highhandedness here and there—in the district of Khulna, in the district of Bogra and in other districts. Now their party is in power and certain coterie are in the *gadi* of Minister. Table may turn in a moment and this side may go to that side and they may in their turn remove even the most suitable and qualified Chairmen of Municipality and District Board. There would be a practice grown up in this way by this wrongful conduct of the Government. Administration must run on a good footing and a good basis. Demoralisation has come over this administration in such a way that Hitlerism is to be seen anywhere and everywhere and the sooner this ceases the better for the country.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr Deputy Speaker——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Chief Whip of the Government requested me to allow Mr. Singha to speak. Will you speak now?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I had a mind to.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We want to listen to the discourse of the great jurist.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is not a question of your choice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We want, the House wants (laughter). We want to find out with how many Urdu and Arabic quotations Mr. Siddiqi supports the measure.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to speak on the point because I had some personal knowledge of the real situation of the District Board and I must ask all my honourable friends to hear the details. I shall not be partial but shall state the real state of things that is happening in the Rangpur District Board. Though a member of the Coalition Party I shall not be partial to the party to which I belong, but as an independent member of the District Board I shall state the real situation.

In a House of 48 members in the District Board of Rangpur there are 30 Muslim members, 15 Hindus and three officials—the Subdivisional Officers. These make 48 in total. (DR. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: How many were scheduled castes?) Out of 15, six were scheduled castes. At the time of election of the Chairman, there were two parties formed, namely, one called the United party consisting of 15 Hindu members and some Muslim members making a sum total of 24. This was done at the time of the Chairman election. The other party also consisted of 24 members. When the Chairman election was going to be held, Ministers from here were sent there——(Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Who went?) I know as a matter of fact that two Ministers were sent During the reign of Mr. Fazlul Huq (laughter) the Muslim League party had 24 members and the United party had 21 members. We three members from the scheduled castes remained independent and joined together. When they asked for our help we told them that we would help them provided they took one scheduled caste member as Vice-Chairman. (DR. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Who was that scheduled caste member?) I shall speak the truth. I do not care for the consequences. My humble self was mentioned for the Vice-Chairmanship, but I was never a candidate for the same. Then, Sir, we three scheduled caste members joined with the United party saying that all the Hindus should work together. In spite of the insistence from my Muslim friends, we never cared to comply with their request. They were at our houses all the time for 24 hours, so that we might be persuaded, but we never cared to do so. In that matter we saw to the interest of the Hindus alone and not to the interest of the Muslims. Sir, the Chairman election took place and the Ministry seeing our adamant attitude and realising that the balance of power lies with the independent scheduled caste members decided in favour of Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar against some honourable members from my community. I shall not mention their names. We sided with the United party, the Hindu party and they carried the day.

Sir, I had no intention to say all this on the floor of the House, but it is a sad necessity for me as a Hindu to speak of the sad story of the Hindus. My Hindu friends should be enlightened on the point as to how they dealt with the scheduled castes when the election of the Chairman took place. Supporters of the United party decided that one scheduled caste member will be taken in and that scheduled caste member to be selected will be my humble self, this worthless Kshetra Nath Singha, but I was never a candidate. I only asked that only one scheduled caste member should be elected as Vice-Chairman. However, that episode is over.

Then, Sir, the election of the Chairman took place. Twenty-four members voted for each candidate, and the matter was decided by the casting vote of the President. (MR. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Who was the *President?*) Mr. Jatindra Nath Chakrabarty. (Laughter.) (MR. M. *SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: But he is your Parliamentary Secretary!)* Twenty-four members voted for Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar and he was elected by the casting vote of the President. When the case of the scheduled castes for Vice-Chairmanship came in, 23 votes were polled for Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha and 25 for Maulvi Abdul Hamid Shah of the Government party by most of my Hindu friends. (Uproar.) You should hang down your heads in shame. They voted for a Muslim against the scheduled caste candidate who was a Hindu. The result was that two Muslims were elected, one as Chairman and the other as Vice-Chairman, and the claim of the scheduled castes was ignored by the Caste Hindus. They ask us to break this Ministry, but they are not men who can be trusted. They care more for the Muslims than for the scheduled castes although the latter are Hindus.

Then, Sir, everything went on well. I resigned from the United party, because that party betrayed the cause of the scheduled castes. The Chairman was elected from one party and the Vice-Chairman was elected from another party. How will that go on? This sort of thing cannot continue for long. There was no cohesion, there was no agreement between the parties.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Singha, I think it is now time for you to state your points.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: I have great respect for the Chairman Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar. I supported him all along in every way; I tried to keep him there, but he became gradually—and that was natural—prone to satisfy his party men at the cost of others. The Opposition gradually came into power and they had the majority. Subsequently what happened? When the Opposition came into power they made a requisition. Mr. Sarkar has said that of the requisitionists seven names were forged. When the no-confidence motion was placed in the house of Mr. Amin, majority of the members were present. We asked the Chairman to hold a meeting. The Chairman instead of doing that and holding the meeting as required by law fixed the date arbitrarily. The requisitionists, *i.e.*, the Opposition called for a meeting and asked the Chairman to have the use of the District Board hall to hold the meeting.

The Chairman disallowed that and they had to hold the meeting at the house of a private person—Maulvi Md. Amin. At the same time, what did the Chairman do? He hurriedly called a meeting at his own house. How could a meeting be held at his own house, at the house of the Chairman, when there is a good building—I may say—a most suitable building in the Province of Bengal. He held a meeting in his own house. A case was then filed and that was dismissed——

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: These matters relate to a case which is *sub judice*. How can he refer to them?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please come to your point.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: I shall give a true picture. Twenty-seven members were present. The Chairman with some intention went

there. As soon as a meeting was held he stated that the meeting was illegal and then he went out. When he went away the requisitionists held the meeting and they passed the said resolution, 24 members voting and 3 remaining neutral including Mr. J. N. Chakravarti and the Subdivisional *Officer of Gaibandha.*

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What are your instructions?

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: The matter went from bad to worse gradually and some things were happening which the Independent members did not relish at all. Now, Sir, I shall come to the Finance Committee. During the course of 1½ years no sub-committees were formed. By the first opportunity all sub-committees were formed and almost all the members of the committees were men belonging to the Chairman's party. (Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKER: It is absolutely false.) The Finance Committee is a statutory body and it must be formed before the budget was passed. The Finance Committee had to hold a meeting In that committee the Opposition Party was in a majority and sent some names to the committee. When they were approved by the majority the Chairman using his dictatorial powers openly declared at the meeting that the election of the Finance Committee was an illegal one.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: May I have two minutes more?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, I am sorry.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: This is the most unkindest cut of all.

(At this stage the member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Sir, you allowed some more time to Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar. Could you not allow some more time to Mr. Singha?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: You also allowed time to Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal. I would request you to allow some more time to Babu Kshetra Nath Singha.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are all growing in age and experience. I do not remember that I had given any extra time to Dr. Sanyal or anybody. I only allowed Mr. Abu Hossain Sarker to complete his sentence. That is all.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: The proceedings will show.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am really sorry that even after I have made a statement the Chief Whip of the Government party challenges it. (Interruption.) I am sorry, Mr. Fazlur Rahman, you are obstructing the proceedings of the House. I have asked Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi to speak.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: What about the howling that is going on? You simply tell Mr. Rahman that he is obstructing the proceedings of the House. (Interruption.)

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. The Government may remove the Chairman of the District Board of Rangpur in an illegal way. Here in this House we stand by the Chair and we won't allow this kind of interruption.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir——

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir,——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: *Mr. Sanyal, you are going far beyond your limit. I hope you will not* make any further disturbance.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the atmosphere in the House is getting hotter and hotter. I would most respectfully point out that it has been the practice of Mr. Speaker to allow members to continue even beyond the red signal and in my own experience (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Not in the case of adjournment motions) the Speaker has allowed some time to many members——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope you will not make any reference to that. Please come to your point. I may tell you for your information that I have allowed Mr. Singha to continue for 15 minutes even though his speech was irrelevant. Please go on with your speech.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I was merely trying to explain to you that we have become addicted to such liberties through the kind and gracious acts of Mr. Speaker.

Coming to the language used, I would again as a humble member of this House draw your attention to two words which in my own humble way I consider as bringing down the standard of the debate. Referring——

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: On a point of order, Sir. Is the honourable member speaking on your ruling or on this adjournment motion?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let me hear him first.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I know what to say and I know what the rules do not permit me to say.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You do not. We wish you did.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Honourable members opposite are taking advantage of a peculiar psychology which has been generated in this House. Every rule of debate and every decency of speech is being murdered. Mr. Deputy Speaker, language has been allowed to-day which should not have been allowed. For instance, we who support——(At this stage there were loud cries from the Opposition benches.) Mr. Deputy Speaker, I expect the hammer to be struck on the table when nonsensical interference is made in my speech. I seek your protection and I seek the justice of the Chair.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope there will be no further disturbance.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I hope you will be just and fair.

Maulvi WALIUR RAHMAN: On a point of order, Sir. I do not know whether he is standing to discuss the conduct and attitude of the Deputy Speaker or not.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, no. I think he is not discussing that.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, I cannot help my colleagues in this House if they fail to understand me, but I should certainly like to point out that members who support the Government and Ministers in that Government shall not be allowed to be called a "gang".

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I correct myself and call them gangsters.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, it is admitted that we were called a gang and now as corrected "gangsters". I appeal to you in the

name of decency, and I appeal to you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, not to allow such language. Words which were heard here must have been heard nearer. The second word used was the comparison of some members of this House to "monkeys".

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I did not listen to any such expression as "monkeys" being used.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: The honourable member has admitted a worse word than "gang" and that is "gangster". How then can you call me to order by saying that it was not heard? It was uttered and the word was "gang" referring to people who supported the Government.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If such words have been used, they will be expunged from the proceedings.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I do admit that I used the word "gang" with reference to a particular Minister and his gang. I consider that word to be perfectly parliamentary.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Whether they will be expunged or not, Sir, they were uttered in fact and such words, I hope, will not be used again.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to a particular Minister and his supporters I used the word "gang" which is perfectly parliamentary, and the Deputy Speaker has no power to expunge it from the proceedings.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I failed to hear the expression, and I requested the Chief Whip of the Government party to say whether any such expression was used, but he did not hear it as he was not in the House. However, I will look into the proceedings. As regards the other expression, I think he said "like the proverbial monkey". I do not take any exception to that.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, it is surprising that he was not ruled out when honourable members of this House were called "monkeys".

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Learn English first.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would appeal to you in the name of decency of public debate to pull up honourable members who are taking liberty with the generosity and kindness of the Chair.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. There has been continued reflection on the Chair and the last words "generosity and kindness of the Chair" are a banter directed directly on the Deputy Speaker who has been presiding over the debate today. I submit this expression should not be permitted because it goes entirely against the decorum of the debate and against the rules of this House.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Cases after cases were mentioned in support of the main purpose of the Adjournment Motion. I congratulate the leaders of the Opposition on their tactics in bringing forward these motions to delay the discussion on the Secondary Education Bill. (Cries of "shut up" from the Opposition benches and counter cries from the other side.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You must withdraw. You cannot ascribe motive.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I know the rules of debate and I deliberately ascribe these intentions to honourable gentlemen opposite. I declare again that whether they bring Adjournment Motions from day to day or not, there is determination on this side of the House to allow them the longest possible rope——(Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: To hang yourself.) *and see that Secondary Education Bill is passed into law. Mr. Deputy* Speaker, please listen to these interrruptions. Sir, cases were given and hands were raised in holy horror that the orthodox Congress group disliked the arrangements that had been made by the previous Ministry which they supported through thick and thin in Faridpur, in Bankura and in Bogra. I have till this day been waiting for a disclosure of the mind of the Congress on those cases. They never raised their little finger when those injustices were perpetrated. It is good to note that they have been admitted tonight.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Look up the proceedings of the House and you will notice.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I am a regular member of this House and I have followed in its proceedings, with my own humble intelligence, the mischievous language, the mischievous methods and the mischievous tactics of trying to put on the rôle of honesty and nationalism when nothing else is meant except to run down the Muslim League Ministry which alone has got the guts, has got the power and has got the honesty, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to do justice. I shall not enter into all the details as given to the House by members who cannot stand the Muslims. Whatever has happened, at least the great upholders of nationalism and political honesty, will I hope hang their heads down in shame when Faridpur, Bankura and Bogra are mentioned. It is also an interesting aspect of the present case, and we shall wait with interest, Mr. Deputy Speaker, to see whether any gentleman who was a member of the Council of Ministers in those days stands up in justification of the misdeeds in that regime, to which he was party, will support this motion. Things have happened in Rangpur which, as previous speakers have pointing out, are *sub judice*. Whether a deliberate and definite expression of opinion should be given on them here and now is for you to rule and tell us. (Interruption from Opposition benches.) They will not listen to truth, they will not listen to honest truth and will persist in their methods which are now exposed to the ridicule of the public at large. They know what they are and the fear in their hearts of the Secondary Education Bill does not make them realise how ridiculous they are making themselves. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You have nothing to say in support of this action.)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I hope I shall be able to speak on the subject when the *sub judice* clause has been removed by you, but may I tell honourable members opposite that if a mistake has been committed—and I am satisfied that no mistake has been committed—we shall be the first to acknowledge it. The psychological aspect behind the mentality of the groups in the Opposition is such that I am compelled to come to the conclusion that the mentality of obstructing the Muslim League whether here or in the districts or in the District Board had taken possession of the honourable member who is the subject of discussion tonight. Therefore, it is very possible—in fact, I feel certain of it—that with the change of Government he felt that everything was lost and, therefore, the only method left

to him, as taught him by his Leader on that side of the House, was to obstruct and to impede the work of the District Board with the result that the Finance Committee could not work forcing the officials or whosoever took that decision, to take action and put the District Board machine into operation *once more.*

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The question be now put.

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I will not emulate the example of the learned speaker who has just spoken, but reading between the lines of Section 28 under which the Government of Bengal has taken action removing Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, I would like to submit most respectfully that the section reads that the Government may remove any Chairman of a District Board or Local Board from his office if he refuses to act, or becomes incapable of acting which unfits him to be Chairman, or on the application of the Board, if he persistently neglects his duty as Chairman.

In this particular case, Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar, the Chairman of the Rangpur District Board, never refused to act nor did he anywhere act in such a way which unfits him to be the Chairman of the District Board nor was there any application from the District Board showing in any way that he persistently neglected his duties as Chairman on which action has been taken.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I would request honourable members of the Government Party to remember that unnecessarily a false analogy has been drawn between this case and the other cases that occurred during the previous Ministry—I mean the case at Bogra, the case at Bankura and the case at Faridpur. In each of these cases, on the majority decision of the District Board action was taken by the Government. (A voice from the Coalition Benches: What about Bogra?) Even in the case of Bogra, may I point out most respectfully that the then Chairman of the District Board resigned only to accommodate his father. Therefore, the analogy is beside the point and absolutely irrelevant to the whole situation. The case of high-handedness is all the more borne out and amply demonstrated by the fact........... (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, question be now put.) I have no time. I will finish in two or three minutes because we have got to take votes. It is amply demonstrated by the fact that Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar was Chairman of the District Board. On the 22nd February a Finance Sub-Committee was formed, but that Sub-Committee never met and wanted to frustrate the entire thing and create an unnecessary deadlock. Therefore, he wanted to act in a different manner. He wanted to checkmate the plan and the manoeuvrings of that particular coterie which wanted to crush the District Board out of existence completely. The Chairman of the District Board, consistent with traditions of honesty and efficiency that he had established already, consistent with the confidence that he enjoyed of the District Board and of the district people at large, wanted to act in a way which would be consistent with the welfare of the District Board. On the 4th March, Mr. Deputy Speaker, another Finance Sub-Committee was formed and in that meeting of the 4th March it was resolved that the First Finance Committee, in view of the fact that it had persistently refused to act, became inoperative. The second Finance Sub-Committee framed a budget and that budget was presented before the District Board meeting on the 31st March.

The District Board not only approved of the budget that was framed by the second Finance Sub-Committee but also approved of the action and they also nullified............(Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Question be now put.) I will complete my sentence. *In order to cloud the main perspective, they have raised false issues. (Interruption from Coalition benches.)* I am not going to listen to anybody's interruption. In order to cloud the main perspective, false issues have been raised, Sir. It appears that in the name of honesty, in the name of decency, in the name of fair-play, in the name of justice, in the name of the Muslim League, any high-handedness, any tyranny can be perpetrated in Bengal. A man who steals my purse steals trash, but a man who steals my faith, my political idealism and my honesty of purpose is an infinitely greater wretch.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, question be now put.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am really surprised by the adjournment motion that has been brought with very short notice to me. As a matter of fact, after I came to the Assembly I got information about the adjournment motion. Time is limited at my disposal, otherwise I could have torn the arguments which have been put forward to pieces. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Honest and God-fearing Minister!)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will request you not to interrupt the Hon'ble Minister.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: It is not a question of Ministry. The question put here is a question of public importance. It is a question on which action has been administratively taken by the Government on a Chairman of the District Board. This is a matter of daily occurrence which can be challenged in a Civil Court. (Noise and interruptions.)

The other day I removed the Chairman of the District Board of Khulna for gross neglect of duty. There has been embezzlement to the tune of Rs. 6,000 as reported. There had been no-confidence resolution and the Chairman got a civil suit instituted. I stayed my hands in spite of the fact that there was no injunction against the Government. After that another resolution of no-confidence was passed to take action against him. I removed him out of sheer necessity. I righted the wrong done by the last Ministry and none had the courage to challenge my action in a civil court. This matter should not form the subject of an adjournment motion. This is a bad tactics which you have adopted. Government have taken action under section 28. The only point is whether this action taken by Government under section 28 is in conformity with law or not. This point is to be decided. I am not concerned with other questions; I am not concerned with politics.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Let the legal question be decided in the court.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: (Amidst continuous noise and interruptions.) A no-confidence resolution was passed against the Chairman. He attended the meeting and against it he got a civil suit instituted. There was no injunction. Still I stayed my hands.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What about Howrah? (Noise, interruptions and cries of "What about Howrah" continuously for several minutes.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, you are really obstructing the business of the House. I will not allow this sort of obstruction.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: The no-confidence resolution was passed on the 4th December. There was no injunction against the Government. A no-confidence resolution is moved only to see whether the Chairman commands the confidence of the majority or not. Can a self-respecting man remain in office after such a resolution is passed?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Does it apply to Howrah?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Please hear me. The Chairman was elected——

(Cries of "does it apply to Howrah?" from the Opposition Benches and shoutings and countershoutings from both sides.)

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Why do you go to Howrah?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Your case is lost and therefore you are going to Howrah.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, the question be now put.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: This Chairman was elected by the casting vote of the President. The Chairman himself admits that there is Muslim League opposition and other opposition and the District Magistrate and the Commissioner have reported that Government intervention in the interest of the Board is essential. It can never be expected that a man who was elected by the casting vote of the President will be able to get a workable majority and command confidence for smooth working. (Again shoutings and countershoutings.) (Several voices: Question be now put.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order, if you go on in this way, I will have to adjourn the House.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: As regards the Finance Committee I would ask the Opposition members respectfully to judge whether Government action was necessary or not. The question is that the Chairman had not a suitable majority to constitute the Finance Committee. He had to wait to get his supporters

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What is meant by suitable Majority? (Continuous interruptions and noise.)

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN. It is most unfair to interrupt the Hon'ble Minister in this way.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have repeatedly requested the honourable members not to interrupt in this way. If you still continue to do that, I will have no other alternative but to adjourn the House.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALAUDDIN AHMAD: (Amidst interruptions.) No matter how the Act is interpreted. The Finance Committee of the 22nd February was elected and was carried by a majority The Chairman declared that it was passed and added that the meeting stood adjourned till another day for further consideration of this matter. The Chairman acted in contravention of section 31A. May I just refer this section for your consideration? Section 31A runs thus: "Subject to the provisions of any rules made under section 32, the Chairman of a District Board

or Local Board shall, for the transaction of the business connected with this Act, or for the purpose of making any order authorised thereby, exercise all the powers vested by this Act in the District Board or Local Board:

Provided (this is very important) that the Chairman shall not act in opposition to, or in contravention of any order of the District Board or *Local Board at a meeting, or exercise any power which is directed to be* exercised by such Board at a meeting".

Now, on the 22nd February the Finance Committee was elected by the District Board and the meeting of that day was adjourned till 26th. Again on the 4th March the Chairman constituted another committee under section 31A. Now proviso to section 31A says "the Chairman shall not act in opposition to, or in contravention of, any order of the District Board". The Chairman cannot act in opposition to any resolution of the District Board. He can only act for the District Board, where there is no order. This Finance Committee was to be confirmed on the next day's meeting, but without confirming the resolution of the Finance Committee he just said that he did not approve of these names. Then an illegal committee was constituted on the 4th March, and on the 31st March the budget was passed at another doubtful meeting. I have got a report of the District Magistrate that although the Chairman had got information that this illegal committee was superseded by the Commissioner, he suppressed that fact from the meeting held on the 31st and had his budget passed in a slipshod manner without giving any opportunity to the members to discuss the matter carefully.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: I very strongly oppose this statement. This is absolutely false.

(Cries of "downright lie", "I challenge that statement" from the Opposition benches and shoutings and countershoutings from both sides.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Sarkar, please do not obstruct the proceedings of this House in this way.

Maulvi ABU HUSSAIN SARKAR: The Minister is a dishonest Minister.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: The report is as follows: "Resolution No. 1 relating to the confirmation of the Finance Committee passed by the ordinary meeting of the District Board on the 31st of March, 1944, was put to the meeting by the Chairman without mentioning the fact that you (the Commissioner) had suspended the operation of this Finance Committee. The Chairman knew at the time of this suspension order passed by you (the Commissioner). It would have been proper for him to have mentioned this thing to the Board."

First of all, the Chairman should legally carry out the resolution passed by the Board and he had no right to go against it, but he refused to carry out the resolution. He had the budget framed by his illegally constituted committee and although he knew that it was illegal, he had the budget placed before the special meeting purported to be held on the 31st March, 1944. It is all a question of the interpretation of the words "refuse to act". The refusal of the Chairman to act, that is, to carry out the resolution amounts to neglect or indifference. His deliberate refusal to implement the resolution of the Board electing a Finance Committee is sufficient ground for his

removal. The Finance Committee was elected by the Board without the Chairman. The Chairman in the Finance Committee is an essential factor and he could not have his own Finance Committee passed by the Board. The position of the District Board of Rangpur was indeed a pitiable one. What is the use of such a Chairman continuing on the Board. I quite admit that *it is not a matter of adjournment. It may be a matter for civil court.*

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It is a grossly improper act.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: No The Commissioner and the Collector who gave all along honest support to Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar had to admit and report that the Chairman's conduct in relation to Finance Committee was arbitrary and untenable. It was the Chairman himself who created the deadlock.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: You threatened the Commissioner and the Collector that if they did not report against me they would be transferred to Chittagong. (Cries of "Shame, shame.")

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is up.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: I am finishing, Sir. There is no question of shame. Our action is not like that of the last Ministry. I emphatically assert that our action has been supported by the recommendation of the Commissioner and the Collector.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We want to go to voting. I suggest that the question be now put.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do feel that the Government case should be put properly. We have not been allowed to put our case properly before the House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You have no case at all. (Interruption.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have allowed the Hon'ble Chief Minister to speak, and I propose to close the debate at 7-20.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: With great respect to you, Sir, I submit that if the Hon'ble Chief Minister thought that the Government case was not being put properly he should have spoken earlier.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: As Leader of the House he wanted my permission to clarify the position.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We want voting, voting, voting.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you insist I will put the question that the question now be put to vote.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No.

Mr. Deputy SPEAKER: Any way, time is now up.

Adjournment.

The House was adjourned at 7-20 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 10th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 10th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 183 Members.

Held-over unstarred question No. 139.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*f*) stating the dates on which the Collector actually toured in connection with relief works, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the data and reasons for this answer.

(The Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea, Minister in charge, was not present at that time and so no answer was forthcoming.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Perhaps the Minister has not noticed that this question will be taken up today. This may stand over till tomorrow.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Resolution of Institution of Chemists of India.

***295. Rai Sahib KIRIT BHUSAN DAS:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether the resolution of the Institution of Chemists (India) passed in its annual general meeting on the 27th February, 1943, regarding public analysts, was forwarded to the Government by the President Mr. T. R. H. Bartlett, F.A.C.I., F.R.S.A., F.C.S., Controller-General of Foodstuffs, Government of India?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government have taken any step on the resolution?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Government have examined the resolution but consider that until local bodies employ independent public analysts of sufficiently high standing the responsibilities attached to the post must continue to be discharged by the District Health Officer.

Mr. ABUL HOSAIN AHMED: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that there are some District Health Officers who have qualified themselves as analysts?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: The answer is there that until local bodies employ public analysts the responsibility attaching to the post must continue to be discharged by the Health Officers.

Mr. ABUL HOSAIN AHMED: I want to know whether there are District Health Officers who have qualified themselves as analysts?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes, there are.

Mr. ABUL HOSAIN AHMED: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the harm if other District Health Officers qualify themselves as analysts?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: The answer given is that District Health Officers are discharging these duties.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: What are the functions of a public analyst?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: They must be qualified men to analyse food adulteration and such other things. Unless persons qualify themselves for that purpose having sufficient knowledge of analysing adulterated food and until such expert analysts are available for appointment this resolution cannot be given effect to.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what arrangements are there for the analysis of foodstuffs in the districts of Bengal?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: In various districts there are various systems but generally adulterated food comes to the laboratory of Government through the Health Officers.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the local bodies have been informed that they should employ public analysts?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No.

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: May I enquire if the text of the resolution referred to was circulated to the local bodies and their opinion taken?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: It will be considered by Government.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is possible for local bodies to employ offhand public analysts without reference to the provincial Government?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes, they can; but all the local bodies are not financially strong enough to appoint public analysts.

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Is it not a fact that the present arrangement of sending samples of adulterated food to Government laboratory for analysis is not worknig satisfactorily?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes, but improvement is under the consideration of Government.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Amount spent for relief works in districts.

149. Khan Bahadur JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the amount spent in each district on—

(*a*) test relief,

(*b*) gratuitous relief,

(*c*) cyclone and flood relief, and

(*d*) agriculture and other loans

during the year 1942-43 and up to 31st January, for the year 1943-44?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'be Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea): A statement furnishing the information is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to unstarred question No. 149.

District.	Amount spent on Test Relief work during		Amount spent on gratuitous relief during		Amount spent on cyclone or flood relief during		Amount spent on agriculture and other loans during	
	1942-43.	1943-44.	1942-43.	1943-44.	1942-43.	1943-44.	1942-43.	1943-44.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Nadia	..	14,041	..	99,054	2,000	..	1,90,482	5,19,060
Murshidabad ..	45,000	4,06,989	12,500	1,41,562	..	..	1,16,100	3,90,000
Khulna	..	..	..	1,98,600	..	..	..	..
24-Parganas ..	1,00,000	3,00,600	..	2,09,235	2,31,998	8,79,555	2,40,000	10,10,686
Jessore . ..	..	.	2,000	16,331	..	..	70,126	74,120
Midnapore ..	10,30,000	54,00,176	Included in column 6.	Included in column 7.	35,14,117	1,78,77,000	61,92,884	39,20,251
Burdwan	15,000	4,10,000	23,000	10,53,000	14,000	..	1,15,400	13,38,000
Bankura . ..	.	3,47,800	..	7,21,743	..	..	7,180	6,01,900
Howrah . ..	..	6,39,259	35,000	5,80,598	1,08,400	63,160	46,000	68,500
Birbhum	..	1,71,454	..	6,98,026	3,500	..	26,544	7,09,320
Hooghly	..	2,13,251	..	8,07,813	24,850	35,242	2,16,000	7,33,490
Dacca	7,000	1,45,250	1,35,000	10,74,266	..	..	1,46,430	5,56,033
Bakarganj . ..	10,000	3,64,500	10,000	9,81,100	..	..	80,000	11,20,000
Faridpur	34,862	3,70,104	30,984	10,71,873	..	..	1,74,000	27,57,460
Mymensingh	..	1,40,620	3,900	5,32,000	..	..	3,20,000	1,26,450
Dinajpur	..	..	..	35,211	..	..	2,32,200	2,37,860

7 Malda	..	..	.	400	.	..	37,999	200
Darjeeling	..	.	.	..		..	..	14,880
Bogra	5,000	9,400	2,212	98,130	..	..	1,58,069	45,581
Jalpaiguri	..	..	..	84,841	..	..	..	..
Rangpur	..	..		4,25,000			3,73,279	33,200
Rajshahi	302	.		53,800		..	1,44,838	3,49,671
Pabna	..	160	6,000	1,98,000	.	.	2,93,084	1,80,000
Tippera	..	2,50,841	.	3,56,461			15,765	..
Chittagong	..	1,97,644	..	5,68,800		..	23,160	69,450
Noakhali . ..	15,000	6,19,600	4,200	11,11,500	.	..	20,818	2,84,550

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be *pleased to state what was the amount allotted for test relief work in the* district of Pabna for the year 1942-43?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is already there.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Only expenditure is given, but will the Hon'ble Minister please state what is the amount allotted for test relief work in the district of Pabna?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: From the statement it appears in columns 8 and 9 that certain amounts were spent on agrciulture and other loans. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is meant by "other loans"?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Seed loans and others.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether these loans are not given to persons who have no lands and for which some section of the people are going without any loans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It may be, but I cannot give you any details.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government desires to make any arrangement for those persons who have no land to get loans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Generally they are given gratuitous relief and not loans.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that these loans are granted only to a group of three or four peasants and not individually?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is generally given individually.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he spent any amount on agricultural and other loans during 1943 and 1944 for the district of Tippera?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: There was no demand from Tippera and so no loan was advanced there.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister believe that the public of Tippera do not demand any amount for agricultural and other loans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is no question of believing, it is a question of actual fact.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to make an enquiry as to whether there are applications even now before the authorities in the district of Tippera for agricultural loan and other loans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Yes.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the gratuitous relief is quite insufficient to meet the crying needs of the day?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: *It is only a question of opinion.*

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what amounts out of the amounts of Rs. 2,32,200 in the year 1942-43 and Rs. 2,37,860 in the year 1943-44, spent in Dinajpur, have been realised from the tenants?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Only a very small portion.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: What is the percentage?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: For that I want notice.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us an estimate of the percentage of people in the district of Bankura affected?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I cannot say offhand. I want notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state among how many persons these loans were granted in Dinajpur in the years 1942-43 and 1943-44?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us what is the nature of test relief works done in Bankura?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Generally, construction of roads and sinking of irrigation tanks.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the minimum and maximum amounts of agricultural loan that were granted to the people in Dinajpur in the years 1942-43 and 1943-44?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is a matter of calculation. I can answer if notice is given.

Suppression of orders of District Magistrate of 24-Parganas.

150. Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: (*a*) With reference to the reply given on the 1st March, 1944, to the starred question No. 133, will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether any such suppression of the order of an outgoing District Magistrate happened recently in any other Collectorate in the Presidency Division?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of making an early enquiry into the causes of suppression of the order of Mr. Basak, I.C.S., in the Alipore Collectorate?

(*c*) Has the present Magistrate of the Alipore Collectorate issued any official instructions for placing before him any case of suppression of the order of a competent authority for redressing the wrong done to anybody through the suppression of the order?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the negative, do Government propose to issue necessary instructions to the District Magistrates in all the Divisions that no suppression of the order of a competent authority should be permitted to be perpetrated in any Collectorate?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*) *No suppression of* orders took place. The orders were in the file, but they escaped the notice of the present Collector.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(*c*) No.

(*d*) Suppression of orders is punishable by disciplinary action. So no further instruction is called for.

Message from the Bengal Legislative Council.

The First Assistant Secretary read the following message:—

"That the concurrence of the Bengal Legislative Assembly be asked to the Bengal Diseases of Animals Bill, 1944, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 26th April, 1944."

Point of Privilege.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, an important Bill affecting the public life and national life of Bengal is being introduced by Government in this House, I mean the Secondary Education Bill, but ten honourable members of this House have been imprisoned by the Government and they are in jail. Sir, we demand through you from the Government that those persons must be brought to the House to take part in the deliberations of such an important Bill, and if that be not done we are bound to say that it will deprive their constituencies of the privilege and the benefit of their presence. So, Sir, I submit that you will make such an arrangement that those persons be brought to this House to take part in the Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: Sir Nazimuddin, do you want to say anything?

(The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin nodded dissent.)

An appeal has been made to the Government, as I understand—not that I have been requested—to see that the privilege is not broken. As to that I can only say that so far as the question of privilege is concerned it has not yet been defined or no enactment has yet been passed. I am helpless in this matter.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan.

Point of Order.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order. On the Order Paper of the 8th of May the business that was shown was this: "The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan to move that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be taken into consideration at once." Then—"Here will be taken amendments printed separately." Now, the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan has already moved that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill be taken into consideration at once. That was done on the 8th of May, and thereafter the business of the House was adjourned by a motion. Now, Sir, the only business that remained over from the 8th and subsequently from the 9th is to be taken up today according to the Order Paper and that business consists of the amendments which were mentioned in the Order Paper on the 8th.—"Here will be taken amendments printed separately."

There is no provision in the rules that a motion must necessarily be followed by a speech. *In the circumstances the business that was to be done* on the 8th has been done and nothing remained from that day except the amendments so far as the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan is concerned. In the circumstances the only business that can be taken up now consists of these amendments and not any speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan.

Mr. SPEAKER: As far as I remember there was very little time on that occasion. He moved his motion and he reserved his speech and I did allow that. I think he is entitled to speak.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order. He did not reserve his speech; he cannot reserve his speech. There is no provision in the rule under which a speech can be reserved. Therefore the speech is not reserved and could not be reserved under the rule.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I may make it clear that it is not my intention that the Government should be prevented from presenting its case before the House. That can be done under the rules at a subsequent stage when he gives a reply. The rules provide for that. But a speech in support of a motion is not provided for under the rules. In any case even if it was sought to be reserved there was no provision under the rules. I would therefore submit, Sir, it would be a flagrant breach of the rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: What rule are you referring to?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I am referring to Part IV Motions.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: May I say something on this?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: I may put my point before you so that Sir Nazimuddin may reply.

If you look to Motions—rule 36—there is no reference to any speech by the mover. Then rule 37: The question on a motion shall be put in such manner as the Speaker may, by orders made in this behalf, determine. That is with regard to putting the motion. Rule 38: Except as otherwise provided in these rules, the Speaker shall decide on the admissibility of a motion. The Speaker may disallow any motion when, in his opinion, it does not comply with these rules. Rule 39: A motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the Assembly has given a decision in the same session. Then rule 40: Where substantially identical motions stand in the names of two or more members, the Speaker shall decide whose motions shall be moved, and so on: nothing about any speech after a motion is moved. Rule 41: (1) When any member has moved a motion, other members may speak to it in such order as the Speaker may direct. (2) Except in the exercise of a right of reply or as otherwise provided, no member shall speak more than once to any motion. (3) A member who has moved a substantive motion may speak again by way of reply, and if the motion is moved by a private member, the Minister to whose Department the matter relates shall have the right of speaking after the mover, whether he has previously spoken in the debate or not. (4) Except with the permission of the Speaker no speech upon any motion shall exceed fifteen minutes in duration. Therefore, Sir, the position is this.

There is no rule which provides that a member whether he is a Minister or a private member after having moved his motion which is the only item on the order paper can reserve his speech if he so desires, or if the business of the House is adjourned, the next item should not be taken up but he *should go back to the first item which was disposed of on the first day,* because the Minister did not make a speech after moving his motion which was the only item on the order paper that day apart from the amendments which were to follow the motion. I would, therefore, submit that there is no escape from the conclusion on a plain reading of these rules that the business which can now be taken up is the amendments and not any speech which has no place on the order paper nor in the rules of this House.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, the actual position is that the Hon'ble Minister for Education was in possession of the House.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Under which rule?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Because at the time when the House was adjourned or rather the business of the House was suspended for the purpose of taking up the adjournment motion, the Minister was then in possession of the House. When that adjournment motion is disposed of and the normal business of the Assembly is resumed, it is presumed that the Minister should be in the position in which he was at the time when the business of the House was suspended. Therefore you will have to see what was the position at that time, and the position was that the Hon'ble Minister was on his legs and in possession of the House. So you have got to place him when the business of the House is resumed in the same position in which you stopped him at the time when the business of the House was suspended. This is the first thing.

The second thing is that even according to the rules that have been read out by the honourable member, the mover of a resolution has got the right to speak on that resolution as well as he has the right of reply. (Cries of "No, no" from the Opposition Benches.) It is no use saying "no". Even if he has spoken before, he has got the right of reply. Therefore, it is presumed that he has got the right of speech. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Do you mean to say that he was throughout in possession of the House?) Not in possession of the House throughout. I am talking of the fact that he has got the right to speak in support of his motion and that is presumed from the fact that it is stated that he will have the right of reply. Therefore, when he was in possession of the House he has got the right to speak on the motion and until the amendments are taken up and until his speech is concluded, I submit that he has got the right to speak.

Mr. P. BANERJI: On a point of order, Sir. May I submit to you that Sir Nazimuddin, the Leader of the House, was trying to mislead you——

Mr. SPEAKER: Everybody wants to press his own point of view.

Mr. P. BANERJI: I am going to show how he was misleading us and you together. After the question time was over on the 8th, there was some time left, and you decided that the adjournment motion would be moved at half past five. There was, therefore, a few minutes gap and you asked the Hon'ble Minister for Education to move his motion and accordingly

he moved his motion. So it cannot be contended that the Hon'ble Minister was in possession of the House. I want to remind you that the statement of the Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin was misleading inasmuch as the Hon'ble *Minister for Education was not in possession of the House.* He finished his speech and sat down. Therefore he cannot claim that he was in possession of the House.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. So far as an adjournment motion is concerned, it is made for the purpose of adjourning the business of the House, the business of the House as it appears on the order paper, i.e., the list of business. The business of the House does not mean any speech in support of any item of business. It simply means the items of business and nothing else, and in the present case the items of business on the order paper of the 8th. On that day after the motion was moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan the business of the House was adjourned, in other words, further business was not taken up. That is what happened by way of the adjournment of the business of the House. You will not find, Sir, a single instance of the business of the House being adjourned in the midst of a speech. If really the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan had begun his speech there could not have been any adjournment of the business of the House in the midst of his speech. There is no instance where business has been stopped in the midst of a speech and then an adjournment motion has been taken up. Whenever the business of the House is adjourned, it is only done after one item is disposed of and before other items are taken up. (The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: What happens during prayer time?) That is a different matter altogether. There the business of the House is not adjourned on a specific motion but in pursuance of a rule or convention. A member is allowed to continue his speech after the prayer recess because the member is actually in possession of the House. Now, Sir, what happens in the matter of motions introducing budget grants? There the Hon'ble Ministers move their motions without any speech. They do not reserve their speeches till after all the members that have moved the amendments have spoken, they reply to the members moving the amendments. The speech that a Minister makes is in reply to the amendments—that speech—is never considered to be a speech in support of his original motion. That is not considered to be a speech which is kept suspended and delivered later. It is only a right of reply that he exercises and nothing else. So, when the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan has moved the motion for consideration without a speech he has only the right of reply open to him. I repeat Sir, that you will not find in the whole history of transactions of this House a single instance where a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House was taken up in the midst of a speech, and the undelivered speech of the mover of a substantive motion or his right to speak in support of it was kept in suspended animation.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, you will kindly refer to Rule 41 proviso. There are four provisos. Mr. Basu as a clever lawyer has read out everything but left out the relevant portion. (Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: A clever lawyer never introduces any irrelevant matter like you.) It is said: "Provided that the mover of a motion, when moving the same, and the

Minister in charge of the Department to which the motion relates when speaking for the first time, may speak for thirty minutes." There is no provision that he must deliver his speech on the first occasion that he moves *his motion.*

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, may I make a few observations which may help you to give your ruling? The whole question that you have got to consider is whether the speech made in support of a motion forms part of the motion itself. A speech may be made or it may not be made. It is not essential that a speech must be made. Therefore the motion being before the House this has been completed and no business remains, the speech not being an essential part of the motion. The business, as it appears on the Order Paper of the 8th, has been finished and no business remains and therefore the House is bound to pass on to other business.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, Mr. Fazlur Rahman has drawn your attention as well as mine to the proviso to sub-rule (*4*) which evidently has been pointed out to him by some other honourable member of this House and is not his own brain wave. Sub-rule (*4*) states that no speech shall exceed 15 minutes in duration unless of course the Speaker extends the time and to the time-limit of the speech there is a proviso and that proviso is: that the mover of a motion when moving the same and the Minister in charge of the Department to which the motion relates when speaking for the first time may speak for 30 minutes. In other words if the mover chooses to speak for the first time he may speak for 30 minutes—not that it confers on him a right not to speak at all when moving but on a later date to take up his speech. This proviso does not at all assist the Minister, and is wholly irrelevant. If he had spoken originally at the time of moving his motion then of course the question of time would have arisen. Not having done so, this proviso does not at all help him or help you in deciding this matter.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am thankful to the honourable members who have tried to give me assistance in this matter but to my mind the matter appears to be very simple. The discussion of the adjournment motion was fixed previous to the taking up of any other item. Consequently it could not be foreseen whether a certain item should be finished or not. After finishing as far as I remember two small items, a small margin of time was left and during that time I called upon the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department to move his motion. He did move his motion and said that he reserved his right of speech in view of the fact that no time was available then. It was his discretion to make or not to make a speech. Even if he had desired to speak there was no time then available and that was why he could not ~~do it.— I do not think that there can be any objection to his making his speech today.~~

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I know on what the Hon'ble Minister is speaking?

Mr. SPEAKER: He speaks on the motion for consideration of the Bill.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Has the motion been moved?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I submit that either the motion has been moved or it has not been moved——

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you on a point of order?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Certainly. Your previous ruling does not help us. I want to know whether during the short period when we were pressing certain points of order certain words which were muttered by the Hon'ble Minister in charge were to be taken by you as if he had moved the motion. If it is your decision that the motion has been moved then it is finished. If it is your decision that the motion was not moved but was in course of being moved, then the question left over is whether a member who was on his legs for any intervention either for reasons beyond his control or for an adjournment motion which intervened has any right to continue his speech unimpaired. I quite admit that there has been some precedent that while a member is on his legs if the House gets adjourned then he can continue his speech on the next following day. There is no doubt about that. But here was a definite motion in the House for adjournment of the business of the day and leave for that motion was granted. There is a difference between an ordinary adjournment and adjournment of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance. This motion superseded all other business. Therefore the Minister has lost his chance of speaking. If he wants to speak on the Secondary Education Bill, under the rules he will have plenty of opportunities. We will have our motions moved and then he will have opportunities of replying not once or twice but as many times as 150 or so times that there are motions. He may, if he likes, speak on every one of these motions. I do not understand why he seeks to take up the time of the House by making a speech on a Bill, a very important Bill of this kind.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Then you think that it should be quickly passed?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We have never been obstructive.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Your ruling has been contested.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, have you finished your point of order?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I want to know whether in your judgment the motion for consideration of the Bill clause by clause has been moved or has not been moved. I want your "yes" or "no".

Mr. SPEAKER: I have understood your point. I am of opinion that the Minister is in possession of the House and he will continue.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in support of the motion I have already moved that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be taken into consideration at once, I beg to submit that this measure occupies a unique place in the history of legislation in this province.

(Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Certainly.) The object of the Bill is regulation, control and development of Secondary Education in Bengal. On no other subject within the legislative purview in this province there has been a more unanimous demand for reform and yet no other attempt at reform has met with greater opposition from certain particular bodies and certain *particular sections of people.* (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: *Question, question.*) *No other legislative effort in this province has had a more* chequered history or a longer period of travail.

It was a quarter of a century ago that the Sadler Commission in its well considered report recommended the establishment of a statutory Board of Secondary Education because it was of opinion that "Secondary Education like University education in Bengal had reached a stage at which further progress was impossible without a complete reorganisation of existing administrative conditions." (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Question, question.) Successive Governments have ever since made attempts at legislation for the establishment of such a Board but all such attempts have hitherto proved to be abortive. This is nothing short of a scandal. It is symptomatic of a deep seated malady the cure for which we have not yet been able to discover. I do not intend to trace the melancholy history of this failure in any detail as it has been narrated threadbare in this House time and again in connection with the 1940 and 1942 Bills. Suffice it to say that the present Bill represents the ninth and I hope, the last attempt of its kind to place a measure like this on the Statute Book. On almost each of these occasions Government sought the advice of the Calcutta University and the Bill was wrecked on the rock of the University's opposition. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Question, question.) The policy of executing the decree with the previous consent of the judgment debtor has completely failed. Does the House desire that justice should be further delayed, that the ship of secondary education should be allowed to drift aimlessly in chaos and disorder a day longer? If we want to avoid a disastrous shipwreck the answer must be emphatic "no".

Sir, I would request the House to recall the senseless opposition that was offered to the 1940 Bill. That antagonism came from a small but very influential section of the Community. That Bill was referred to a Select Committee but the Committee was boycotted by that section. Later on they showed a desire to to play the game and Government in deference to their wishes set up an Expert Committee to consider the provisions of the Bill. Then came long drawn conferences of party leaders and agreement was reached on many outstanding questions though ultimately the negotiations broke down before an all-round understanding could be arrived at. The Bill as reported upon by the Select Committee was then taken up for consideration clause by clause and several clauses of the Bill were gone through in the September session of 1941. A political crisis then supervened and the Ministry that was sponsoring the Bill went out of office. The Ministry that succeeded was largely composed of members who opposed the Bill of 1940. The new Ministers dropped the 1940 Bill and introduced a Bill of their own in the Budget Session of 1942. The Bill incorporated some of the agreements arrived at in the conferences of party leaders to which I have already referred. This Bill was referred to a Select Committee which was directed

to submit its report by the 31st July, 1942. It is curious to note that a section of the supporters of the then Ministry maintained a hostile attitude to the measure and it was owing to the various technical objections raised by them that the Select Committee could not practically function. No report could therefore be submitted by the 31st July, 1942, and as the family tussle in the Ministerial camp continued, at the request of the then Ministry the Deputy Speaker extended the time for submission of the report of the Select Committee on as many as five occasions and on the last occasion up to the 31st March, 1943. The Ministry, however, went out of office that very month leaving the legacy of the Bill to the present Ministry which assumed office in April, 1943. The present Ministry after being assured that the Bill and the Select Committee were alive decided to proceed with the Bill and the same Select Committee and requested you, Sir, to extend the time for submission of the report of the Select Committee which you were pleased to do till the 31st January, 1944. After settling all these outstanding preliminary questions the first meeting of the Select Committee at the instance of the present Ministry was held on the 14th December, 1943. At this meeting members of the Select Committee representing the Congress groups raised certain legal and technical objections, the most important of which was that the Bill had lapsed under section 19 of the Assembly Procedure Rules as the member-in-charge of the Bill had made no motion in regard to the same during two complete sessions. As their objections were overruled they walked out of the meeting in protest and never rejoined the deliberations of the Committee. The Committee, however, proceeded with and finished its work in February last. The final report was prepared and signed and was ready for presentation before the House when you, Sir, upholding the objections of the members of the Select Committee representing the Congress groups decided that the Bill had lapsed. The Government took this new situation into immediate consideration and decided to introduce a fresh Bill exactly in conformity with the report of the Select Committee and such a Bill, which is the present Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, was eventually published in the *Calcutta Gazette* and introduced in this House. The present Bill is therefore nothing more and nothing less than the Bill of 1942 as modified in certain particulars by the same Select Committee as was set up by the then Ministry.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. References are sought to be made to certain acts done by the supposed Select Committee that had been declared by you as having had no authority to proceed with the Bill as it was. Sir, we submit that this kind of backdoor references to the work of the Select Committee is not only a reflection on the decision of the Chair but it also tries to bring in matters before the House which the House had never any right to obtain. The Hon'ble Minister in charge could have brought an interim report which he dared not do because of the note of dissent that was submitted thereon——

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your point of order, Dr. Sanyal?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, there should be no reference to a Select Committee which was a packed body working in the absence of duly elected members and to a Select Committee which was declared by you to

be void and unworkable and it will be deluding the House if any reference to that Select Committee be made in this House at this stage.

Mr. SPEAKER: *Dr. Sanyal, you understand the thing, I think, as* well as every other member and myself. The position is that the Select Committee report is not being placed before the House. Some facts are being narrated and I do not think there is any objection to the narration of facts that the course of the different Secondary Education Bills took. That is a preliminary thing which the Hon'ble Minister is narrating to the House. If there is any wrong statement of facts or if you want to challenge anything you will have while replying an opportunity to do that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Was the Select Committee legally constituted?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is quite another matter.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: As in the case of the 1940 Bill the present Bill has raised a storm of protest from identical quarters. The most vocal exponent of this opposition is Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. He has been taking great pains in initiating and organising protest meetings amongst certain sections of the peoples and of the student community. The House will judge whether he has not been out to kill his own progeny. He will not certainly deny that he was the main author of the 1942 Bill. Not only he, but certain other main opponents of the present Bill, namely, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee as well as Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed and Khan Bahadur Hashem Ali Khan who are now shining lights of the Opposition were the members of the Cabinet that sponsored the Bill of 1942. The official Congress group, though not themselves in office, were warm supporters of the then Ministry. Can they now with any justification array themselves against the present Bill which is the same Bill as theirs with only certain modifications made in the Select Committee?

I now propose to deal with the main objections voiced against the present Bill through the press and the platform. In doing so, I think, I shall be well advised if I deal with the criticism offered by our eminent countryman, Sir P. C. Ray, as contained in the press statement issued on behalf of the Bengal Education Council on the 23rd April, 1944, because it is of a comprehensive character and covers almost all the criticisms that have emanated from other sources.

It is clear from his statement that he is not on the whole opposed to the Bill of 1942 but is a vehement opponent of the present Bill. This is borne out by the following sentence in his statement: ".........A new Ministry came into power in December, 1941, and introduced in 1942 another Secondary Education Bill upon a compromised basis. That Bill could not be proceeded with because of changes that took place in the Ministry soon afterwards. After a short interregnum the present Ministry took power in May, 1943, and they tried to remodel the Bill of 1942 in a Select Committee reconstituted and functioning unconstitutionally and that basic and fundamental changes have been made in the new Bill." The allegations here are—

(1) That the Bill of 1942 could not be proceeded with by the previous Ministry because of the change of Government soon afterwards;

(2) That the present Ministry had the Bill examined by a reconstituted Select Committee which functioned unconstitutionally; and

(3) That basic and fundamental changes have been made by the Select Committee.

As regards the first point it is not quite correct to say that the previous Ministry could not proceed with the Bill on account of change of Government. The Ministry was in power for 16 months and during the period several meetings of the Select Committee were held and the Ministry had the time for submission of the report of the Select Committee extended on as many as five occasions. That no real progress was made was due to the obstructive tactics of a section of the Select Committee. Had the Ministry continued to remain in power it is almost certain they too would have proceeded with the Bill in the same manner as we have done and that the same changes would have been made by the Select Committee.

As regards the second point, namely, that the Select Committee was reconstituted by the present Ministry and that it functioned unconstitutionally let us examine the allegation. The Select Committee constituted at the instance of the then Ministry consisted of the following members representing all sections of the House:—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Karim, Minister-in-charge.
(2) Mr. Syed Badruddoja.
(3) Dr. Sanaullah.
(4) Mr. Abdul Wahab Khan.
(5) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal.
(6) Mr. Harendra Kumar Sur.
(7) Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas.
(8) Babu Premhari Barma.
(9) Dr. H. C. Mukherji.
(10) Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy.
(11) Mr. Khwaja Shahabuddin.
(12) Mr. Fazlur Rahman (Dacca).
(13) Mr. Abdullah-Al-Mahmood.
(14) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri.
(15) Mr. Atul Chandra Sen.
(16) Mr. Shahedali.
(17) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth.

Was this Committee changed by the present Ministry, and, if so, how and why? As regards Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, as he was not a member of this House, it was decided by the Deputy Speaker during the regime of the last Ministry that he could not be a member of the Select Committee of the Assembly. He was also subsequently unseated by his constituency and when the present Ministry was formed, the present Minister-in-charge became automatically a member of the Select Committee. This was one change.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, on a point of order again. In course of the speech certain narrations are sought to be given which in our humble opinion seek to reopen a question on which the Speaker's decision has been given and are in a way a challenge to the Speaker's decision on an important matter. If this is allowed, we would submit that you will not

stand in the way of our exposing the thorough hollowness of the arguments put forward by the Minister-in-charge on the ground that in that case the Speaker's ruling may be challenged. If this sort of challenge is permitted on that side, I would humbly beseech of you that you would not stop us in future.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I am thankful to you that you have brought this to my notice. As far as I have followed the speech, I have not got anything which challenges any decision, but if any challenge is made by anybody, certainly I will take proper steps.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, may I put this question with regard to the statement that is being made. He has been treating the Select Committee, which has been declared by you to be an illegal Select Committee on a Bill which had lapsed, as if it was a regularly constituted Select Committee and has been dealing with it in the manner in which other regularly constituted Select Committees can be dealt with. I submit that the speech prepared by the Hon'ble Minister did not take into account the fact that this Select Committee had been declared illegal and that this was a lapsed Bill. If this aspect of the matter had been borne in mind by him, probably he would have omitted to make such references. In the light of the observation which has been made by you and which has been already accepted by him also that it had lapsed, would he not be justified or well-advised in deleting, if he can do it now while standing on his legs, all those references to the Select Committee which had been declared illegal.

Mr. SPEAKER: As to the point just now raised by Mr. Basu, I can only say that my decision did not refer to the constitution of the Select Committee at all. My decision simply rested on the fact that the Bill had lapsed on account of steps not being taken to keep the Bill alive.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: That was our contention.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, your contention has been upheld.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Very truthfully we have been referred to as obstructionists!

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly resume your seat? Therefore, my decision does not appear to have been challenged.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Can he refer to it as a Select Committee?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, there is a difficulty here. We do not know on what ground or on which of the grounds put forward by us——

Mr. SPEAKER: As far as I have been able to see, up till now he has not said anything challenging my decision.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I pointed out, he has, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter. Opinions may differ, but as far as I have been able to see he has not; and he himself says that he has not and I do not think he challenges my decision. Now, the only point is that he has been stating that a certain Select Committee was constituted and that it sat for some time to decide certain matters. You will have ample opportunity of stating that that Select Committee, according to you, was

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am afraid my points have not been properly met. I submit that while the Minister in charge has been trying to give us the history of the present Bill, he has brought in matters relating to the objections raised by us and the decisions that were given by you on those objections. So far as this House is concerned, we are not yet aware of the details of your ruling on those issues and we do not know which of our objections were accepted by you or if all our objections were accepted by you. One of the objections that we raised was that the Minister in charge at the present moment could not automatically and *ipso facto* become a member of that Select Committee and its Chairman. Just now we have heard that the Minister claimed that in the Select Committee that was originally appointed, the then Chairman—Minister in charge Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim—having gone out of the picture, the present Minister automatically became a member and Chairman—that is one of the disputed points. You have not given us any idea.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I interrupt you. My decision is well-known to me and if I ever find that my decision has even indirectly been challenged, I will not allow it. But so far as the points that he has stated up till now are concerned, he has not even touched the fringe of any challenge. That I can tell you. If he touches it even indirectly, I will at once call him to order.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order, Sir. Is it open to the Minister to refer to that so-called Select Committee as a Select Committee? Sir, after your declaration, it was a rump, it was a caucus and our point is fundamental. We are not going to allow that to be used as a Select Committee because that is our point. I would invite your decision on the point whether the Minister is at all allowed or justified in referring to that committee, that rump, that caucus, that party conclave as a Select Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: As far as I have been able to gather from his statement, he is only narrating facts and I cannot prevent any honourable member of this House from narrating facts.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order, Sir. Under rule 55 all proceedings of a Select Committee shall be treated as confidential and its recommendations shall not be disclosed until the report has been made available for the use of each member or has been published in the Gazette. This is fundamental too. No report has been published or presented—could be published or presented under your ruling—and yet the Hon'ble Minister is going on describing what took place behind the scene in that so-called Select Committee which is a misnomer and I strongly protest against this attempt on his part to bring in by the back door, to call as Select Committee what has been definitely condemned by you and in that respect he is challenging the decision of the Speaker. I would invite your ruling on rule 55.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Basu, I am thankful to you for pointing out to me the provisions of rule 55. If the Hon'ble Minister ever makes any attempt (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: He has already done.) to state that the present Bill embodies the recommendations of the committee——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He has said that.

Mr. SPEAKER: If that is so, certainly that is objectionable.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Look up the proceedings.

Mr. SPEAKER: But if he says that we have proceeded upon a certain basis which was the basis arrived at by a committee which was not a committee at all, according to you, which was not a Select Committee at all according to you, the proceedings of that committee cannot at all be any proceedings at all. Therefore, that question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Why should he call it a Select Committee?

Mr. SPEAKER: As I have already pointed out, he is narrating certain facts. It is open to the Opposition, it is open to the Government to narrate facts. The Select Committee according to the Opposition is no Select Committee. Therefore, no question of any recommendation of that committee or of the confidential nature of the recommendation of that committee can possibly arise.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order, Sir. Can he have it both ways?

Mr. SPEAKER: You can reply to that when you speak.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If you allow us the same freedom and the same time, we shall be too grateful.

Mr. SPEAKER: As I have said, so long as you do not challenge any decision of the Speaker, you will have absolute liberty to put arguments.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The only other change was this. Mr. Suhrawardy resigned and you, Sir, appointed Mr. Israil in his place.

Can this be characterised as a reconstitution of the Committee? It was to all intents and purposes the same Select Committee as was constituted by the House at the instance of the last Ministry. It is this Committee that examined the Bill of 1942 and the Bill of 1944 is nothing but the Bill of 1942 as reported upon by this Select Committee. Another point taken by Sir P. C. Ray in this connection is that the Committee functioned unconstitutionally. His apparent reference is to the technical objection raised by members of the Committee representing the Congress groups at the first meeting of the Select Committee under the regime of the present Ministry held on the 14th December, 1943. As I have already said their main objection was that the Bill had lapsed, and when their objection was overruled by the President of the meeting, four members representing the Congress groups, viz., Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. Atul Chandra Sen and Mr. Harendra Kumar Sur walked out in protest——

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: On a point of order, Sir. We are not going to tolerate that. It was not a Select Committee. He cannot utter the words "Select Committee" with reference to what took place. If, on the other hand, it is not a Select Committee, let him face that position. It was a *baitakkhana* where these members came and walked out.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir. Are we to understand that he is dilating upon——

Mr. SPEAKER: Please put your point of order concisely.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Yes, Sir. I want to know whether he is discussing the business that was transacted at the committee which has been declared by you unconstitutional or he is discussing about the business transacted at the Select Committee. We want to know that from you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I have already made my position clear on this point and no further decision is necessary.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, if these honourable gentlemen were genuinely imbued with a desire for reform in the field of Secondary Education and if they really wanted a Bill like that of 1942 would they have raised those technical objections? Again the main ground of their objection that the Bill had lapsed originated before the present Ministry came into power If the Bill lapsed on account of the Minister-in-charge having made no motion regarding the Bill during two consecutive sessions it lapsed owing to the then Minister-in-charge Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim having failed to make such a motion during two consecutive sessions and what the present Government inherited from the previous Ministry was a dead Bill.

However admitting that the Bill had lapsed as must be admitted since you, Sir, have given your decision to that effect and, also admitting that in that sense the functioning of the Select Committee was unconstitutional does that in any way detract from the merit of the work of the Select Committee in substance? It is a patent fact that the Committee deliberated upon the provisions of the Bill during long days and came to conclusions which have been embodied in the present Bill.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Which committee? May I ask which committee he is referring to?

Mr. SPEAKER: Perhaps you have not followed him. He has admitted in unequivocal terms that the Select Committee was functioning unconstitutionally. What more do you want?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: How can it be called a committee of the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is a question of use of phraseology and nothing else.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: No, Sir It has got a different meaning under the rules.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The conclusions of the Select Committee would have been the same in case your decision, Sir, was that the Bill had not lapsed There would have been absolutely no difference in substance. There would have been only a difference in procedure. In case you decided that the Bill had not lapsed the report of the Select Committee would have been presented before the House as such, and the Bill as reported upon by the Select Committee would then have been taken up for consideration clause by clause. In the present case what has been done is that the report of the Select Committee has been presented before the House in the form of a new Bill and it is now proposed that the report as embodied in the Bill be taken into consideration.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, the expression used is "the report of the Select Committee has been presented".

Mr. SPEAKER: He ought to have put it in a different form.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: This is a direct insult to the Chair. We want your warning to the Minister to be recorded.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: The expression used is "the report of the Select Committee has been presented". This should be expunged.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: It is a distinction without any difference and the entire objection on this score has no legs to stand upon.

Let us now examine the objection of Sir P. C. Ray that basic and fundamental alterations have been made by the Select Committee. I would like to point out at the outset that in a long and important Bill like this embracing a new field of legislation it is too much to expect that the Select Committee should not make any change. Look at the reports of all the Select Committees of this legislature on important measures and you will find that in each and every case numerous changes were made. The present case is in no way different from any of those cases. Then regarding the character of the changes it is apparent that no amendment can be made by a Select Committee, which is outside the scope of a Bill. In the present case also no such major change has been made. The changes that have been made cannot be characterised as basic and fundamental. Let us, however, examine the changes that Sir P. C. Ray considers as basic and fundamental.

The first and foremost change of this character mentioned in the statement of Sir P. C. Ray is "the attempt" as he puts it "to communalise the whole fabric of Secondary Education". "The Bill of 1942" he goes on "provided for the composition of the Board mainly on the lines indicated by the Sadler Commission though arrangements were made for the representation of different educational interests on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats". Then he takes strong exception to the introduction of separate electorate in the constitution of the Board and the Executive Council. Sir, if the Bill of 1942 provided for the composition of the Board, as Sir P. C. Ray says, mainly on the lines indicated by the Sadler Commission, how can one say that the present Bill also does not provide for the same? (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Because of communal electorate.) The structure of the Board under the Bill of 1942 is the same as that of the Board under the present Bill (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Bunkum). The only main change is not in the composition of the Board, but in the method of election of a fraction of the members of the Board. I admit that the change in the method of election from joint to separate electorate basis is an important change, but I would like to repeat that the change is one of procedure rather than of substance (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Nonsense). The Bill of 1942 concedes as every reasonable man or woman must concede that it is necessary to reserve a specified number of seats under certain categories for Muslims, Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes. So far as the substance of communal representation is concerned you get it there in its entirety. If that is acceptable why raise futile objections to the method of election by separate electorate provided in the

present Bill? If you are prepared to swallow the substance why demur at the shape in which it is given to you. Why have you conceded the reservation of seats? Because certain communities demand it. Why not then also concede what is only a logical conclusion of the recognition of reservation of seats? It is the united demand of Mussalmans that their representation must be through separate electorate. In the wider field of the constitutional structure this has been recognised and incorporated in the Constitution Act of 1935 as was also done in the Parliamentary Act that preceded. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You have outdone Ramsay MacDonald). And this has also been accepted by all the non-Muslim political parties in the country as evidenced by their conduct. This has eliminated inter-communal feud from the electoral arena. Is it not too late in the day to fight shy of it in the far narrower field of statutory educational bodies? You simply repeat parrot like that separate electorate in the field of education is something unthinkable. It was also unthinkable to you in the field of the constitutional structure and general administration, but now you are reconciled to it. If it is acceptable in the all important and all embracing constitutional and administrative field what is the logic of objecting to it in a far narrower and more limited field? Again is it really something new in the field of education? (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: You do not understand anything about education). Let us see what the position is in the sacred sphere of the Calcutta University. Besides the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor the Senate of the University consists of 10 other ex-officio Fellows 20 ordinary Fellows elected by the registered graduates and 80 nominated Fellows. There are only one or two Muslims amongst the ex-officio Fellows who do not attend meetings of the Senate by convention. Amongst the Fellows that are elected by the registered graduates there are no Muslims. Dr. Syamaprasad's reply here, as he actually gave in the course of another debate on a previous Secondary Education Bill, is that there are very few Muslim registered graduates. The conclusion to be drawn from such a reply is that Muslims can hardly expect to have a chance of election by non-Muslim registered graduates. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Reserve a few seats). I would request Dr. Mookerjee to ponder over the implications of his reply. That is however beside my point at present. From what I have already said it is clear that the only *de facto* source of Muslim representation on the Senate is nomination. Here as a matter of deliberate policy with a view to give representation to all sections of the people the nominated seats are distributed in certain proportions amongst Europeans, Indian Non-Muslims and Muslims and at present there are 27 nominated Muslim Fellows on the Senate. It is now clear that if Muslims have to be given any representation on the Senate that must be done either through election on communal representation basis or through nomination. Now whether such representation is secured through communal electorates or through nomination does it not amount to recognition of the communal principle? Can it be said therefore that in the Calcutta University the principle of communal representation has not been recognised? These 27 Muslim Fellows of the University have been nominated as Muslims. I fail to understand how it will be outrageous if these Muslim Fellows are given the right to elect the Muslim Members who will represent the University on the Secondary Education Board. You know you have

no case, though your capacity for argument may be inexhaustible. Again you know that the principle of separate Electorate was recognised in the constitution of the Dacca University pretty long ago. There the Muslim registered graduates elect a given number of Muslim members of the Court and Muslim members of the Court similarly elect a given number of the Muslim members of the Executive Council. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mention any other University in India). That arrangement has been working satisfactorily without producing any disastrous results that your imagination is apprehending in the case of the Secondary Education Board. It is a matter of great regret that Dr. R. C. Majumdar, an erstwhile Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University by a most misleading statement has stabbed that University in the back (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: He has spoken the truth). The incidents he has cited cannot be ascribed by any right thinking man to the existence of communal electorates but are due to factors which Dr. Majumdar as a historian would certainly have been able to ascertain if he could approach the subject with an unprejudiced mind. You talk of communal peace and harmony, mutual good will and tolerance. That can only come by recognition of each other's legitimate rights and by a display of the spirit of give and take, not by insincere and shallow talk. May I hope that every section of this House will recognise the necessity of representation of certain communities on the Board through separate electorate, however distasteful it may be to them as the only effective method of securing their true representation and accept this provision in the Bill with good grace.

The next criticism of Sir P C Ray is to the effect that changes have been made in the constitution of the Board with the deliberate purpose of reducing educational and enlarging political elements and influence. As an instance in point he says that the number of University representatives has been reduced from 16 to 8. This is not correct. The reduction is from 18 to 12 Sir P. C. Ray has not taken into account the ex-officio representatives of the two Universities. Again he has taken no notice of the fact that in the Bill of 1942 the number of University representatives was 18 on a Board of 60 whereas in the present Bill the number is 12 on a Board of 53. So the reduction is not as glaring as he has tried to show. The reduction is only slightly higher than proportionate. The exact proportionate number on a Board of 53 would have been 14 whereas in the Bill it is 12. Is this a basic and fundamental change? Can this be characterised as a sacrifice of academic interests? It should be seen in this connection that in the Executive Council which will be the real administrative machinery of the Board the Universities have been given a very large representation. The number of their representatives will be at least 7 in a body of 21 members. So the Universities can have no legitimate grievance on the score of inadequate representation. The House will judge whether academic interests will be in danger of being made subservient at the hands of an Executive Council like this.

Sir P. C. Ray next cites the instance of omission of representatives of Managing Committees of High Schools and High Madrassahs. The Select Committee did this advisedly. The introduction of this element would in no way have been in academic interest and if at all introduced there was no reason to exclude from the representation the Managing Committees of

Middle English Schools and other types of institutions within the purview of Secondary Education. The omission of this element is considered a decided improvement and not a retrograde step. In any case it is not certainly a basic or fundamental change. Sir P C Ray next refers to the non-provision of ex-officio representation of the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities on the Executive Council This has been done in the belief that in the midst of their multifarious preoccupations they may probably find it extremely difficult to attend meetings of the Executive Council which will be very frequent, but the door has been left open for their election on the Executive Council and in case they offer themselves for election they will certainly be elected. This again cannot be called a basic and fundamental change.

The next point worth notice in Sir P C Ray's statement is the allegation of enlarging political elements and influence The instance he has cited is the increase in the number of representatives of the Bengal Legislature from 7 to 10 Sir, is it insinuated that there are no educationists in the Legislature? There are certainly men and women amongst the members of the Legislature whose mission in life is the advancement of education. Again if members of the Legislature can be entrusted with the most responsible positions in the political administrative, civic and social life of the Province will a number of selected people out of this august body be a set of undesirables or be unfit to discharge their duties properly as members of the Secondary Education Board? The Legislature was given a representation on the Board in the Bill of 1942 also; the number of such representatives has only been slightly increased in the present Bill. Is this a basic and fundamental change? Has this increase altered the character of the Board in any way? To my mind, Sir, a substantial representation of the Legislature on the Board will be of immense advantage. After all this is the body that is the custodian of the rights of the people and this is the forum before which the activities of all bodies like the Secondary Education Board will be subjected to examination and discussion from time to time This is the authoritative body that will give the necessary supplies to the Board. An adequate representation of the Legislature on the Board will therefore be a positive advantage and in no sense a handicap. I hope the House will not throw the Bill away because the number of its representatives on the Board has been slightly increased.

The next charge of Sir P C Ray is that changes have been effected in the Bill for the purpose of extending official power and impairing the autonomy of the Board. The first instance he cites under this head is that Government has taken power under the Bill to declare any form of education as not Secondary Education Sir P C Ray has here fallen into an error due to careless reading of the Bill. Government has not taken power to declare any form of education as not Secondary Education. As regards general education which will be the main and the most onerous concern of the Board the Government will have no power to declare it not to be secondary education. Government will have such power only with regard to certain special types of education such as (1) religious education whether combined with any form of general education or not, (2) technical education, (3) agricultural education, (4) industrial education, (5) commercial education, (6) medical education, (7) education of the blind, deaf and dumb,

(8) education in reformatories and jails, and (9) other types of vocational and special education. Under the Bill of 1942 also Government had this power, but it was limited to a period of three years after the establishment of the Board. This limitation has been omitted in the present Bill and for very good reasons. It may not be possible for the Board to make adequate arrangements for administering such special types of education within a specified period, and therefore with a view to avoid any possible deadlock or embarrassment Government have sought to retain the right to declare any of these special types of education not to be secondary education at any time, and also to declare it back as secondary education according as circumstances may justify. The Select Committee had certainly no sinister motive in making this provision.

The next instance cited by Sir P. C. Ray is with regard to the appointment of the President. Both according to the Bill of 1942 and the present Bill the appointment is to be made by the Government, in the former case out of a panel chosen by a Selection Committee. The Select Committee was of opinion that there was no reason to follow the cumbrous procedure of first of all preparing a panel by a Selection Committee. Those who will think of offering their services for a high office like this will consider it derogatory to go through the process of a preliminary selection by a Selection Committee. For similar reasons appointments to certain high offices like those of the Advocate-General and the Standing Counsel are not made after obtaining the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. Again the House will see that the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University is appointed direct by the Provincial Government and hitherto there has been no cause for complaint The best possible selections have always been made and the independence and autonomy of the University have in no way been adversely affected by the fact of the Vice-Chancellor being appointed direct by the Provincial Government.

Sir P. C. Ray then refers to certain small matters such as deciding disputes relating to eligibility for election, appointment or co-option as members of the Board and relating to the manner of such election, appointment or co-option by a single judge instead of by a tribunal and the omission from the present Bill of the provision giving the right to any person interested in the Secondary Education Fund to prefer an objection to the accounts submitted to the auditor. These are trivial matters which I do not like to discuss at the present stage.

I leave it to the House to judge whether these little changes can be rightfully characterised as an attempt to officialise secondary education. Far from increasing official control the proposals in the Bill, if enacted into law, will reduce official control to the minimum, nay almost eliminate it *in toto* and that is in fact a strong ground of objection from certain other quarters. At present Government exercises a large measure of control and influence over secondary education through its inspectorate, by distribution of grants-in-aid, scholarships and stipends and by prescribing courses of studies below the Matriculation classes. Under the scheme of this Bill all these including the entire inspectorate will be handed over to the Board and only a modicum of indirect influence will be retained in the hands of Government. I fail to understand how it can be asserted that we are out

to officialise secondary education and to increase Government control. Do they aver that Government should divest itself of all responsibility in the matter of secondary education? I would like to quote here what the Sadler Commission said regarding the responsibility of Government:—

> "To whatever special bodies it may entrust the administration of the different grades of education, the State cannot abrogate the duty of exercising a general superintendence over education as a whole and of securing a balance and a well proportioned development of all its sides."

Honourable members will see that under the scheme of the Bill nothing but such general power of superintendence of an indirect character has been retained in the hands of Government. Honourable members will also kindly see that transference of wide powers like these to statutory bodies seems to be contrary to the tendency of the present day. Those who have read the new British Education Bill will see that the Minister-in-charge is invested with such wide powers as will stagger the critics of the present Bill. Again, if we look at the composition of the Board it will be seen that in a body of 53 members there will be 8 Government officials including 2 Inspecting Officers who will ultimately be servants of the Board and 8 nominated members. There is therefore an overwhelming non-official majority. Far from attempting an increase of official control the measure contemplates almost a complete divestment of Government control.

Sir P. C. Ray next complains that the safeguard against sudden withdrawal of recognition from the present permanently recognised schools has been omitted from the present Bill. The so called safeguard provided in the Bill of 1942 seems to be uncalled for and unnecessary, but if the House thinks proper it can and will be restored. Here again there was no motive behind the omission.

Sir P. C. Ray next refers to the omission in the present Bill of the clause relating to compensation to the Calcutta University for the loss that the University will sustain on account of fees for the Matriculation Examination. Here Sir P. C. Ray has been labouring under a misconception. The Bill of 1942 made provision for the conducting of the Matriculation Examination by the Board in place of the Calcutta University and as such provided for compensation to the Calcutta University for the loss to be sustained. Government was advised that the provisions regarding the Matriculation Examination were outside the scope of the Bill which only seeks to provide for the regulation, control and development of secondary education and that the proposed change could only be effected by a separate amendment of the Indian Universities Act; and as such all references to the Matriculation Examination have been omitted from the present Bill.

That being so the consequent compensation clause has also been omitted. It is proposed at the earliest possible opportunity after the passage of this Bill through the legislature to introduce a complementary legislation by way of amendment of the Indian Universities Act in which provision will be made releasing the Calcutta University from the responsibility of conducting the Matriculation Examination and vesting the right to hold this examination in the Secondary Education Board. The Board will not be in a position to function properly without this complementary legislation and it is

therefore intended to introduce that legislation at the next session of the Assembly. *The provision for compensation to the University will have to be incorporated in that Bill.* To those who are in anxiety about this question of compensation I can give this assurance that Government yields to none in its desire to see the University placed on a sound financial basis and that when the proposed Universities Amendment Bill is prepared the provision for compensation to the University as contained in the Bill of 1942 will be incorporated in the amending Bill.

Another attack on this Bill is on the score of increasing Muslim influence and attempting a death blow at the Hindu educational fabric. Sir P. C. Ray could not induce himself to say so in explicit language but there are others who have been trumpeting this lie from their house tops and have been playing the dangerous game of inciting the Hindu community, particularly the Hindu youth to questionable activities. Let us examine if there is any substance in this hysteric cry. The Board envisaged in the Bill consists of 53 members of whom 22 will be Hindus, 22 will be Muslims and 9 will be of other denominations. This gives the Muslims a representation of 41 per cent. Is this an over representation of the majority community in this province on the Board? How will these 22 members exercise communal domination over the Board? Now look at the composition of this House. Here the Muslim members constitute 49 per cent. of the Assembly and the Hindus less than 39 per cent. Compared to this is it the Muslims or the Hindus who have been more generously treated in the composition of the Board? Again what is the communal proportion in the Bill of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, i.e., the Bill of 1942? The Board under that Bill consists of 60 members of whom 25 are Hindus, 25 are Muslims and 10 are others,—exactly the same proportion of fifty fifty so far as Hindus and Muslims are concerned.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer. Henceforth we shall adjourn for prayer at 5-30

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(*After adjournment.*)

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Sir, if the Board under the 1942 Bill was not designed to increase Muslim and diminish Hindu influence, how can the same charge be laid against the composition of the Board under the present Bill? The charge that we are out to destroy Hindu culture and the Hindu educational edifice is maliciously false. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You are saying a deliberate lie.) (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: It is not for a Muslim to utter that.) It is the avowed aim and policy of this Government (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: To crush the Hindus) to deal out evenhanded justice to all sections of the community. The interests of the Hindus are as near to the heart of the Government as the interests of the Muslims (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It is a lie) or for the matter of that as those of any other community inhabiting this land. We are out to further the legitimate interests of all and not to injure those of any. And I believe, Sir, that no one, even if so minded, can do any harm to the great Hindu community.

In this connection I would like to answer another charge unjustly levelled against the Government It is alleged that the Government is trying to drive a wedge into the Hindu community by providing special and separate representation for the Scheduled Castes. Here again it is too late in the day to protest against the special representation of the Scheduled Castes. They have got that representation in the Constitution Act and even the Bill of 1942 gave special representation to them on the Board. The same proportion of representation has been retained for them on the Board under the present Bill. It is of course true that introduction of election through separate electorates is a new feature. But this has been introduced at the unanimous desire of the Scheduled Caste members of the Select Committee (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Question.) When the relevant clauses come up for consideration before the House, this matter I think should be decided according to the desire of the majority of Scheduled Caste members of this Assembly. If they feel that they will not get their genuine representatives on the Board except through separate electorate the same should be conceded to them. If on the other hand they agree to a system of joint electorate with the caste Hindus the relevant clauses may be modified accordingly

Sir P C. Ray's concluding complaint is that the present time is inopportune for a Bill like this for three reasons, viz., (1) violation by the enemy of the boundaries of our motherland, (2) the havoc created by famine, and (3) the question of post-war reconstruction in education being now under the consideration of the Government of India and the principles enunciated in the report of the Educational Adviser to the Government of India being completely at variance with the principles embodied in this Bill. His objection on the ground of prevailing war conditions and aftermath of the famine needs only a summary attention. The policy of the present Government is not to hold up nation-building activities (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Nation-killing.) owing to the prevailing economic and war conditions. England certainly is more in the thick of the war than we are and yet the British Government are not holding up essential reforms on that account. They are proceeding apace with their new education bill even though that raised a storm of controversy on a certain issue and the Churchill Government had to suffer its first defeat on that issue. Mr. Churchill declared that educational reform could never afford to wait. Why then raise these futile pleas to hold up educational reform in such an educationally backward country as Bengal? The last ground mentioned by Sir P. C. Ray requires a little more serious attention. His plea is why not wait till the Government of India have formulated their post-war educational plans. The entire objection is based on a misconception. What we are doing by this present measure is nothing but the setting up of an administrative machinery for Secondary Education. The Bill does not deal with what should be the content of Secondary Education. Whatever post-war plans are prepared by the Government of India and in whatever form these plans are ultimately adopted in Bengal certainly a strong administrative machinery will be necessary to put these plans into execution. If we do not keep the machinery ready we shall be caught napping after the cessation of hostilities and in spite of very good plans being made ready for us we shall not be in

a position to give early effect to them for want of the requisite administrative machinery. Honourable members know how difficult it is in a country like ours to set up such statutory bodies. Even two decades have not proved to be sufficient in Bengal for the formation of a Statutory Secondary Education Board. If we are now deviated by such objections from our purpose to build up a proper machinery for the administration of secondary education we shall lag behind by years when peace is on us and posterity will certainly curse us for our lack of foresight. So the plea of Sir P. C. Ray and of those of his way of thinking far from being a valid ground for the postponement of this measure should rather strengthen our determination to proceed with the Bill as expeditiously as possible.

Sir, I cannot ignore the assertion of Sir P. C. Ray quoted above that the principles enunciated in the Sargent Report are completely at variance with the reactionary principles embodied in this Bill. What he means by the principles of this Bill being reactionary he alone knows. We claim that the principles and provisions of the Bill are of a fundamentally progressive character which will greatly help and accelerate the educational regeneration of this province. Be that as it may, it passes one's comprehension to think how the principles underlying the Sargent Report are at variance with the principles of this Bill. The very fact that Sir P. C. Ray has not in this case illustrated his assertion by citing instances as he has taken great pains to do elsewhere tends to show that his last charge is absolutely devoid of substance. The Sargent Report deals mainly with the content of different types and different stages of education and with administration in education only as a necessary corollary. The principles underlying the Sargent Report and this Bill seldom come into contact with each other and what glaring variance Sir P. C. Ray sees between the two he alone knows except that the present Bill favours decentralisation and investment of the proposed Board with full powers whereas the Sargent Report advocates centralisation and more extensive Government control. It does not appear that Sir P. C. Ray agrees in this respect with Mr. John Sargent, as in an earlier part of his statement he has entered a vehement protest against what he considers to be officialisation of secondary education.

I find there are several motions tabled seeking to send the Bill for circulation for eliciting public opinion and for reference to Select Committees. In case these motions are moved I shall in my reply deal with the arguments that may be advanced in support of these motions. Suffice it to say here that the whole country knows about the measure since 1940 (Cries of "No, no" from the Opposition benches) and has expressed its opinion in various ways. The two Universities have also expressed their views and the Calcutta University is again going to express its opinion in the near future. There is hardly any reason to circulate the Bill. As regards reference to a Select Committee that also is unnecessary as the 1942 Bill has already been considered by a Select Committee and it is that Bill that has merged out of deliberations of the Select Committee in the present form.

There has been some criticism about the financial provision of the Bill. I admit, Sir, that if secondary education has to be properly organised and developed on a country-wide basis as envisaged in the Sargent Report and my definite view is that it should be so organised, much more money will be

necessary than is provided in this Bill. What exact amount will be necessary at each stage of advance and wherefrom the requisite funds will come will be for the Governments of those future days to decide. The post-war plans are not yet ready and we cannot therefore be called upon to make provision for the money that will be necessary in future, in the body of this Bill. But having regard to the expenditure on secondary education during recent years and having regard to the state of our finances the provision in the Bill is not insignificant. The provision is the same as in the Bill of 1942. But that is not all. Besides what is provided in the Bill when the Matriculation Examination will come under the Board large receipts are expected to accrue from the Matriculation Examination fees and from the sale of text books. My personal view is that the receipts from these sources instead of being used to recoup Government for the compensation that will have to be paid to the Calcutta University should go to the secondary education fund and if this is done a large additional sum will be available to the Board for expenditure on secondary education. Besides this when the other types of secondary education are brought under the administration of the Board the money now spent on these types of education and much more will have to be made over to the Education Board for developing these types of education. We can therefore easily see that in all probability over a crore of rupees will be annually spent on secondary education alone in the course of a few years irrespective of what may be necessary to give effect to post-war reconstruction plans.

Sir, I have already taken a pretty long time of the House. I do not therefore like to deal at present with the other criticisms of the Bill on minor matters. If my motion to take the Bill into consideration is passed all these matters will be discussed threadbare when the clauses of the Bill are taken up for consideration Every attempt will be made to rectify defects that may reveal themselves in the course of such discussions. I appeal to all sections of the House for co-operation I appeal to every honourable member to consider the provisions of the Bill dispassionately without prejudice and with an open mind. In case they do so I have no doubt that the Bill will emerge out of our deliberations in a much improved form and we shall be able to place on the statute book a measure fraught with immense possibilities for the educational regeneration of Bengal. (Applause.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in charge has given us a pretty long statement of his justification for taking the Bill into consideration and we have just heard him today. It would have been helpful if we had got these points in a printed circular earlier. (Cries of "Oh! Oh!" from the Ministerialist benches.) In any case, Sir, we want to digest if we can some of his arguments and may I in view of all that humbly request you that the amendments may be taken up tomorrow, because we would like to deal with the points raised by the Hon'ble Minister, so that there may not be any injustice done to him. I submit, Sir, that in all fairness we should be given one more day for discussing his arguments point by point and carefully.

Mr. SPEAKER: We shall consider that later on. I do not think that we should waste one hour's time today for nothing.

Amendment No. 1 is out of order. Mr. Biswas.

(Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas rose to speak.)

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: *Sir, I did not hear what you said. Did you declare my amendment to be out of order?*

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, before you rule it out of order, I hope you will hear me.

Mr. SPEAKER: The point is that ordinarily these things do not appear in the list of business. It is done in my chamber, but on account of want of time all the amendments have been printed. I have afterwards considered this particular amendment and I think this is out of order. But if you still want to say anything I am prepared to hear you.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I can speak only if you have an open mind, but if you have decided finally it is no use my talking to you, because you must have decided before you allowed this amendment to be printed that it should appear together with other amendments, and the question of admissibility would be considered by you on hearing any of the members whose amendment you think to be out of order. You are inclined to think that my amendment is out of order. Before you rule it out of order, I think you will agree with me that you should give me an opportunity of stating my reasons why I think that it is perfectly in order and ought to be moved. If you permit me this opportunity, I will speak. Otherwise I do not want to speak if you have already made up your mind and do not want to hear me.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Fazlul Huq, you know very well that according to the rules it is desirable that all amendments sent must be examined first before they come up to the House. That could not be done in this case and so it was printed. In the meantime I examined it. But even a matter which has been disallowed by the Speaker may with the permission of the Speaker be reopened and reconsidered. So if you desire to make any submission, it is open to you.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, may I submit that you have given your ruling and it will perhaps be in the fitness of things if the honourable and learned Leader of the Opposition sees you in your chamber and satisfies you as to the correctness of his amendment The time of the House is as much ours as that of any other member, however highly placed he may be. I should therefore humbly suggest that if you have decided a thing to be out of order, its reconsideration should not be allowed in the House until you are satisfied in your Chamber that the thing is right and that the ruling given has to be revised.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: May I say a few words on what Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi has just now said. You find, Sir, that these amendments have been printed and the note that is given at the top of these amendments is that these amendments are being examined and have not yet been admitted by Mr. Speaker. There is no mention here that they may be rejected in the Chamber. The printed amendments as they are tabled are now in the hands of members of the entire House and Mr. Fazlul Huq's name appears against the first amendment. Now, Sir, after having printed these amendments and circulated them to the members of the House, it is

not fair, if I may use that expression, on your part, before announcing your decision that any one of these amendments has been rejected in your Chamber afterwards, to allow the member whose name appears in the list an opportunity of making his submission?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I have made my position quite clear. I cannot agree with the suggestion just now made by Mr. Basu for the simple reason that these amendments in the usual course ought to be admitted and then brought before the House. That could not be done. It does not necessarily mean that after these amendments had been printed and circulated I was debarred from considering them. As I have already said, a matter disallowed may be permitted to be agitated and reopened in the House. In fact that seems to be the best course in regard to the amendment that is before the House and the member can very well say "Sir, I understand that my amendment has been disallowed. Will you permit me just to place certain facts before you"? I quite appreciate that the time of the House will be taken up, but this is at the same time a very important matter. The amendment comes from no less a person than the Hon'ble Leader of the Opposition. If you therefore desire to make any submission, I am prepared to allow that

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: It is not by virtue of my office as Leader of the Opposition but as a mere member of this House that I venture to propose this amendment to the motion that has been moved in the hope that if my suggestion is accepted, it will settle once for all communal disputes at least in the sphere of education. As a matter of fact - -

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry to interrupt you. I think you have to speak at the present moment only on the admissibility of the amendment. The effect of acceptance or otherwise of this amendment is a different thing Therefore I hope you will make your submission only with regard to the admissibility of the amendment.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: In that case, it would be better if you would kindly intimate the reasons why you held it out of order and then I will make my submission.

Mr. SPEAKER: As far as I am aware of the constitutional practice, it is not necessary for the Speaker to give reason for disallowing a motion. However, so far as this motion is concerned, it appears to be a negative motion and therefore not in order.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: On that point, I respectfully submit that it is not in the nature of a negative vote. A motion founded on a suggestion is not a negative vote. If I had simply moved an amendment suggesting that the Bill be dropped, that would certainly be a negative vote and that would be ruled out according to the rules of the House. My amendment, however, is a comprehensive one. In order to introduce the substantive part of the amendment, I have begun by saying that the Bill be dropped, but I do not stop there and I say that a comprehensive Bill be brought instead of the present one before the House suggesting certain particulars. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education has moved that this Bill before the House be taken into consideration. That is the motion before the House. To that motion I say that instead of taking that motion into consideration my suggestion may be considered, viz., that the Bill be dropped and the suggestion that I have made be considered. I submit therefore that mine is

a substantive motion having a very substantive proposal. I therefore submit that it does not come within the mischief of the rule by which negative votes are excluded. I submit from that point of view my motion is not out of order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I would like to submit——

Mr. SPEAKER: It is, not necessary.

Dr. NALINAKSH SANYAL: It is very necessary, Sir, I would not have cared to take up the time of the House if you had not given your reason for disallowing the motion. I and my party have our own views about the nature of the amendments sought to be proposed. But you have said that it is not admissible on the ground that it is of the nature of a negative motion. If you had said on the other hand that so far as the Assembly Procedure Rules of the present House are concerned there is no provision for a motion of this character and consequently so far as the wokring of this House is concerned you are in difficulty in admitting the same, probably I would not have argued with you. But, Sir, the definition of a negative motion is clearly given both in May's Parliamentary Practice as well as and more clearly in Redlich and there it has been held that in a motion relating to a substantive proposal even the whole idea can be changed only if the motion has a semblance of the purpose that the original motion seeks to carry. In this case consideration of the Bill has been moved, to which the Hon'ble Leader of the Opposition seeks to propose a certain procedure. He does not say that the Bill should not be taken into consideration at a future date. The Bill can be and should be taken up and his idea is that public opinion should be taken first. But he has put it in a different way. He has said that the Bill be withdrawn. The language that the Bill be withdrawn with a view to make certain alterations clearly indicates that apart from the suggestion that modifications should be effected on public opinion being elicited which is behind his suggestion, he has given some constructive proposal of his own. If we could move motion or amendments merely suggesting circulation for eliciting public opinion without giving any direction or assigning any reasons for such circulaton, I feel that there should be no bar to some member seeking the same procedure but along with that explaining why he was intending to have public opinion on this Bill. The proposal to have the Bill withdrawn is merely with a view to reintroduce it and that also is within the meaning of the motion that he has sought to move.

With these words, I feel that you would be following parliamentary practice——

Mr. J. N. GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, are you on a point of order?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Yes, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Gupta, after Dr. Sanyal has finished you may rise again on a point of order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I feel that you would be following parliamentary practice if you would kindly reconsider your decision. If you would kindly re-examine the position I am sure you will have no difficulty in accepting the motion only if the honourable the Leader of the Opposition is prepared to suitably modify it with a proviso in the beginning that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon.

It can be accepted as a short-notice amendment. This is necessary only to bring the scheme within the four corners of the Rules of Assembly Procedure. If you think it to be necessary you can give him an opportunity to add a few words in the beginning of his motion to the effect that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon, but I would beseech you, Sir, not to scotch the proposal completely but to modify it suitably.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I have heard Dr. Sanyal and I am prepared to accept the suggestion if you permit the amendment for this reason that practically it comes to the same thing that the Bill be dropped or something like that done or the Bill be circulated in order to ascertain whether in the interest of education certain things should not be done. If you find that there is perfect unanimity I think public service will be done by accepting the amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: If I remember aright the contention now put forward by Dr. Sanyal was put forward by Sir Nazimuddin one day in connection with a resolution. But my decision on this point is otherwise I am to be guided here by the Assembly Procedure Rules. Rule 42 taken along with rule 52 in my opinion is a complete bar to the amendment sent in by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. Therefore, I regret I cannot reconsider my decision.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: What about Mr Fazlul Huq's request to accept a short-notice amendment?

Mr. SPEAKER: As regards that it is clear that there are so many amendments on this point for eliciting opinion that Mr. Fazlul Huq can speak on any one of them.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st January, 1949, or the first day of the month next following the month in which armistice of the present war will be signed, whichever date is earlier.

Sir, in these days while the people of our country are being governed by Ordinances and Control orders, it is no wonder that Government should bring forth another controlling measure like this Secondary Education Bill. They have started with controlling personal liberty of our people They have controlled food articles, they have controlled cloth, coal, kerosene and almost all other necessaries of life; the effect of such control has brought about a famine in respect of all those articles. Control without simultaneous arrangements for supply is bound to result in such disaster. Government policy of control of secondary education is also to result in famine of education. It appears from the provisions of the Bill that Government will take no responsibility to establish secondary schools of their own to supply the increasing needs of such schools throughout the Province On the other hand, Government reserve the right of withdrawing recognition of the existing secondary schools. The inevitable result will be that private enterprise which has so long been responsible for the establishment of secondary schools in our Province will disappear from the field of education. Where it is the paramount duty of Government of a country to arrange for the education of every boy and every girl living in that country, Government of Bengal will not only not perform that duty but will, on the other hand, prevent the growth of secondary schools where our boys and girls may get their education. In all matters, we find that Government acts like

giving stone when the people want bread. I am sure that if the provisions of this Bill are explained to the public in general, not a single individual, nor even the illiterate peasant, will permit Government to proceed with the Bill. I challenge Government to circulate the Bill to elicit their opinion thereon.

Then again, Government have defined the object for which the Bill has been brought before the House, but they have been silent about the object of education which they want to control. Government propose to develop secondary education but they do not disclose what is the object of that education. It appears from the definition of secondary education as provided in the Bill that the very same kind of aimless education that is being imparted today will continue to be imparted. It also appears that the same kind of education will continue to be imparted to our boys and girls alike. It should be remembered that secondary education is imparted to our boys and girls between the ages of 9 and 18. That is the period during which their body, senses, mind and intellect develop and that is the period at the expiry of which the boy grows to be a man and the girl grows to be a woman. And having regard to the fact that more than 80 per cent. of our boys and girls finish their educational career with their education in secondary schools, it should be the duty of Government to so educate the boys and girls that they may come out of school with fully developed body, senses, mind and intellect and with a training to qualify every boy to shoulder the responsibility of maintaining himself and his family and every girl to shoulder the responsibility of a wife and mother in the family. Unfortunately for us, to impart such an education is nobody's responsibility. The State is absolutely indifferent in this respect. They look every way but at the education itself. They look round it, over it to the side of it and anything but at it. They talk of education without knowing its real object Little or no attention is given by the authorities or the teachers to the proper development of the body, senses, mind and intellect of our boys and girls while they are in schools. The authorities as well as the teachers seem to feel that their duty ends in pumping into our boys and girls a few pages of Geography, Algebra and Grammar, a few dates and sundry other things, which they either forget or find absolutely worthless in their after life. In their natural hunger for knowledge which grows with the growth of their body, senses, mind and intellect, our boys and girls do not get the real food they want, but are crammed with some non-nutritious chopped straw, or some kind of unwholesome food which does not only not satisfy their hunger but on the other hand retards the development of their body, mind, senses and intellect and excites the animalities dormant in them That is the sort of education which is being imparted in our schools Most of those who finish their study with the Matriculation class increase every year the number of the hungry, the physically broken, the mentally arrested, the economic under-dog or the communist-theorist. And the foundation of education being so rotton, generation after generation grows with men and women full of pride, hate, envy, avarice, lust, self-love, unfaith, and irreverence. That is not the picture of our province alone. If you look around, you will find the same picture almost all over the world. Wise men say that "man is a spirit, not an animal". Unfortunately for the humankind, education of the modern age awakens not the divine spirit in the man

but the animal in him. The life-promoting virtues of humanity have lost their charm and influence. The beastly theory of "might is right" has been accepted by the human society as its cardinal creed. Warfares, quarrels and jealousies are no longer treated as vices. Murder your fellow-beings, burn their houses, loot their properties in the name of war and you are admired and adored as heroes. The Mammon is worshipped in the place of God. Earn money by treachery, trickery, bribery, gambling, cheating or any other foul means but as soon as you become rich you are respected by the society. Character does not count in the society. You may be debased or dishonest, but if you have got a big house, a big car and a big credit balance in the Bank you may become a social or a political leader. Education itself has got no value today. You may not have the educational qualifications to hold a responsible position of any kind, but if you have a large number of partisans to support you, you may become a Minister of the State or even the Vice-Chancellor of a University.

This is but one side of this picture. Look at the other side and you will find the leviathan mass of the distressed and downtrodden humankind. They get no food, no shelter worth the name, no cloth to wear or to warm their body. Why? Because they get no education, no training and no employment to earn their livelihood. They live practically on charity or at best as slaves to their masters.

This is the present day picture of the degraded human society. This state of things must change Read the signs of time and you will realise that the time for that change has come The distressed humanity have awakened and have begun to assert their right to live and to live as human beings. What is, therefore, needed today is firstly a proper education—not a developed form of the present system of education but an education by which animalities of men and women are eradicated and rationalities are developed in them: an education by which their body, senses, mind and intellect may be properly developed: an education by which every boy and girl may be trained to be fit enough to earn a decent and independent livelihood. Secondary Education therefore, becomes, very important in the field of education. And yet education alone will not be sufficient from lifting the humankind from the abyss of miseries. It is also required to make simultaneous arrangements for suitable employments for every boy and girl when they come of age Education and employment also do not solve the problem unless the necessaries of life are available in sufficient quantities. It is, therefore, required to also produce the necessaries of life in sufficient quantities—sufficient for every man and woman These are the burning and inter-allied problems of the day. When the great thinkers of the world are taxing their brain how to solve all these problems, we find the men in charge of the administration of this province, who have got no idea of what should be the object of education nor the sense of their responsibilities for providing for proper education and employment of our boys and girls, have rushed to pass a law which has no relation to the solution of any of their problems except to further complicate the same There is a saying that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread". The Ministerial party are playing the part of these fools. The present Ministry are rushing an Education Bill through, when the question of solving all the problems together is taxing the brain of wise men. While the Ministry have no brain to solve

any of the problems, they must wait for better men to solve them. They should realise that the present disgraceful educational, political and economic orders of the world are bound to change for new orders in which the distressed humankind will be relieved of their miseries. They should therefore be brought to their senses that it is an inopportune time to tinker with the educational problem which is the most vital of all problems. Government should be advised to withdraw the Bill or to postpone its consideration till the time when the right thinkers of the country sit together to find a solution of those burning problems not only of our country but also of the whole world. That time will not come before the end of the present war.

There is another and very serious aspect of the Bill. The Bill has not only had no laudable object in view but on the other hand has got a sinister motive behind it. Government profess to pass this Bill in the name of development of education of our boys and girls. It is nothing but a foolish denial of fact that a Government which had never during the last 175 years of its rule thought of providing for real education of the people of this land, has at this time of the war come forward with a measure for providing for the education of our boys and girls. The various provisions of the Bill have exposed the real intention of Government. The Bill is an ingenious attempt on the part of the Muslim League Ministry to perpetuate for their own communal purposes, the divisions among the people of our country—divisions created and encouraged in the interests of Imperialism. So long the Imperialists used to encourage divisions in the political field, where men and women entered at an age when their character had already been formed. Naturally, therefore, there have always been found in the political field a large number of men who could not be intoxicated with the spirit of communal disunity. But the Muslim League Ministry now propose to introduce the virus of malignant communal poison into the minds of our boys and girls right from the time when their character begins to form, so that the idea of unity may be nipped in the bud That is why they propose to introduce communalism in the field of Secondary Education where our boys and girls enter at a tender age. The Bill provides for the boys and girls to learn that they do not belong to one community of humankind, but to different communities or groups; that theirs is not one common religion of humanity, but their religions are purely communal and distinct from one another, that they are not to grow in an atmosphere of unity and mutual friendship but to grow in an atmosphere of disunity and mutual hatred; and that they are not to grow as members of one human society of one political thought with one common object of solving their political and economical problems, but to grow as members of different communities having different political ideas with contrary views of solving their political and economic problems. The seeds of disunity and ill-will will thus be grown in the minds of the boys and girls of different communities right from their childhood, so that their mind and character develop along the line of disunity, mutual hatred and mutual jealousies.

Do the peoples' representatives on the Treasury Benches and on the seats to my opposite realise the baneful effect of the introduction of communalism in the field of education? Do they realise that it will result in complete disintegration of the future generations with no chance of resurrection, either politically or economically? May I ask them, what are the lessons

they have learnt from this world war? Is it not that disunion amongst the different nations bring about wars which cause endless destruction of human lives and properties? Is it necessary to remind them that disunion amongst the different sections or communities in a country is bound to lead to a civil war? Remember that if a civil war breaks out, the entire population of the country meet with similar destruction. It is the law of God—the Creator. The Creator is the emblem of unity. The Creator works as a united whole for both creation and preservation. He has created the humankind with the same seeds of life. He has created the indivisible air, the indivisible water, and the indivisible land for the preservation of the entire, humankind. It is the law of the Creator that in unity the humankind live and in disunity they perish. Whenever men create disunion amongst themselves they are bound to be destroyed, as they are being destroyed today. That is why the great thinkers all over the world today have raised a cry for "one world" and "one human society", because they find that unity is the only solution for saving humankind from destruction. While the cry for unity is engaging the serious attention of the rest of the world, it is a sad and ridiculous spectacle to see a large number of our own men determined to forge a law to further divide and to perpetuate the division of the people of our province. I warn my friends on the opposite benches to beware of the consequences of disunity.

I know that my friends will be able to pass the Bill into law with the help of the European votes. I also know that to please my friends the European members will cast their votes in support of the Bill! But I warn my friends not to go against their countrymen and to seek the support of their European patrons. They will not grant you Pakisthan, nor will this Bill lead you to Pakisthan. Either Britishsthan will be perpetuated or civil wars will lead you to destruction unless you unite with your own countrymen. (Applause.)

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st December, 1948.

Mr. Speaker, এই যে বিলটা বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিমণ্ডল আজ পরিষদে উপস্থিত করেছেন, এই বিলের preambleএ দেখা যায় যে এই বিলের উদ্দেশ্য to control, to regulate and to develop Secondary Education in Bengal. কিন্তু বিলের ভিতর যদি দৃষ্টিপাত করা যায় তাহলে দেখা যায় যে developmentএর কোন চিহ্নই নাই, আছে কতকগুলি নিয়মকানুন, আছে কি কোরে শাসন করা যাবে, কি কোরে এ-কে regulate করা যাবে, কি কোরে এ-কে ধ্বংস করা যাবে তারি ক্ষমতা প্রয়োগের ব্যবস্থা।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আজ সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরেজের প্রতিনিধি হয়ে এই মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী শিক্ষার মূলে কুঠারাঘাত করতে বসেছেন। এই সম্পর্কে কথা বলতে আমার ছেলে বেলার একটা গল্প মনে পড়ে গেল। মৌলানা দিদার বক্স সাহেব গল্পটা বলেছিলেন, ১৯০৫-৬ সালে, যখন National Education বাংলা দেশে প্রবর্ত্তনের চেষ্টা চলেছিল। গল্পটা হলো এই—সয়তানের রাজা একদিন সন্ধ্যা বেলায় বোসেছিলেন কৈফিয়ৎ নিতে, কোন্ সয়তান দেশের কি অনিষ্ট করতে পেরেছে। সেখানে দেখা গেল ছোট একটা সয়তান পাযের আড়ালে লুকিয়ে আছে, সাম্নে বেরুচ্ছে না লজ্জায়। সয়তান-রাজ তাকে ডেকে জিজ্ঞাসা করলেন তুই পালিয়ে রয়েছিস কেন? তুই কি করেছিস বল। সে তখন বিনীত স্বরে বল্লে, আমি কিছুই প্রায় করতে,

পারিনি। শুধু একটি ছেলে স্কুলে যাচ্ছিল, তার বই ছিঁড়ে শ্লেট ভেঙ্গে দিয়েছি; তাকে শিখিয়ে *দিয়েছি কি করে ঝগড়া বিবাদ করতে হয়, ঝগড়া বিবাদ না করলে দুনিয়ায় কিছুই লাভ হয় না;* এইটুকু মাত্র কাজ আমি করেছি। তখন সম্রাট বল্লেন—তুইই সবচেয়ে শ্রেষ্ঠ কাজ করেছিস। মানুষের শিক্ষার মধ্যে বিষ ঢেলে দিয়েছিস। যে বিষ ঢেলেছিস তার ফল ফলতে সুরু হলেই ছেলেরা বড় হয়ে চুরি করবে, ডাকাতি করবে, একে আর এককে মারবে, তাহলেই আমার রাজত্বের প্রসার হবে, সুতরাং তুই সবচেয়ে শ্রেষ্ঠ কাজ করেছিস। আজ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের commissioned agent এই মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী যা করছেন, শিক্ষার মূলে কুঠারাঘাত করে বাঙ্গালীর জীবনকে পঙ্গু করতে বোসেছেন। একথা যে অক্ষরে অক্ষরে সত্য তা যাঁরা এই বিলে চোখ বুলিয়ে এই itemগুলি পড়বেন, তাঁরাই বুঝতে পারবেন। যখনই এদেশে একটা ঐক্যের ভাব এসেছে, জাতীয়তার ভাব ফুটে উঠেছে, তখনই সাম্রাজ্যবাদের চক্রান্তের ফলে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা প্রবলতর হয়ে দেখা দিয়েছে।

Mr. Speaker, যখনই নাকি দেশের অবস্থা শিক্ষা দীক্ষার দিক দিয়ে জাতীয় ভাবাপন্ন হয়ে দেশের স্বাধীনতার দাবীকে অগ্রবর্তী করার উপক্রম করেছে তখনই সাম্রাজ্যবাদ অন্তরাল থেকে সাম্প্রদায়িকতাকে উস্কিয়ে দিয়ে দেশময় অনর্থের সৃষ্টি করেছে। এই হচ্ছে ভারতে, বাংলায় ইংরাজ শাসনের নির্জলা ইতিহাস। আজ এই বিলটিতেও আমরা কি দেখতে পাচ্ছি? দেখতে পাচ্ছি এই যে আমাদের মধ্যে শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রেও সাম্প্রদায়িকতার বিষ লেপনের নির্লজ্জ প্রচেষ্টা। এতদিন পর্য্যন্ত হিন্দু এবং মুসলমান বালকেরা একত্রে একই বিদ্যালয়ে শিক্ষিত হয়ে যখন বয়ঃপ্রাপ্ত হয়, তখন তাদের মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ঢোকানো তত সহজ হয় না। সেইজন্য এদেশে জাতীয়তাবাদকে নষ্ট করার প্রচেষ্টা সম্পূর্ণভাবে এযাবৎ সফল হয় নাই, তাই সেই গল্পের ছোট সয়তানের মতন ছেলে বেলা থেকেই আমাদের মাথায় সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ঢুকিয়ে দিয়ে নানা প্রকারে অশিক্ষা, কুশিক্ষা দেবার বন্দোবস্ত চলেছে শিক্ষার নামে। আজ বাংলায় যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা জেগে উঠেছে, লর্ড কার্জনকে ধন্যবাদ তিনি ১৯০৫ সালে বাংলাকে দ্বিধা বিভক্ত করে যদিও বাংলার সর্ব্বনাশ সাধন করতে চেয়েছিলেন, কিন্তু আরো বেশী ধন্যবাদ এই দেশের হিন্দু, মুসলমান নেতা ও অধিবাসীদের যে তারা লর্ড কার্জনের চালাকি বুঝতে পেরে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার পরিবর্ত্তে জাতীয়তাবাদকে আরো জোরে চালিত করতে পেরেছিলেন। কিন্তু দুর্ভাগ্যের বিষয় যখন নাকি আমাদের সমস্যা সমাধানের সময় এলো, তখন দেখলাম মহাপ্রভু বৃটিশদের agent হয়ে কতিপয় ব্যক্তি জাতীয়তাবাদের সঙ্গে ঝগড়া সুরু করেছেন। তাই আজ দেখতে পাচ্ছি— জাতি আজ জাতীয় শিক্ষা, জাতীয় দীক্ষা পাক সে উদ্দেশ্যসাধন এ বিলেতে নাই।

এখন আমার জিজ্ঞাসা হচ্ছে,—Hon'ble Minister সাহেব যে বলেছেন communal representationএর প্রয়োজন শিক্ষার মধ্যে যে রয়েছে, আমি তাঁকে জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই, এখানে সাম্প্রদায়িক representationএর ratioটা কি? এখানে ratio of population কি হবে? হবে—যারা শিক্ষাপ্রাপ্ত তাদের নিয়ে হবে। Mr. Speaker, এই বিলটা আগাগোড়া পড়লেই প্রথমতঃ চোখে পড়ে যে সাম্রাজ্যবাদের agent স্বরূপে দেশকে শুধু দ্বিধা বিভক্ত নয়, শতধা বিভক্ত করবার প্রচেষ্টাই এতে বিদ্যমান দেখা যায়। হিন্দুদের মধ্যে দুই ভাগ হয়েছে Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes, যদি মোমিনদের representation থাকতো তাহলে মুসলীম সমাজও অবশ্যই বিভক্ত হতো। কিন্তু হিন্দুদের যে দু'ভাগ করা হয়েছে ব্রাহ্মণ, কায়স্থ, বৈদ্য প্রভৃতির যদি আলাদা আলাদা representation থাকতো তাহলে আরো চমৎকার হতো। মন্ত্রী মহোদয় Nation building শব্দ ব্যবহার করেছেন আমার বোধ হয় তিনি Nation bleeding শব্দটাই বলতে চেয়েছেন এবং এতে যে nationএর bleeding হবে তাতে কোনই সন্দেহ নাই। (Laughter.) মন্ত্রী মহোদয় হিসাবটাও দিয়েছেন চমৎকার—50 by 50 Hindu-Muslim representation. কিন্তু 8 European এবং Government officials সমস্ত মেলালে যে কোন দিকে যায় সেটা। (Laughter.

যে চেষ্টা করেছেন সেজন্য ধন্যবাদ। আমি বলবো—ওঁর সাহস আছে। (Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: সাহস নয় বেহায়াপনা।) এরকম একটা ভাওতা এই Houseএর সামনে Education Ministerএর মতন লোক যে উপস্থিত করতে পারেন তা দেখে অবাক হয়েছি, বলিহারি তাঁর সাহস!

Mr. Speaker, যদি constitution of the Boardটার দিকে তাকানো যায়, তাহলে বোঝা যায় বাতাস কোন্ দিকে বইছে। তারপরে constitution of the committeeগুলি যখন দেখা যায় তখন কি বোঝা যায় না যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার ঝড় কত বেগে উঠেছে। তাই আমার প্রস্তাব এই যে, এই বিল সম্বন্ধে সর্ব্বাগ্রে দেশের জনমত সংগ্রহ করুন। জনমতের বিরুদ্ধে চেয়েই বৃটিশরাজ চিরকাল আমাদের শাসন করে এসেছেন—এই জনমতের কথা উঠলেই ওঁরা আঁৎকে ওঠেন। আমি জানি না জনমতকে ওঁরা এত ভয় করেন কেন। যে জনগণের দ্বারা ওঁরা এখানে প্রেরিত সেই জনগণের সামনে ওঁদের প্রণীত আইনটী পেশ করতে ওঁরা এত ভীত কেন? আমার মনে হয় ভয় পাচ্ছেন এইজন্য যে, ওঁরা জানেন যে জনমত ওঁদের পেছনে নাই। আমি এই সম্পর্কে হিন্দু মন্ত্রীদের জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই তাঁরা যে constituency থেকে এসেছেন, তাঁরা তাঁদের সেই সব constituencyতে যান, যেয়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করুন, জনমত সংগ্রহ করুন, জোরে বলুন যে তাঁদের constituency এই বিল চায়—এই সর্ব্বনাশী, সর্ব্বধ্বংসী, জাতীয়তানাশী বিল আমাদের constituency চায় এই কথা বলুন। এই সাম্প্রদায়িকতার আওতায় এসে যে জীবন দুর্বিসহ কোরে তুলবে, এবং দেশের গ্রামে, ঘরে মুসলমানে হিন্দুতে, Caste Hindu এবং Scheduled Castesএ, Scheduled Castes এবং মুসলমানে যে আগুন জ্বলবে সেই আগুনের সম্বন্ধে ওঁরা ওঁদের সব constituency থেকে ফিরে এসে বলুন। আমি বলতে চাই, আর শোনাইই বলতে চাই—আমার শ্রদ্ধেয় মন্ত্রী মি: পাইনের constituencyতে আমার শ্রদ্ধেয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় মি: পাইনকে, তাঁর constituencyতে যাওয়ার আমার সৌভাগ্য হয়েছিল, সেখানে জনগণের যে ভাব দেখেছি, তাতে জনগণ কেউ এ বিল support করে না আমি তাই পাইন মহাশয়কে বলছি—তিনি বলুন না দেখি যে তাঁর constituency এই বিল চায়। মুখুজ্যে মহাশয় উত্তরপাড়ার বাড়ীতে যদি থাকতেন তাহলে দেখতে পেতেন তাঁর constituency বারবার করে তাঁর অনুপস্থিতি সত্ত্বেও এই বিলের তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করেছেন। অতএব আমি শুনতে চাই, আমাদের হিন্দু মন্ত্রীদের কাছ থেকে, কি জবাব তাঁরা পেয়েছেন তাঁদের constituencyর কাছ থেকে? Parliamentary Secretaryদের সম্বন্ধে আমি কিছু বলতে চাই না। কিন্তু আমাদের সামনে উপস্থিত মুসলিম ভাইদের আমি বলতে চাই জাতীয়তাকে ধ্বংস করতে অগ্রসর হবেন না, তাহলে এর ফল অদূর ভবিষ্যতে আপনাদেরই বেশী ভোগ করতে হবে। শিক্ষার মধ্যে মুসলিম কৃষ্টি, মুসলিম সভ্যতার আবরণ আপনারা আনতে চান, তাতে আমাদের আপত্তি করবার কিছু নাই; কিন্তু সেই জিনিষটা আমাদের ঘাড়ে চাপাবার কি অধিকার আছে লীগ Ministryর তা আমরা বুঝতে পারি না।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আপনার মারফতে আমি আমার সামনের মুসলিম বন্ধুদের জানাতে চাই, জাতীয়তা-বিরোধী এই আইনটা ভোটের জোরে পাশ হয়ত তাঁরা কোরবেন। কিন্তু ভোটের জোরে পাশ করলেই কোন একটা জিনিষ আইনে পরিণত হয় না। এই আইনটাও কেবল একটা scrap of paperএ পরিণত হতে পারে। দেশের যা অবস্থা, দেশের মধ্যে অন্নাভাব, বস্ত্রাভাব, চিকিৎসার অভাব, এই সময় এই যে একটা গোলমালের সৃষ্টি এর জন্য দায়ী কে হবে? আর একবার ১৯৪০ সনে এই বিল ওঁরা এনেছিলেন। তার কুফল কি ভীষণ হয়ে দেখা দিয়েছিল তার ইতিহাসটা ভাবলেও শরীর শিহরিত হয়। ঢাকার মর্ম্মন্তুদ ইতিহাসের কথা এখনো অনেকেই ভোলেন নাই। তাই বলছি এখনো সময় আছে, এখনো বিবেচনা

করে দেখুন, জাতীয়তা ধ্বংস কোরে এই বিল পাশ করে কি লাভ হবে? আমার বন্ধু রেজাউল করিম বলেছেন—There will be no Pakisthan, no Hindusthan, but there will be a Britishsthan. মুসলমানদের মধ্যেও অনেকে একমত নন যে এই বিল মুসলমানদের স্বর্গে তুলে দেবে! এই আইন পাশ হবার ফলে তাঁরা যে শিক্ষা পাবেন তার দ্বারা মুসলমানরা স্বর্গে আরোহণ করবেন না, বরং তাঁরা স্বর্গারোহণ করবেন। (Laughter.) একথাটা আমি যোগারূঢ় যে অর্থ আছে সেই অর্থ ধরেই বলেছি। আজ জাতীয়তা ধ্বংসের যে ব্যবস্থা এই বিলে রয়েছে সমাজ তা মেনে নেবে না।

Mr. Speaker, আপনার throughতে আমি বলতে চাই, লীগ মন্ত্রীদের, বিশেষ কোরে আমাদের হিন্দু মন্ত্রীদের, যে তাঁরা এখনো সাবধান হোন। এই বিলটা যখন জাতীয়তা ধ্বংসকারী, তখন এটাকে তুলে নিয়ে একটা agreed Bill আনুন; সবাই চান যে একটা agreed Bill আসুক। Sadler Commissionএর ভিত্তিতে একটা Secondary Education আমরা আনয়ন করতে চাই, এ সম্বন্ধে কোন ভুল নাই। এখন কথা হচ্ছে এই বিলটা Sadler Commissionএর রিপোর্টের উপর ভিত্তি কোরে এসেছে? এই বিলে দেখতে পাচ্ছি Secondary Education সম্বন্ধে সব কিছুরই নিয়ামক হতে যাচ্ছেন সরকার। কোনটা Secondary Education, কোনটা নয়, তা নির্দ্ধারণ করবে শিক্ষাব্রতীরা নয়, নির্দ্ধারণ করবেন সর্ব্বশক্তিমান সরকার বাহাদুর। Sadler Commission অতি স্পষ্ট ভাষায় বলেছে Boardএর উপর যেন সরকারের সর্ব্বময় কর্ত্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠিত না হয়। Educationটা যেন negatived না হয়। কিন্তু এই বিলে ঠিক তার উল্টোটাই প্রত্যক্ষ হয়ে উঠেছে। এটা যেন ঠিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরেজের হুকুমে দেশের প্রগতি ও জাতীয়তার বিরুদ্ধে যে সমস্ত instrumentএর দরকার, তাই এতে আমদানী করা হয়েছে। (A voice from the Coalition Benches বিলটা ভাল করে পড়ে দেখুন।) এটা আমি ভাল কোরে পড়েই বলছি। আমার বন্ধু যদি মনে করে থাকেন যে বোঝবার একমাত্র monopoly তাঁদেরই তাহলে ভুল করছেন। আমি সাম্প্রদায়িকতার দিক থেকে দেখছি না, আমি দেখছি—জাতীয়তার দিক থেকে।

Mr. Speaker, আমি আজ মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে জিজ্ঞাসা করছি এই বিলের পিছনে কি মনোভাবটা সেটা পরিষ্কার কোরে বলুন। যে পাকিস্থান তাঁরা এত আন্দোলন কোরেও করতে পারছেন না, educationএর মধ্য দিয়ে তাঁরা কি সেইটে আনতে চান, (Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR : পাকিস্থান নয়—বৃটিশস্থান।) আমার বন্ধু বলছেন বৃটিশস্থান! এই বৃটিশ স্থান করবার পুরোহিত হবেন আমার বন্ধু তমিজুদ্দিন খাঁ সাহেব। আমি আজ মাননীয় মন্ত্রী তমিজুদ্দিন খাঁ সাহেবকে দেখে অবাক হয়ে যাচ্ছি, ইনি কি সেই তমিজ খাঁ—যিনি এক সময় স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের দিনে আমাদের সঙ্গে একসঙ্গে জেল খেটেছেন, বেত খেয়েছেন, যিনি এক সময় প্রগতিপরায়ণ কৃষক-প্রজাদলে দাঁড়িয়ে সমস্ত হিন্দু-মুসলমানকে এক গণ্ডীর মধ্যে এনে ভারতবর্ষকে স্বাধীন করবার জন্য স্বপ্ন দেখছিলেন, সেই তমিজ খাঁ আজ জাতীয়তা ধ্বংস করতে দাঁড়িয়েছেন! (Dr. NALINAKSHYA SANYAL : জেলে গিয়ে তমিজকে বেতমিজ করেছে!) আমার বন্ধু বলছেন যে জেলে যাওয়াতেই তমিজকে বেতমিজ করেছে। তাই আজ মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে আমি অনুরোধ করছি দেশবাসীর অভিমতের জন্য এটাকে দেশের সম্মুখে পাঠাতে। শিক্ষা বিল পাশ করে দেশকে কি করে স্বাধীনতার দিকে, সুখ, শান্তি ও ঐশ্বর্য্যের দিকে এগিয়ে নেওয়া যায় সেই চেষ্টা করুন।

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 11th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 11th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 180 members.

HELD OVER UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Distribution of money to distressed people of Dacca.

139. Mr. MONOMOHAN DAS: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether the Collector of Dacca distributed the money granted by the Government for relief to the distressed people in proper time?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) on which dates the amounts granted by the Government for relief in the district of Dacca during the year 1943-44 were placed at the disposal of the Collector of the district, and

(*ii*) the dates on which the sanctioned funds were placed by the Collector at the disposal of the respective Subdivisional Officers of the district?

(*c*) Is it a fact that the Collector of Dacca did not ask for any fund for relief works during the months of July to December, 1943?

(*d*) If not, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what funds he asked for and when and for what period?

(*e*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Collector of Dacca did make any tours in the distressed areas of the district during the crisis period, viz., during July to December, 1943?

(*f*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the dates and places of such tours?

(*g*) If the answer to (*e*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea): (*a*) and (*e*) Yes.

(*b*) A statement showing the amounts sanctioned by Government with dates is laid on the Table. The amounts were actually drawn by the Collector and placed at the disposal of the Subdivisional Officers on different dates immediately after receipt of the allotments.

(*c*) No.

(*d*) An allotment of about Rs.11 lakhs was asked for in September, 1943, for relief operations for the period from September to December, 1943.

(*f*) *17th August, 1943—Manikganj.*

1st December, 1943—Munshiganj.

7th December, 1943—Kaikertek and Nangalbund.

16th December, 1943—Narayanganj and Kurmitola.

(*g*) Does not arise.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (b) (i) of unstarred question No. 139.

I.—GRATUITOUS RELIEF.

Amount sanctioned.	Date of Government order.
Rs.	
1,00,000	14th August, 1943
1,30,000	21st August, 1943.
2,00,000	25th September, 1943.
1,20,000	15th October, 1943.
1,25,000	23rd October, 1943.
2,00,000	12th November, 1943.
1,00,000	30th November, 1943.
18,000	6th December, 1943.
II.—TEST RELIEF.	
5,000	6th April, 1943.
15,000	9th April, 1943.
70,000	21st August, 1943.
64,000	25th September, 1943.
64,000	15th October, 1943.
63,000	12th November, 1943.
III.—AGRICULTURAL LOANS	
17,000	6th April, 1943.
1,40,000	19th April, 1943.
40,000	30th June, 1943.
3,00,000	21st August, 1943.
77,000	25th September, 1943.
77,000	15th October, 1943.
77,000	12th November, 1943.

Number of destitutes removed from Calcutta.

140. Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of persons reported to have collected in Calcutta in search of food during July to December, 1943;

(*b*) the number of destitutes removed from the city to various receiving centres within the Calcutta area or outside with a view to repatriation;

(*c*) the number of such destitutes collected at each receiving centre who actually repatriated or who deserted from the camps and who died; and

(*d*) the number of destitutes estimated to be staying in Calcutta even at the end of December, 1943?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*) No authentic estimate is available.

(*b*) 41,932.

(c) The number collected at each of the following receiving centres:—

(1)	10, Naline Sarker Street ...	14,722
(2)	55, Harish Chatterji Street ...	7,758
(3)	98, Maniktola Main Road ...	3,808
(4)	110, Lansdowne Road ...	3,691
(5)	15, Dover Road ...	3,219
(6)	58/4A, Raja Dinendra Street ...	477
(7)	5, Fern Road ...	751
(8)	78, Cotton Street ...	525
(9)	31, Chingrihatta Road ...	65
(10)	13, Gulu Ostagar Lane and 10/2, Gouribare Lane ...	365
(11)	1, Bahir Sura Road ...	6,551
	Total ...	41,932

The number actually repatriated—	
Direct from the Calcutta Centres ...	2,327
Through Mufassil relief centres where the destitutes were sent for repatriation from there ...	28,866
The number deserted ...	6,486
The number died in camps ...	89
The number sent to hospital for treatment ...	1,684

(*d*) 2,480 in the Relief Centres.

Realisation of penalty in respect of arrear revenue in districts of Chittagong Division.

141. Khan Bahadur Haji BADI AHMAD CHOUDHURY: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state the rate (per cent.) at which penalty (exemption fee) is being realised at present in respect of the payment of arrear revenue in the districts of Chittagong Division?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that in reply to clause (*a*) of unstarred question No. 28 of the 20th December, 1934, Government stated that the penalty must not be realised exceeding Rs.2 to Rs.3 per cent.?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of issuing instructions to the Collectors not to realise the penalty in excess of 2 per cent. in view of the present economic crisis prevailing all over the districts of the Chittagong Division?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*) No penalty (exemption fee) is being charged in the districts of Noakhali and Chittagong. In the district of Tippera exemption fee is being realised at the rate of 6 per cent.

(*b*) An assurance was given that Government were willing to fix the penalty at a nominal figure, say 2 or 3 per cent. But a certain amount of discretion was left to the Collectors to deal with cases of wilful default.

(*c*) Does not arise in the case of Noakhali and Chittagong. In the case of Tippera, what the Collector realises as exemption fee is equivalent to what is leviable as interest under the Bengal Land Revenue (Interest) Act, 1935.

Union Boards inspected and audited by Circle Officer, Pirojpur.

142. Mr. PUSPAJIT BARMA: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state the names of the Union Boards, which were inspected and audited by the *Circle Officer, Pirojpur South, in 1943-44?*

(*b*) *Is it a fact that* he sometimes called for the records of Union Boards and inspected them at his headquarters at Pirojpur without visiting those places?

MINISTER in charge of the PUBLIC HEALTH and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) The Circle Officer, Pirojpur South, inspected and audited all the 37 Union Boards in 1943-44.

(*b*) Out of 37 Union Boards while the said Officer finished inspection and audit of 34 Union Boards he suddenly fell seriously ill and as the date for submitting audit report was overdue he audited the papers of those 3 Union Boards when they were brought down at his headquarters for the purpose of submitting the said audit report. Subsequently he went to the locality and again verified and inspected the Boards.

Deaths due to starvation.

143. Mr. PRATUL CHANDRA GANGULI: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state the number of deaths in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal (district by district) from the beginning of 1943 up to date, due to—

(*a*) starvation; and

(*b*) diseases caused by starvation?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: The honourable member is referred to reply given to starred question No. 260 on the 24th April, 1944.

Staff of Jute Regulation Department.

144. Mr. DHANANJOY ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the present—

(*a*) number of Assistant Controllers, Chief Inspectors, Inspectors-in-charge, Inspectors, Assistant Inspectors, Head Clerks of the Chief Inspectors, Propaganda Assistants and Job and Contract workers of the Jute Regulation Department; and

(*b*) the number of them that are Muslims, Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes in each cadre?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN:

	Caste Hindus.	Scheduled Caste.	Muslims.	Total.
Head clerks of Chief Inspectors ..	24	3	26	53
Job and Contract staff ..	2,337	805	2,717	5,859

For other details the attention of the honourable member is invited to the reply given to starred question No. 279 on the 27th April, 1944.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Increased family allowance to security prisoner Srijut Nalini Das Gupta.

*296. **Srijut NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

(*i*) that Srijut Nalini Das Gupta of Banaripara, district Barisal, was arrested in 1940 under Defence of India Rules;

(*ii*) that he has been kept as a security prisoner in Dacca Jail;

(*iii*) that he petitioned since his arrest for family allowance;

(*iv*) that he has been sanctioned only Rs.38 with effect from April, 1943,

(*v*) that he has a grown-up sister to marry;

(*vi*) that the date of her marriage has been postponed on account of want of money; and

(*vii*) that the mother of Nalini Das Gupta has also petitioned to the Government for –

(1) sanctioning adequate money for the marriage of her daughter,

(2) releasing her son, and

(3) granting her an allowance of Rs. 38 since the arrest of her son?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*vii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what actions, if any, he proposes to take in the matter?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) to (*iii*), (*v*) and (*vii*) Yes.

(*iv*) A family allowance of Rs 10 per mensem was first granted to the mother of the prisoner with effect from the 1st January, 1942, then it was increased to Rs.25 per mensem from the 1st April, 1942, and then to Rs.38 per mensem from the 1st April, 1943, under the present liberal policy.

(*vi*) The Home Minister has no information.

(*b*) No action is considered necessary.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why in this case allowance has not been granted from the date of arrest?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: At first allowance was granted at the rate of Rs. 10 per month. This allowance was granted during the regime of the last Ministry. After this Ministry came into office, representations were made and the allowance was increased.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state in what cases during the regime of the present Ministry allowances are granted from the date of arrest and in what cases they are not?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, why does he say that it does not arise?

Mr. SPEAKER: I take it he is not prepared to make a general answer, but that is not the proper mode of reply.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, that was my submission to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is all right.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: On a point of order, Sir. I want to make it clear that when a Minister says that the question does not arise, we cannot address it to individual members. We address to you that *the question does not arise.*

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons why he does not consider it necessary to sanction allowance from the date of arrest?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That was a question which should have been decided when the first allowance was sanctioned and it was done at the time when the previous Ministry was in office. It is for them to explain why they did not grant the allowance with effect from the date of arrest.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA; Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state from what source he tried to secure information with regard to the marriage of the sister of this prisoner?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There is no information with Government that the date of marriage was postponed on account of want of money.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is prepared to consider the desirability of sanctioning the prisoner in question allowance with retrospective effect since the date of his arrest?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, Government have considered the case fully and Government have sanctioned money at least three times more than what was sanctioned by the previous Ministry.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the reply given just now, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell now why Government thought that allowance in this case should not be granted from the date of arrest?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question was not before the present Ministry. Only it was the question of enhancement of the family allowance and it will be seen by the member that the amount has been almost quadrupled and the question of the sanction of allowance with effect from the date of arrest should have been considered by the previous Ministry when the first application was considered?

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is not a fact that the previous Ministry sanctioned Rs. 25 per mensem from the 1st April, 1942?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: In view of the statement that the present Ministry on account of its liberal policy has increased it three times, will the Hon'ble Minister think it desirable to increase it three times as sanctioned by the previous Ministry last time?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have said that when the first amount was sanctioned, it was Rs. 10 and the present amount is Rs. 38 and it is more than three times.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the income of this gentleman Nalini Das Gupta, previous to his arrest, was more than Rs. 75 per month?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, he was a school teacher drawing a salary of Rs. 15 per month.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that this Nalini Das Gupta was an agent of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the *Hindusthan Standard* in that locality?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir, he was and probably it has been assessed that his income was Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per month from that source.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the income from his agency was more than Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 per month?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, that is not correct.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the actual date when the order was passed granting, in the first instance, the allowance from the 1st of January, 1942?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Are we to take that even if there is justification for granting an allowance from the date of arrest, this present Ministry is not prepared to consider that, only because the previous Ministry did not consider about granting allowance from the date of arrest?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes.

Firing in Dacca Central Jail.

***297. Mr. JNANENDRA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

(*i*) that on the morning of the 31st August last firing was opened on about 300 special security prisoners of the Dacca Central Jail by the warders in the presence and under the order of the Superintendent of the said Jail;

(*ii*) that the said special security prisoners were thereafter severely assaulted by *lathis* and other weapons in the presence of the District Magistrate, Dacca;

(*iii*) that a large number of prisoners were killed and a far greater number were seriously wounded; and

(*iv*) that many of the wounded prisoners were again and again assaulted with *lathis* by groups of warders and convict overseers?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason which led to the firing and the assault?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the number of deaths—

(*i*) in the yard where the incident occurred;

(*ii*) in Jail Hospital giving the dates;

(*iii*) the number of (1) Hindus, (2) Muslims, and (3) Christians that were killed; and

(*iv*) the number of those—

(*1*) *who have been wounded, and*

(2) whose limbs have been amputated?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of rounds that were fired; and

(*ii*) the area of the yard?

(*e*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he and the Inspector-General of Prisons visited the jail after the occurrence?

(*f*) If the answer to (*e*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what actions he has taken or proposes to take in the matter?

(*g*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of instituting a judicial or any other impartial extra-departmental enquiry into the matter?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) and (*iv*) No.

(*iii*) I refer the honourable member to my reply to clause (*c*).

(*b*) Firing had to be resorted to for suppressing an outbreak amongst the criminal security prisoners.

(*c*) (*i*) Twelve.

(*ii*) Twenty-six. Date of death in each case is not readily available.

(*iii*) The number of those who died in hospital is 26, viz., Hindus 16, Muslims 8 and Christians 2.

(*iv*) (1) 155.

(2) 2.

(*d*) (*i*) 120 rounds of ball and 222 rounds of buckshot.

(*ii*) 289 feet by 165 feet—47,685 square feet.

(*e*) My predecessor-in-office and the Inspector-General of Prisons visited the jail.

(*f*) A joint inquiry by the Commissioner, Dacca Division, and the Inspector-General of Prisons was ordered and held.

(*g*) No.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*b*) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the nature of the alleged outbreak?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I refer the honourable member to the visit which he paid with the then Home Minister to jail and he is fully cognisant of the facts.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the answer just now given that I paid a visit to the jail on the occasion, is the Hon'ble Minister prepared to revise his answer when I tell him that there was no outbreak by the prisoners in question?

(The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin rose to answer the question.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly resume your seat? I think this is not a very proper mode of answering a question. It is unfair to the House to answer a question in this way. When a question is asked, it not only becomes the property of the member concerned, but it becomes the property of the House also. The House is entitled to know facts. Therefore, it

would have been better if you simply said what you had got, to say. *Referring to a member to his visit to the jail is something which other* members are not likely to know. Then supplementaries may come in which may bring in all sorts of matters which will not be desirable.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As you have very clearly stated questions are only for eliciting information and not for arguing matters.

I have got nothing further to add to what has been already stated.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in the alleged outbreak any jail official received any injury whatsoever?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As far as my recollection goes, some warders were injured.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the weapons used by the prisoners in the alleged outbreak?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Speaking from memory I say brickbats.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there were no brickbats in the ward?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I want to make it quite clear that I do not justify anything that was done there. My difficulty is that as far as these incidents are concerned, they took place at a time when we were not in office and it was only 8 months after the incidents that we came into office. I believe and the policy I want to enunciate is that incidents like this should be rectified and steps should be taken by the Ministry in office and not by the Ministry which comes afterwards. It is not for them to rake up what has happened in the past.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action was taken on the promise given on the floor of the House by the then Ministry regarding a proper extra departmental enquiry into the jail incidents, a judicial enquiry in particular, as demanded by the then Opposition including the present Minister-in-charge of the Home Department?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As far as I can find no action was taken till we took office.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what measures have been taken by the present Ministry to see that the permanent officials carry out the policy and the desire laid down and announced on the floor of the House in this connection?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As I have said, it is only the Ministry in power which can see that its orders are carried out. I can say this, for instance, that certain incidents took place in the Rajshahi Jail and I did take steps which to a certain extent, I believe, satisfied the inmates of the prison.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is the policy of the present Ministry not to disturb the officials in case they defy an order which was passed by the previous Ministry but

due to the change in the Ministry could not be implemented and enforced by the persons then in office?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I submit that this is a hypothetical question.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I submit also that the Minister in charge of the Home Department who is also the Chief Minister has also stated a policy which leads to certain impossible hypothetical situation. He has stated that it is the policy of the present Government not to pursue a matter which could have been done by the previous Ministry. Is it the policy of the present Government, I ask, to permit the permanent officials to defy the avowed policy and intention of the previous Ministry even in cases where the House had demanded certain announcement and the announcement was made

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope you understand the significance of the reply given by the Hon'ble Minister.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We don't. We only understand that the present Ministry is kotowing and going to kneel down to the permanent officials.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. You cannot discuss this matter.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Unless they are prepared to stand by their colleagues, democracy will be impossible to work.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: This is an absolutely wrong statement and should not be allowed to be made. Facts do not justify that.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that Mr. Atul Chandra Sen, M.L.A., visited the Dacca Jail in connection with the alleged outbreak on the 3rd day of its happening?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not know.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Are we to take that the reply just now given which was not disallowed by the Speaker was given wrongly when the Hon'ble Minister referred to the visit of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. That is an argumentative question. I cannot allow that.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the then Minister Mr. Fazlul Huq declared on the floor of the House that he was ready to set up a Commisison of Enquiry which was set aside by the then Governor Sir John Herbert?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not think that these questions are fair for this reason. I do not want to state what happened in the time of Mr. Fazlul Huq. It is not for me either to defend him or condemn him, and I do not think it will be fair for me to answer this question. If you put a straight question on all these matters and if the Leader of the Opposition is willing, I shall place all the facts before the House.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the findings of the joint enquiry by the Commissioner of the Dacca Division and the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As far as I know during the time the last Ministry was in office they took no action.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that his predecessor in office agreed to institute a judicial enquiry on a special motion from me and from Mr. Shahabuddin who now occupies the Treasury Bench?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I think it is only fair that if the honourable members of the Opposition want information they should frame questions asking what action the then Chief Minister wanted to take and why they were not taken. If questions are put in that fashion I shall place all the facts before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: What appears to me is this. This is an antiquated question. The question was put as far back as 16th September, 1942.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It was not our fault.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not the fault of the House either. It is answered on the 11th May, 1944

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: There are many questions older than that

Mr. SPEAKER: Practically this is an antiquated question.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the recommendations of the joint enquiry held by the Commissioner of the Dacca Division and the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think that question was once put.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: The previous question was what action was taken. As to the recommendations I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what transpired after the announcement by the then Chief Minister that he was going to hold a judicial enquiry Is the present Minister in a position to place the facts before the House which prevented or stood in the way of materialisation of the promise given to the Assembly?

Mr. SPEAKER: The question assumes a lot of things.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No.

Mr. SPEAKER: You want to know what are the things that prevented. You assume then that there were certain things which prevented. You cannot assume things and base your question on that assumption.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the circumstances that happened after an assurance was given by the then Chief Minister in the House that a proper enquiry would be made by a Judicial Committee?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As I have stated I have to ask for notice.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Is the Hon'ble Minister in a position to say whether the Superintendent, Mr. Noble, who was in office at the time has been rewarded with the award of "M.B.E." since this incident?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I would refer the honourable member to the Honours' list that was published.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the Superintendent of the Jail who was alleged to have been assaulted by the prisoners was found to bear no scratch or injury while I visited him on the 3rd day after the occurrence?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I know nothing about it and I cannot give an answer either in the affirmative or negative.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister be pleased to state whether he himself came to know certain facts in connection with the occurrence, namely the shooting of prisoners in the Dacca Jail as a citizen?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Oh, yes. Certainly, I have got to know and as I said I very strongly condemned the shooting of prisoners who had taken refuge on trees.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the Hon'ble Mr. Shahabudidn made a strong speech in this Assembly demanding an enquiry into the incident in the jail?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I would refer the honourable member to the proceedings of the Assembly meetings.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: The question is "Is the Hon'ble Minister aware?"

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Not only was I aware but I strongly supported him and I still do so.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister and the Home Minister be pleased to state if knowing the facts as they did, condemning the occurrence as they do, and having done so, have they taken any steps to have an official enquiry made into this incident since they came into power?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: That is just the point I have been trying to impress upon the House. I do not feel that it is proper for a Ministry which takes office 8 months after the incident to go and reopen questions which should have been decided by the Ministry then in office.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the present Government would implement solemn assurances given by the previous Government in public matters?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not think that any Government can undertake to implement the assurances of other Governments.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: If the word "implement" is objected to, will the Chief Minister be pleased to state whether they are prepared to honour the assurance given by their predecessors in office in matters like this?

(No answer.)

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: They won't honour their own word.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: It is generally done by the people who give the assurance. It is an extraordinary theory that has been propounded that a third person should honour the undertaking of another person.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Are we to understand that the enthusiasm shown by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin and Khwaja Shahabuddin evaporated as soon as they came into office?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Nothing of the sort.

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the then Chief Minister who made the promise meant to honour it?

The SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: From the answer just given by the Hon'ble Chief Minister, do I understand him to say that during his regime a murderer who had committed a murder a few days before he came into power would not be dealt with because the murder was not committed during his regime?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a theoretical question.

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how long the previous Ministry remained in power after Mr. A K. Fazlul Huq had made his promise?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: This incident took place in August or September I think and the Ministry resigned in March.

Mr. SPEAKER: The incident took place on the 31st August and the date when the last Ministry went out of office is well-known to the House

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: In view of the fact that the incident took place before Sir Nazimuddin took office and that the old Ministry continued to be in power how can he answer this question?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not allow that question.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether with the change of Ministries the duties and functions of Government cease?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not allow that question.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Is the Hon'ble Chief Minister Sir Nazimuddin aware that the former Chief Minister Mr. Fazlul Huq made a statement in this House regarding the reasons of his resignation, and that in course of that statement he declared before the House that he was trying his best to set up an enquiry and that Sir John Herbert thwarted his attempt?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Construction of roads in certain part of 24-Parganas.

***298. Mr. PATIRAM ROY:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department aware—

(*i*) that there is no public road from Hingalgunge *hat* to Dulduli ferry ghat and from Dulduli to Jogeshgunge in police-station Hasnabad in 24-Parganas;

(*ii*) that a Test Relief *kancha* road from Hingalgunge and another from Dulduli to Jogeshgunge were being constructed in the year 1936;

(*iii*) that only 2 miles road from Hingalgunge *hat* and 1 mile road from Dulduli was done in that year; and

(*iv*) that the inhabitants of this part of the Sundarbans area suffer for want of this road?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps are being taken to finish the incomplete roads without delay?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*)(*i*) Yes, but there are cross bunds and embankments used by the public as roads.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) Yes.

(*iv*) Government have no information on the matter.

(*b*) These road projects were taken up as test relief works and works were carried on as long as test relief works continued. It is up to the District Board to finish the incomplete works.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Issue of a circular debarring clerks of District Offices from applying for jobs elsewhere.

151. Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that a circular issued to the District Magistrates is in force which debars clerks from applying for jobs elsewhere even of higher monthly pay; and

(*ii*) that some young men with high qualifications were debarred from trying their fortune in other departments owing to the said circular?

(*b*) If so, what steps Government have taken or are proposing to take to make their present position attractive?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (*a*)(*i*) With a view to maintain the efficiency of the District Offices during the present emergency a circular has been issued to the District Officers that clerks in their offices should not be permitted ordinarily to apply for appointments in any other Government office. Discretion has however been given to the Collectors to spare any clerk for such employment.

(*ii*) A representation has been received from some clerks of a District Office to withdraw the orders.

(*b*) In the interest of administration Government do not consider it desirable to relax the restriction.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if in the majority of the cases the discretion was not exercised in favour of the applicants who tried to get jobs somewhere else?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Each case is considered on its own merits, and it is up to the District Officer to decide each case on its own merit.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: My question was that in the majority of cases the discretion was not exercised in favour of the applicants.

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is too general a question, but if a specific question is put I would be glad to answer.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Does the Hon'ble Minister know that in the Collectorate the initial pay even of graduate clerks is Rs. 35 per month whereas in other offices, *e.g.*, Supplies Department, etc., Rs. 125 is the initial pay?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not aware what pay is given in the Supplies Department, but in the Collectorate the pay is given according to the existing rules.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that in respect of jobs outside the Collectorate a pay higher than that given in the Collectorate is now being advertised?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: These are mostly temporary posts. Various posts are advertised for and it is impossible for me to answer the question.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please answer my question (*b*), what steps Government have taken or are proposing to take to make their present position attractive?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: In the District Offices there is no dearth of officers, and so this question was not considered by Government.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: There may be dearth or no dearth of officers, but will the Hon'ble Minister please state what steps Government are taking to make the posts more attractive when the officers are not allowed to go elsewhere?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Since there is no dearth, I think that question does not arise.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how the interests of administration suffer by the relaxation of this restriction?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: There may be constant changes in the staff and work is naturally bound to suffer if there is a constant change.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Am I to understand that unless and until the clerks walk out on strike the Hon'ble Minister is not bound to take any steps?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Can the Hon'ble Minister tell us if before the issue of this circular it was the practice that clerks were generally allowed to apply for posts outside the Collectorate?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: *I cannot say in details but so far as my information goes in every case in which a clerk in a* District Office wants to apply for any other post he has got to apply through the District Officer.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: In view of the answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government desires to compensate the clerks in any other way?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: No.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: If there is no dearth of officers, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why these people are not allowed to go somewhere else?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Because, as I have said, in case of constant changes work is bound to suffer.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: In view of the fact that temporary posts carry higher salaries than permanent ones, will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of allowing the permanent people at least to apply for posts carrying higher prospects without any restriction that so long as they are in Government employ the officers will not be allowed to apply without the consent of the Departmental head?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: That is the universal practice, no employee can apply anywhere else except through the Department concerned.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: In view of the peculiar circumstances and of the fact that they are given Rs. 125 outside whereas they are given only Rs. 35 in the Collectorate, will you consider the desirability to allow them to apply for jobs elsewhere without restriction?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: They may so apply at their own risk.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Rs. 35 is sufficient for a clerk nowadays?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a different matter. That question does not arise out of the main question.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that these poor clerks are not allowed to send out their petitions simply because they are permanent incumbents for jobs carrying better remuneration? Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he will consider the desirablity of relaxing the hard and fast rule that these employees will not be allowed to send their petitions elsewhere?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I have already said that it is the universal practice and rule that any clerk applying for jobs elsewhere has got to go through the Departmental head.

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is much discontent among the permanent hands engaged in the Collectorate?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I have got no such information.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st March, 1945.

Sir, today on the floor of this House just a few minutes ago the Hon'ble the Chief Minister was good enough to remind this House that he was not prepared to beat the tract which was tread by the previous Ministry. But, Sir, yeserday the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, a fellow member of the Chief Minister's Cabinet, got as one of the strongest grounds of the present Bill the fact that this Bill is practically a replica of the Bill of 1942 which was introduced or proposed to be introduced by the previous Ministry. Now I feel, Sir, that this Ministry in its abhorrence for whatever was done by the previous Ministry would have rejected the Bengal Secondary Education Bill which was proposed to be introduced by them. That would have saved the present Ministry a lot of worries, and that would have saved the province a lot of avoidable agony. The present House is in existence for more than seven years. Outsiders say that the House has attained senility. Although we do not go so far still we must confess that we are a tired House by this time. Along with that consider the fact, Sir, that the present session is in progress for nearly three and a half months and members have virtually approached a condition of exhaustion by this time. In a tired House with exhausted members to gulp down the throat of the province a highly controversial Bill of this description is to say the least of it nothing short of an attempt which is most heinous. Sir, the authorities in the educational world whom the Hon'ble Minister in charge has described as judgment-debtors people who have spent their lives for the cause of education in this province and outside, all of them are unanimous in condemning this measure in all its import and substance. Sir, a section of this intelligentsia described the present Bill as a rape on education. I am myself not an educationist and I am not in a position to say as the educational authorities are in a position as to what extent the Bill is calculated to do good or mischief to the province of Bengal, but as one belonging to politics and to political affiliations I have no doubt, Sir, that the obvious effect of this Bill today would be the achievement of internal discord at a time when that ought to be avoided by all means.

Sir, I would ask my friends of the Bengal Coalition Party including those who belong to the Bengal Swarajya Party to spare a few minutes with me. I do not propose to introduce any bitterness in my debate. I do not want to level attack upon anybody, but I would speak as a brother to a brother and if I cannot claim to speak the last word on the subject I hope the members opposite will not insist upon their viewpoint as the final say in the matter. Let us sit down and discuss as between friends and let us find out the real solution out of the impasse. Sir, I want to make it clear that I do not hold any brief for the present educational system. I am no apologist for the University. I have no softness for the alleged coterie who, it is complained, control the destinies of education today, but let there not be any confusion of issues. Merely because you or I say that the present administration of education is bad, that does not justify any and every

measure which seeks to correct and change the present state of things. If education and educational system are bad today, I have no doubt that the Secondary Education Bill is trying to make them worse, and let us not in hurry and in anxiety to do something entrap ourselves in a mesh which instead of doing good to the present state of things will definitely bring in retrograde and reactionary state of things.

Sir, there is a feeling—and I have heard this feeling expreseed in many responsible quarters belonging to the Government party—that domination of such and such person, the domination of such and such coterie ought to be diminished so far as education is concerned and that the leadership of X, Y and Z must be curbed in such and such way. I warn my friends that if this is the spirit and objective, I am sure that they are defeating their own objective by bringing in a controversial measure of this description about which a large section of the community is unanimous. Let us be a little more frank. I have heard some responsible member of the Cabinet even say that Dr. Mookerjee's domination must be curbed. I am just giving him a friendly advice. If this is his or their ambition to see that Dr. Mookerjee's domination in education or University should be brought down it is just exactly that purpose which will be defeated by throwing the whole province into a welter of acrimony.

Sir, friends and advocates of the Bill, I believe, have eyes to see and ears to hear and they realise outside the House the chorus of condemnation in one voice, whatever may be the section, whatever may be the community from which it is coming. That chorus is daily increasing in volume and intensity. What does it lead to? People who otherwise would be glad enough to join hand with any party for getting the University on a better and more scientific foundation, people and parties who would gladly welcome any reasonable and scientific approach to the question of educational reconstruction, those people on account of the fact that this Bill has been flourished as a communal measure are being driven to the leadership of those persons whose domination it is their intention to curb and control. It is no use being obsessed by certain phobias. There are leaders and leaders: there is leadership and leadership. It is not at all a scientific approach to a fundamental question to be carried away by obsession because you can never do good to the country or to yourselves merely out of spite for others. I therefore believe that this spite for the present authorities of the University, this anxiety to reduce the authority and influence of the existing University people, is leading the Government and the Government party to a state which will not only not be useful in the present but will be definitely deterimental to the future growth and progress of this province.

Sir, the Hon'ble Education Minister delivered his speech yesterday. I was not unfortunately present yesterday but I have read the substance of his speech in the newspapers today. Sir, he was a lawyer once upon a time and I am still unfortunately a lawyer, and to one lawyer it appeared like the brief read by another lawyer prepared by an attorney. Sir, the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan had to justify his Bill not so much by its own merits as by analogy and precedent. (Mr. SYED MUSTAGAWSAL HAQUE: The world will judge.) I do not know, Sir, who is the judge of the world. This House has grown round in shape and the members have round heads also. Let us judge things for ourselves for the time being.

Sir, I assure my friends over there that I do not think that they are not applying their minds to this measure. I concede that they are applying themselves but at the same time I simply claim in return that they will also realise that we have also been devoting anxious time and thought to this question and the best thing that we could do is to bring about the highest common factor of agreement in the midst of difficulties that have beset us today. Sir, yesterday the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, just as a lawyer who has got a hard case to defend emphasizes more upon the weakness of the opponent's case, was an attempt at concealing its own merits by drawing references to the previous Bill of the previous Ministry and to certain analogies drawn from higher quarters.

Sir, so far as this Bill is concerned, so much has been talked in the platform and in the press that I do not expect to make any helpful contribution to that. But in passing I shall mention only one thing and that is that this Bill has sought to introduce compartmental communalism which it is the intention of all progressive political thinkers to avoid. The Hon'ble Minister said that since our electorates are communal in the larger sphere why should not separate electorate exist in the educational sphere also The answer to that is obvious. We are in a constitution based upon communal interest not on account of our own free choice but because it has been unwillingly forced upon our heads and we have got to accept it as one of the evils of foreign domination. (Mr. A. M. Abdul Hamid: As a result of arbitration.) (Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy: That is entirely wrong.) We have accepted foreign domination not because it is an acceptable commodity but because we have got to stand by that on account of our helplessness. If Mr Tamizuddin Khan wants to advance his argument in a similar manner and says that the Opposition are helpless and therefore communal electorates must be introduced then of course there is an end of all controversy, but all progressive thinkers will agree that if communal electorate was given it was given and accepted as a transitional measure and everybody who thinks himself in terms of an Indian India is looking forward to the day when the present communal electorate will be replaced by joint electorate on adult franchise basis.

Then again, Sir, there has been an attempt to make a further vivisection of Hindus by striking off the scheduled castes from the main body of the Bill. (Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas: No.) My good friend Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas is very prompt in retort He will not probably disagree with me when I say that he is not the first or the last man in the scheduled caste community, that the scheduled caste community is larger than Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas, the Parliamentary Secretary, and that the prospect and future of the scheduled caste people are far beyond the emoluments and remunerations of a salaried officer in the Government of Bengal. Sir, Mahatma Gandhi, as is well known, had tried to counteract the attempt at vivisection of the Hindus as between schedules and non-schedules, and that was set at naught. Today in the year 1944 a very baneful attempt is being made by introducing that vivisection in one political sphere. If it succeeds as an experimental measure in one place, the original formula might be pushed into other and more convenient regions by and by. Now, Sir, any way the position today is this. One section of the people demands that the Bill

should be introduced and passed in the Assembly. There is another and a very strong section which feels that the Bill should be at least postponed for the time being. It is not a question as to whether the Bill can be justified. It is not a question as to whether the opposition or the malcontents are *justified in opposing the Bill. The question is whether a responsible Government which is a Government not merely of one party or one community*—whether a responsible Government is justified in gulping down the throat of an unwilling province a measure which has been characterised as highly controversial and detrimental. It will not do to say by one stroke of the pen that the University is a judgment-debtor. It will not do to say that the opposition to the Bill is unreasonable. After all, this opposition is coming from persons and sections and communities whom you cannot wipe away from the map of Bengal. After all, they have existed in the past; they will exist in the future and they have got a right to exist in the present. (A voice from the Ministerialist Benches: Not at the cost of others.) Sir, one of my friends says "not at the cost of others". That is exactly my formula. The majority in their short-sighted ambition to get a Bill passed have no right to expect the minority, the intellectually intelligent, the politically conscious minority to pay the cost of that. Since the question of cost has been raised I am glad to have been given an opportunity to analyse the position. (A voice from the Ministerialist Benches: Vested interest.) You are at liberty to look to your own interest, but do not create a vested interest. We cannot support that. If it can be said, as has been said in certain quarters, without betraying confidential private conversation, I might say that certain high lights in certain quarters have opposed this Bill from one point of view, namely, that the Muslims have got a strong case for secondary education board. Then the question comes: should the province be goaded merely because a particular community asks a certain thing to be done. Don't we hear numerous voices in the press and in the platform that about 90 per cent. of the cost and resources that have been spent on secondary education in Bengal had come from a section and a community which is opposed to this particular Bill. Would you not agree that the same consideration be given to persons and parties who do not like to be ruled by communal boards? (A voice from the Ministerialist Benches: It is already there.) If one community and one section claims the right to self-determination, in fairness that right has got to be conceded to those who do not like to fall in line with this pernicious measure. We do not advocate the cause of separate boards, but at the same time we want to remind our friends of the Government party that if they want their own self-existence to be recognised they must also not leave out of account the voices and feelings of those who according to their own logic demand an existence extraneous to the fold of communal board which is proposed to be brought into existence.

Sir, there is another question. The question is as to whether the Bill should have been brought and should be pursued in the present context of things, so far as the internal and external conditions of the province are concerned. Sir, whenever any progressive measure, any progressive idea, any progressive suggestion has been made on the floor of the House during the last four years or more that it has been in existence, every project, every proposal whether it has come from the Opposition or from the Government

side had been held up by one handy argument that in view of the extraordinary circumstances raised by war conditions nothing can be done. Well, Sir, not a furlong of new road has been constructed. The recommendations of the *Chaukidary Committee* have not been implemented. The recommendations of the *Rent Reduction Enquiry Committee have* been kept in the waste paper basket. Various recommendations of a progressive character emanating from various communities, big or small,—they are all lying idle because it is said that so long as war remains and war conditions do not change, these things cannot be taken up. I submit, Sir, and I maintain—and I put this question then the political prisoners of Bengal had been kept in abnormal conditions. My friends—the friends and members of the Government party, the friends and co-workers of the Ministers themselves—are engaged in the name of war conditions. It is not within the means, it is not within the available resources of the Government now to set these people at large because the war is on. Look at the extraordinary famine conditions in this country. The famine could not be checked. The aftermath of famine is having its travail and career unchecked and whatever extraordinary situations are there, they are justfied in the name of war and nothing can be done To the political people the Government of the day have failed to give satisfaction To the hungry people Government have failed to give bread. Are we to understand that when the Province and the people want bread the Ministry and the Ministerialists will flourish before them the stone of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill? After all, there is the question of finance. The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, according to the admission of the Minister in charge himself, cannot be put into effective operation unless it is supplemented by a complementary legislation regarding the relation of the University vis-a-vis the proposed Board So the position is this, that even today it is admitted that the Board cannot be put into operation till the new Bill is passed and till finance is provided for. If that is so, may I ask in all humility the Minister and the Ministerialists why this inordinate haste and hurry! The only reason is that the Secondary Education Bill is introduced not really as an educational measure but as a war measure to carry on the communal squabbles of this Province. Pardon me if I take you through a short historical aspect of this Bill *vis-a-vis* communal relations in the province. The first Bill was brought on the floor of the House in 1940 but that was not the first time that the Bill was conceived. The Bill was in the mind of the first Fazlul Huq Government ever since 1938 The mind that fostered the Secondary Education Bill is also the mind that fomented communal discord, and the result of that was terrible happenings in Dacca and other places. Dacca has been the seat of learning based on communal electorates and it is not a mere chance coincidence that Dacca is also the headquarters of all communal troubles that of late blurred the history and bled the people of this province. It was supreme wisdom that ultimately prevailed upon the then powers that be and for good or for evil for the last 3 or 4 years even if we cannot claim that communal concord has been established we can claim that communal discord has been avoided and the responsibility today lies upon the shoulders of those who in their anxiety to get a war measure established for their own propaganda are also taking the risk of provoking the Oppositionists. Provocation begets provocation; irritation comes in from

irritation and for Heaven's sake I request those who have any influence with the Minister at least to save Bengal for the time being from anything that might lead to communal discord in this province. We have had enough of it in the recent past. Let us not go on trying experiments with the rights and liberties of millions of people. (A VOICE: Is it a threat?) It is not. I am speaking very seriously in a spirit of tolerance but then as a political worker having some experience of the past, as a political worker having some knowledge of the pulse of the people I am simply explaining my mind to my friends of the Government party and it is for them to decide what to do. After all, it is true that in spite of opposition in this House there is some sort of sporting atmosphere prevailing but that is a thing which is not experienced outside. Although we in this House belong to opposite parties in the heat and controversy of the moment we do not lose the sporting outlook that we possess, but what about our constituencies and electorates? Once the communal fanaticism gets possession of them, well there is sworn enmity in the province and the result is disaster for all parties concerned. Then there is another aspect of the matter and to this I would draw the particular attention of the members of the European party.

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

What is this blue light for? I shall finish very soon. I am coming to a close. I have no mind to detain you very long but this blue light is very provoking.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please go on.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, the war is at our door. That is not denied by anybody. The need raised by war conditions is probably most understood by the European party May I put it through you to the European party how they measure the reaction of those who are against this particular Bill at this time? I am not dealing for the time being with the question of propriety or the question of intrinsic merits of the Bill There is such a thing as even doing a right thing in a wrong time. Had it been England would they, under the present circumstances even if they were convinced that a particular measure was justified by justice, be carried away by mere abstract sense of justice and merit and would they not test the matter in the crucible of political exigency *vis-a-vis* justice? Sir, I——

(At this stage the red light was lit again.)

Please give me some more minutes.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, I cannot give you more time.

Mr. SASANKA SEKAR SANYAL: Then you ought to have given me notice of it before.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I cannot allow you under any circumstances more than half an hour. Under the ordinary rules you can speak only for 15 minutes. Under the proviso to rule 41 the mover of a motion when moving the same and the Minister of the Department to which the motion relates when speaking for the first time may speak for half an hour. I thought you would only speak for 15 minutes. As it is I have given you half an hour.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, give me 5 minutes more.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is impossible for me to give you even 5 minutes. There are other motions.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. Does that rule relate to discussion on Bills?

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: No, it does not.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Will you kindly point out the rule that governs the limitation of time in regard to discussion on Bills?

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, you will find that rule 41 comes under Part IV which relates to motions in general but we do not find any such rule or any counterpart of such a rule in Part V at all.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, Part IV relates to motions in general but we are now dealing with legislative matters which do not come under Part IV.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr Roy, before you rise on a point of order, I hope you will use your discretion because it is not up to a member to abuse the right of rising on a point of order. A member is always entitled to rise on a point of order any time he likes. Before you do so, however, I hope you will exercise your discretion whether you really rise on a point of order or not

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: I submit, Sir, I have got the right to get a ruling from the Chair on any point of law or on any point of fact which I may raise in this House. Here, Sir, with regard to the rule referred to by the Chair, I draw your attention to the fact that in that Chapter there are limitations of time and restrictions in the case of cut motions in connection with the Budget and also in the case of general motions, but in the Chapter on Legislation there is no restriction of time mentioned I also draw your attention to the fact that in the Central Legislative Assembly there is no restriction of time in the case of Bills. So my submission is that in the case of discussion on Bills there shall not be any limitation of time or any restriction whatsoever.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I may also point out to you, Sir, that only yesterday the Hon'ble Speaker permitted the Hon'ble Minister in charge, not while moving his motion but subsequently on the next day, to speak for not less than 75 minutes in support of his motion. I submit that disposes of your contention based on rule 41.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The Speaker has a right to use his discretion and possibly he did that. But I do not know whether he extended the time beyond 30 minutes; any way, you can speak for a few minutes more.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, the other day the Chief Minister of the Punjab made a very pertinent observation that nothing should be done at the present moment by which we might turn to fight each other instead of fighting the enemy that is at our door. You know that individual liberties are at stake and anything that purports to disturb public tranquillity should not be allowed to destroy the harmony in the province. What about the members of the Treasury Benches who even in their ill-conceived ideas are bringing in a measure which is, far from doing good to a particular class, at least throwing the whole province into a welter of confusion? When the present Ministry came into office there

were assurances that everything should be done for the establishment of communal harmony. I believe that the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami and his friends do remember those assurances given by the Chief Minister and by themselves. May I know, Sir, how they stand in relation to the present Bill? If they feel that they are helpless partners in the matter of the present Bill, well, I, on behalf of the Opposition, on behalf of the party to which they formerly belonged, can assure them that if in their courage of conviction they find that the present Bill is calculated to disturb the harmony of the province, they should not hesitate to come out of the Treasury benches. In any case I would appeal to the members of the Government party not to be in haste in this matter. After all, if you sow the seed of discontent here it is only one party that is gaining, the party which is threatening aggression from outside. You are only encouraging the enemies who are watching the soil at the present moment. If you want to resist foreign aggression and defend your hearth and home, you must stand united together, brother to brother. But if, on the other hand, in your ill-timed anxiety somehow or other to have this Bill passed to vindicate yourself before your electorates, then the result will be that you will invite foreign aggression to this unhappy soil. After all, I would appeal to you to consider the matter not merely from your point of view but also from the point of view of others, those who have the unfortunate compulsion to differ from you. I can only appeal to you and I would ask you to be statesmen: do not be led by passions and prejudices that do not either benefit yourselves or benefit the cause of the province which is your concern and my concern.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: I rise on a point of privilege, Sir As a member representing a very important minority community, I should like to offer my views on this Bill.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You will have your chance, Mr Griffiths, but not at this stage.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I rise to move by way of amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st December, 1944.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill has had a chequered career. It has a history of its own, unique in the history of legislation in this province. The Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Education has unfolded a part of that history before this House. It will be my duty today to give this House the blanks that were left by him to be filled up.

Sir, just about a quarter of a century ago an expert Commission of educationists had pointed out and had invited attention to certain drawbacks of the then existing system of secondary education in the province, and among various measures of reform they recommended the establishment of an autonomous Board for controlling and developing secondary education along proper lines. The Sadler Commission based their recommendation on certain fundamental principles of which the most important were, first, that Bengal required more and better education; thus the expansion of education and not its restriction was primarily aimed at; secondly, the relation of the State to the Board should in their opinion be such as would in no way permit State interference with freedom in the

administration of and teaching in the schools. State control would be only limited to general supervision by their powers over the budget of the Board, and in every respect the Board would be autonomous and free from official interference and influence; and thirdly, it was one of the fundamental principles laid down by the Sadler Commission that any reform must be backed by public opinion. They stated in their report:—"The public must feel assured that the proposed changes will give larger and more varied educational opportunities to the younger generation and that the financial sacrifices which they entail may confidently be expected to yield a remunerative return. Above all the authority should be so constituted as to command the confidence of different sections of the community whose co-operation is indispensable to the successs of any adequate plan of educational reform".

Sir, the bureaucracy of the time at once set itself to take advantage of this recommendation of the Sadler Commission with a view to serve its own policy. It had been for some time before that period that a sinister attempt was set on foot to restrict the educational facilities of Bengalis in every sphere, primary, secondary and the University stage in the belief that the spread of education and the increasing number of unemployed educated youths was at the root of political discontent and was swelling the rank of terrorists Much though the public and especially the University of Calcutta desired reforms in the field of secondary education, all right-thinking men began to view with alarm and distrust the attempts to establish a Secondary Education Board having an avowed object of control and not development or expansion. Even as late as 1940 the Bills drafted were mostly based on the theory that the development of secondary education "canot be allowed to drift indefinitely upon dangerous currents, aimless and uncontrolled"

The first draft of Secondary Education Bill was prepared in 1923 proposing to place the Board of Secondary Education under the entire and exclusive control of the Local Government. The Calcutta University disapproved of the proposals on obvious and fundamental grounds. In 1925 Government prepared a revised Bill which was further revised in 1926 on receipt of certain proposals of Sir Ewart Greaves, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. But these two Bills also failed to meet the fundamental objections In 1929 another draft Bill was forwarded to the University of Calcutta which still sought to retain large powers in the hands of the Provincial Government. As no agreement could be arrived at between the authorities of the Calcutta University and the Government, the measure was not proceeded with and between 1929 and 1937 no fresh proposals were made. But the Calcutta University did not sit quiet during that period. It introduced a number of important measures of educational reform.

In 1937 a new Bill was drafted and sent to the University. In the opinion of the Syndicate that Bill was not a sound educational measure and did not seek to solve many of the then existing problems which still exist. On the other hand, the Bill made things definitely worse. Communal representation was for the first time given a prominent place. The Syndicate reported and the Senate adopted the following statement: "As a University we are against communal representation as such. We look

upon this part of the Bill with considerable anxiety and disfavour". In noting the manner in which proposals for such representation had developed since 1926 it was pointed out that in 1926 Government proposed only 14 per cent. of seats to Muslims, in 1928 it was raised to 16 per cent., in 1937 it was raised to 17 per cent. Subsequently in the 1940 Bill this proportion was raised to 41 per cent. and in 1941, after it emerged out of a Select Committee of packed body of a particular section of the House, for the first time the claim for 50; 50 Muslim and Hindu seats was mooted. The bureaucracy in its anxiety to rope in a section of supporters for the measure contemplated by them did not hesitate to sacrifice a national outlook and sought to promise more and more seats to some for having their support ensured.

In 1939 a new Bill was heard of and in July, 1940, the same was published. The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the then Minister-in-charge, in course of his Statement of Objects and Reasons, expressed horror at the rapid expansion of secondary education in an unplanned manner and thought that the "development could not be allowed to drift indefinitely upon dangerous currents—aimless and uncontrolled."

The Bill met with a strong opposition in the House as well as in the province and eminent persons like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Sir P. C. Roy as well as reputed educationists like Sir Jadunath Sarker, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee condemned the proposed measure. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee in the teeth of strenuous opposition of the entire non-Muslim members of the Legislature excepting the Europeans and a few henchmen of Government and the Select Committee was boycotted by the oppositionists. The report that emerged in 1941 made the position in certain respect worse than what was contemplated in the Bill of 1940 and it evoked almost universal condemnation from Nationalist Bengal. Certain clauses of the Bill, as emerged through the Select Committee of 1941, were gone through in the Assembly in the July-September session of 1941, but the measure ultimately foundered at the rock of the dissolution of the then Ministry which was succeeded by the Ministry of Mr. Fazlul Huq with Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Sj. Santosh Kumar Basu among others as his colleagues.

In March, 1942, a new Bill was published embodying certain new and fundamentally changed policy and the same was referred to a Select Committee on the 2nd April, 1942. In July that year when the first meeting of the Select Committee was held certain technical objections were raised by the Congress Party and although these were overruled by the person presiding, the objections were held to be valid on a reference being made to the Deputy Speaker, there being no Speaker of the House at the time. The Deputy Speaker took the opinion of the Advocate-General and of the Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in the matter before he gave his decision. The work of the Select Committee could not therefore be proceeded with.

After the Ministry of Mr. Fazlul Huq was replaced by the present Ministry of Sir Nazimuddin, the old Select Committee, with certain changes effected therein without reference to the Assembly, was assembled on the 14th December, 1943. At that meeting and even before that date

doubts were expressed by ourselves regarding the propriety and legality of continuing the work of the old Select Committee and among other things it was pointed out that—

(a) the Select Committee had no power to go beyond the dates specified in the original motion referring the Bill to the Select Committee and neither the Speaker nor the Deputy Speaker had under the rules of the Assembly any power to alter or modify a decision taken by the Assembly on a motion adopted by the House either when the Assembly is in session or during its recess. Subsequent extensions of time by the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker without reference to the Assembly have therefore been irregular and *ultra vires*.

(b) It was also pointed out that the last date for submission of the report having expired, the Bill could not remain within the purview of the Select Committee.

(c) In the third place, it was argued that the Bill had also lapsed under the provisions of rule 19(*2*) of the Assembly Procedure Rules as no motion was made by the member in charge of the Bill during two complete sessions of the Assembly in spite of ample opportunities for the same having been made available to the member concerned, nor had the Speaker kept the Bill alive by suspending the operation of the rule under sub-rule (*3*) of rule 19. The provision of section 73(*2*) of the Government of India Act could not be invoked to save the Bill inasmuch as the provision of rule 19(*2*) of the Assembly Procedure Rules were not in conflict with the provisions of the Act.

(d) Further, the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, the present Minister in charge of the Education Department, was not and could not ex-officio be a member of the Select Committee and was, therefore, not entitled to be its Chairman. Under rule 54(*3*) inasmuch as there was no provision in the Assembly Procedure Rules by virtue of which a new Minister in charge of a department to which any Bill relates could automatically and ex-officio become a member of the Select Committee to which the Bill is referred without his having been named as such a member in the motion appointing a Select Committee.

(e) Moreover, it was argued by us that the nomination of Mr. Muhammad Israil as a member of the Select Committee to fill up a permanent vacancy was also of doubtful validity as there was no provision in the Assembly Procedure Rules for filling up such vacancies.

(f) Lastly, it was pointed out that the Bill reflected the views and the policy of the previous Ministry and unless the present Ministry declared its intention to stand by the same, it was not proper to go on with the Bill as previously presented to the House.

Sir, these objections were wantonly overruled by the Hon'ble Mr. Shahabuddin—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I propose to interrupt you for a moment. You are speaking on a subject which was discussed in the Select Committee.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am afraid, Sir, you have to take your orders from the Speaker because the Speaker allowed the Hon'ble Minister.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I wanted to know whether you were discussing a matter of the Select Committee or not.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It was not a Select Committee at all. Even if it was so, that was allowed by the Hon'ble Speaker yesterday. I am giving the history of the Bill.

These objections were wantonly overruled by the Hon'ble Mr. Shahabuddin who was presiding over the meeting without even giving one of us, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, an opportunity to submit his arguments on the points raised and the President, without attempting to meet the aforesaid objections and without giving any reasons for his decision, declared that the Bill was alive and that the proceedings were in order. As a protest against this conduct and as, in our opinion, the meeting was nothing more than a packed party caucus having no sanction of the Legislature behind it, four of us, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. You will continue your speech after the prayer interval.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Resuming where I left, Sir, as a protest against the wanton conduct of the presiding officer, Mr. Shahabuddin, four members Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. Atul Chandra Sen, Mr. Harendra Kumar Sur and myself withdrew from the meeting. The matter was forthwith brought to the notice of the Speaker and his intervention was sought. In their dogged obstinacy to place on the legislative anvil a pernicious measure as soon as they could the party in power threw all sense of decency to the winds and knowing full well that their action was illegal and contrary to the provisions of the Assembly Rules carried on their deliberations at the coterie meetings which they sought to term as the Select Committee of this House, and much public money was wasted. After very careful consideration of all points and after giving repeated hearings to the Government representatives, the Speaker accepted some of the objections raised and declared the work purported to have been done by certain Government party members and their proteges as *ultra vires* and scotched the nefarious attempt of the Government to pass off the proceedings of the packed body of their party caucus as a report of a Select Committee of the House. A new Bill has therefore been introduced, which is claimed by the Hon'ble Minister in charge to be modelled on the alleged report of the meetings of the caucus that the Hon'ble Minister in charge sought to glorify with the imposter's garb of a select committee.

We were of opinion that in case Government were really serious about a suitable measure of reform of Secondary Education in the Province, they should draft and introduce a new and comprehensive Bill meeting the demands of various sections of the people. Although a new Bill has been introduced we are disappointed to find that none of the points raised by us and by educationists for over a quarter of a century on previous occasions have been met and in many important respects and fundamental principles, the Bill has taken a retrograde and reactionary course. We demand that

this new Bill embodying as it does many new and fundamental changes in the outlook and policy of secondary education in the province should be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon and we have provided a fairly short period for obtaining such opinion lest anyone may impute the motive that we were taking up an obstructive or dilatory attitude.

We condemn the present Bill on many grounds. Some of these grounds were stated in the criticisms published in the press a few days ago over the signature of our revered countryman Sir P. C. Roy, President, Bengal Education Council. Dr. Roy's erudition, contribution to the cause of the advancement of education in India and his passionate love for Bengalees and Bengal's youth hardly have any parallel. The case made out by him exposing the drawbacks of the present Bill stands unrefuted in spite of a seventy minute long harangue by the Hon'ble Minister in charge, we remain thoroughly unconvinced. If Government in their mad zeal to capture power for a coterie of the Muslim League and its henchmen ruthlessly trample on public opinion and the opinion of those who have given lifelong and selfless service to the cause of education and the country's freedom, and attempt to force on the future generation a system of education that is virtually a negation of culture and education, then the responsibility for the consequences, however dire and disastrous, will be theirs and the present Ministry will have to account for their misdeeds not merely to the present generation of Bengalees but also to generations to come.

Our main objections to the taking up of the Bill at once for consideration may be summed up as stated hereafter. In case our motion for circulation is not accepted we shall take opportunity later on to explain each of these points more fully. Many of these were pressed in this House nearly two years ago but a Government backed by an insensate majority acting on no other motive than power-politics has so far had turned a deaf ear to our advice. We still fondly hope that some day through some inscrutable way some sense may yet dawn upon the party keeping the Government in office and our objections will be duly met in the best interests of the people and the country.

We oppose the Bill because, in the first place, it is inopportune and untimely. Bengal is passing through a most critical period of her life. On the one hand the enemy has been threatening to enter her sacred soil and the horizon is cast with the gloom of a disastrous battle in our very midst, and on the other the dangers of starvation, famine, diseases and death are still looming as a nightmare disturbing the peaceful calling and nomal life of almost all sections of our people. The problems arising out of last year's famine and its aftermath have yet to be tackled with the willing co-operation and united efforts of all sections. At a time like this it would be nothing short of sheer callous indifference to the interests of the people to seek to create dissensions and to antagonise a large and helpful section of the people, who have been rendering yeoman's service in meeting the famine situation and in carrying out rehabilitation programmes.

In the second place, it is unwise and inadvisable to introduce any major measure of educational re-adjustment without a careful examination of all the implications thereof on the post-war reconstruction of education in India. We had only a few weeks ago an expert report on post-war

educational reform in India. That report, among other things visualises free secondary education and stresses the necessity of resumption of all educational powers by the Provincial Government from local bodies. The report goes on like this: "In practice irremediable harm has been done by handing over the responsibility for the education of the rising generation to bodies whose members are in the main uneducated or uninterested in education or both. The situation becomes still worse when local bodies do not possess the fund which they would require to discharge their duties properly, even if they are willing and able to do so. It is unnecessary here to repeat the charges of irresponsibility, incompetence, ill-treatment of teachers, religious and political bias, nepotism and other forms of corruption which make such frequent and gloomy readings in the provincial reports. It is significant that several of the Provincial Governments which attempted to introduce educational reform on a large scale found their efforts to a large extent vitiated by the apathy and incompetence of local bodies". The report thereafter goes on "It would therefore appear essential that before embarking on their reconstruction programmes Provincial Governments should resume all educational powers from local bodies except where they are satisfied that these are competent to undertake the large responsibility".

Sir, that report among other things also visualises free secondary education. While such concentration of power in certain hands and free education are being emphasized in connection with post-war reconstruction, and while the whole question of educational development in India is under examination, is it not unwise to seek to take out of the purview of future planning an important portion of our education, namely, secondary education? Is it not desirable to have the proposals of Mr. Sargent further and more carefully examined by experts and educationists?

Sir, I come to the third and a more specific grievance. Sir, the Bill visualises vivisection of education into a number of watertight types of schools classified on the kind and degree of religious bias introuced in each type. The Bill, as it is drafted and it is claimed that this Bill is modelled on the 1942 Bill and I presume that it has not left the pernicious provision of that Bill out of account contemplates five cotegories of schools. The first category would be schools imparting general secular education only; the second would be schools which along with general education would impart education in Islamic studies; the third would be general schools imparting education in general subjects along with certain subjects related to Hindu religion and culture; the fourth class would be schools dealing with subjects of purely Islamic culture and education and the fifth would be schools dealing with Hindu religion and Hindu cultural studies alone. (Interruption by Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar.) My friend Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar does not realise that the Muslims in this province can think of only one section, viz., themselves; all the others are non-Muslims, so that Buddhists, Christians and everybody else come under the category of Hindus. My friend Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar may be assured that outside India if he goes to America or the Continent he though a Muslim, will be termed by those foreigners as Hindu.

This vivisection of education and educational institutions is not only highly objectionable in principle as it destroys the very root of our

national consciousness and unity but I submit with all the humility that I can command it is also unworkable in practice without entailing considerable expenditure of money and waste of resources which should be avoided.

In the fourth place, the Bill does not ensure a proper place for vocational and special education in the scheme for the development of secondary education and what is piously wished in expanding the definition of secondary education has been hedged in with a dangerous proviso under which Government can give a complete go-by to the demand for inclusion of any or all the types of vocational education within the purview of secondary education. Even so, the definition as it appears excludes physical or military education from the list of special education and this is extremely unfortunate.

In the fifth place, the Bill places an exaggerated emphasis on religious education based separately on the Islamic and Hindu religion and culture. Apart from the highly-objectionable and undesirable political consequences thereof this would create a stumbling block to the expansion of general education and would bring about a set back to the real education of our children, both Hindu and Muslim. Education should be secular only and in our humble opinion cultural and religious ideals of all major communities should be taught in all schools irrespective of the religion to which the student may belong With such objects in view, educationists and authors should apply themselves to compile text books embodying universally regarded precepts and codes of morals for creating better social relations, precepts culled from all religions.

In the sixth place, the Bill is out and out a communal measure and can hardly be regarded as a measure to further the cause of education. It is conceived of by politicians anxious anyhow to increase their hold through raising false issues and creating greater opportunities for extending sectional and party patronage. It seeks to introduce communal considerations at almost every stage, in the composition of the Board, the Executive Council, the Standing Committees, etc., and injects the virus of communalism with vengeance through separate electorates for Muslims and Hindus and even for the Scheduled Castes amongst Hindus. The provisions of the Bill as drafted have not been examined by independent educationists and have not obtained the approval of any reputed educationist so far. The effect of introducing communal consideration and communal virus in the field of education has been very rightly exposed during the last few days by one of our esteemed countrymen Dr R. C. Majumdar who spoke about the effects thereof in the field of Dacca University. In the course of a statement that he made, he pointed out that "from about 1925 or 1926 the baneful influence of communal spirit first became apparent and since then it steadily increased. Gradually the Muslim members of the Executive Council formed a bloc and their views were influenced by communal considerations rather than the true academic interests of the University. It was regular practice for the Muslim members of the Executive Council to meet and decide upon important items that were to be discussed at the next meeting of the Council and Muslim interests loomed large in these decisions and in their discussions in the Executive Council——

(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

I have already submitted to you that this is a party motion. I would require at least half an hour more.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Try to finish as early as possible. I give you 15 minutes more.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I don't think I can finish it within that time. Let us see about that afterwards.

"The effect of this was most clearly seen in the matter of appointments. There have been many glaring instances where Muslims with far inferior qualifications were preferred to Hindus. Later, resolutions were adopted fixing the proportion of Muslim employees both in the administrative and the teaching staff (Lecturers and Assistant Lecturers). In order to facilitate the appointment of Muslims a minimum academic qualification was laid down which was naturally far below what would be normally available in a free choice among candidates. The higher appointments like those of Professors and Readers are made by a Selection Committee whose decision the Executive Council cannot override. But the communal spirit made itself felt even in these matters in an indirect manner. Superior posts were kept in abeyance or were not sanctioned even though they were very necessary when it was felt that no Muslims were likely to be appointed. The communal spirit was also evident in the appointment of members to the Selection Committees. Some extreme cases of communal appointment may be cited. A lecturer's post in a particular branch of study was not sanctioned though pressed for again and again by the department concerned. When a good Muslim student was awarded a scholarship by the Government for study abroad, he was induced to take up the subject and the post was created with the proviso that it would be filled up two or three years later (*i.e.*, when the student was expected to be back). The post of a Physical Instructor was filled up by an untrained Muslim in preference to a highly competent and fully trained Hindu. The latter filed a suit and got a nominal compensation by the Munsiff though he ultimately lost the case in the Appellate Court. In another case a vacancy in Lectureship was sought to be filled by the appointment of the Muslim Assistant Lecturer although the Hindu Assistant Lecturer was far more qualified. So strong was indeed the claim of the latter that ultimately a compromise was effected whereby both were appointed Lecturers with the proviso that if and when any of these posts again fell vacant it would be filled up by an Assistant Lecturer.

It was soon apparent to the teachers that the support of the united group of Muslim members was necessary for their preferment and this led to a demoralisation of spirit and creation of factions. Some teachers of the Hindu community openly courted the favour of the Muslim group and were rewarded by their support.

In the case of an appointment of a Provost of a Hindu Hall a Hindu teacher of inferior qualifications was supported by the entire Muslim group though he was not backed by a single Hindu member.

The same spirit was gradually manifested among the Hindu members also. They, too, held party meetings to decide upon issues before the Executive Council which was thus divided almost into two openly hostile

camps whose mutual wrangles and recriminations often marred its proceedings and created a most unhealthy atmosphere.

The Hindu students, smarting under a sense of injustice and frustration by the preference of less qualified fellow-students of the other community, gradually became estranged from them. In students-politics, particularly in the Students' Union of the University the communal feeling strongly manifested itself and often created ugly scenes. On several occasions, it led to disorders, outbreaks and hand-to-hand fighting between the Hindu and Muslim students culminating in the dastardy attack by Muslim students with *lathis*, hockey sticks and other weapons upon the unsuspecting Hindu students peacefully assembled in classes".

This formed the subject of an inquiry and a report was published which would give all details. This report of the Commissioner of the Dacca Division which was not published gives a lurid account of the baneful effect of the severe type of communalism which is rampant there. We do hope that the Government will have the courage, honesty and fairness to permit the public of this Province and outside to see the report in its full. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that at present a deep sense of mistrust prevails not only between the students but also the teachers of the two communities, and what is worse between teachers and students of the different communities. Proceeding further Dr. R. C. Majumder pointed out:—"Indeed the whole atmosphere of the University is surcharged with communal feeling to such extent that the cultivation of a proper academic spirit has become almost impossible."

In the face of such a definite proof and evidence, how can any honest set of people proceed to welcome a measure with an out and out communal bias and basis? The Hon'ble Minister in charge, while reading out his speech yesterday, characterised this statement of Dr. Majumdar as a stab on the back. It is difficult for us to understand what he meant thereby. Does he mean that Dr. Majumdar, who at one time enjoyed the privilege of holding the position of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, ought for all time to come to sing to the tune of the Government of the day from whose funds he drew his salary for a certain time, and is it expected that a person who holds that position through Government favour at one time, when he speaks out the truth thereafter, would be characterised in this low, mean and unjustified manner?

In the seventh place, the Bill seeks to do great injustice to the Hindus of Bengal, specially the nationalist Hindus many of whom are caste Hindus, through whose generosity and untiring efforts education in this province has largely developed and who, even today, constitute the largest proportion of teachers, students, members of Managing Committees and donors of the institutions. Previous speakers have given a broad idea of what contribution the Hindu community did make towards the advancement of education in this province. It has been not merely claimed by the Hindus but it is a matter which has been practically admitted by educationists and even by the Government in their reports that out of the total number of students attending secondary schools, *i.e.*, higher schools as well as middle schools, nearly 80 per cent.—to be more correct about 76 per cent.—are Hindus and so far as the number of institutions are concerned, out of a total number of

1,500 high schools and about 2,000 middle schools, nearly 90 per cent. were established with Hindu initiative. Sir, while doing so it may be said to the credit of that community not one single institution in the secondary stage was set specifically apart for the teaching of Hindu boys alone. The generosity of the Hindus in this respect was such that they kept their doors open for all communities, and I know, Sir, that in institutions with which some of us were associated, even specific attempts were made by Hindu donors to donate sums of money to maintain special teachers for giving instructions in Islamic culture. And yet, Sir, this Bill seeks to do great injustice to these very Hindus. We of the Congress group do not intend to rub in this Hindu cause too much, but we feel that injustice is being done, and it is only on the ground of protecting persons from injustice and wanton conduct on the part of Government that we seek to mention these points.

In the eighth place, the claim of Muslims to have parity with the Hindus in the Board, the Executive Council, etc., can hardly be justified on any reasonable ground. Even so, some Hindus acquiesced in the same in their anxiety to secure communal harmony on two conditions: one condition was joint electorate and the other was an assurance that in the field of primary education as well the Government would seek to maintain similar parity of numbers between Hindus and Muslims, both on the proposed provincial Board as well as in the districts. This was the maximum limit of concession that the Hindus or some section of them could, in any circumstance, be made to agree.

The Bill, in the ninth place, vests in the communally appointed Board the power to appoint Inspectors, officers and staff and to determine the manner of appointment of teachers, members of Managing Committees, paper-setters, examiners, tabulators, etc. This uncontrolled power is likely to be abused regardless of the true interests of education. Past experience in these respects is very unfortunate. The theory of lowering down the standard of minimum qualifications for services, if applied to educational institutions, will spell disaster to the training of the future generation. Suitable safeguards should therefore be devised against such contingencies. The results of separate communal electorates and of providing minimum qualifications lower than what normally would be possible, if free competetive choice was permitted, have been too well exposed in the case of selection of professors in the Medical College of Calcutta and other institutions referred to in this House from time to time.

Next, Sir, in the tenth place, the preponderance of officials and nominated members in the Board and in the Executive Council is another feature which must be condemned. If Government wants to retain a large degree of control over the administration of the Board, this should be openly provided in the sections and not sought through the inclusion of a large number of officials and nominated members. Such nominations are invariably likely to be on party or communal grounds regardless of educational considerations.

Coming, Sir, to the proportion of officials to non-officials, it has been so loudly vaunted by the Hon'ble Minister in charge—(At this stage the blue light was lit.)

Sir, I will take another fifteen minutes to finish my speech. The position is this. We have had 22 members signing the notice given for this motion, and if you like, you can take it as a party motion.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: But members of your party will not get opportunity to speak.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We may withdraw some of our speakers.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have already allowed you fifteen minutes more because of your own seeking.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It will be impossible for me to finish. The Hon'ble Minister took 75 minutes.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That I do not know.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We know. Therefore I must finish.

Sir, the number of officials in the Bill as it is proposed is 6 Hindu and Scheduled Caste officials and nominated, 6 Mussalmans and 5 Europeans and Anglo-Indians. I am including officials and nominated in the same group. The total number of official and nominated members would be thus 17 and in addition thereto if the two Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities be termed as officials, the number would be 19. It is very difficult to accept the contention of the Hon'ble Minister that the Bill has reduced the number of officials in the present draft.

Sir, in the 11th place the Bill does not make any provision for the proper representation of the Managing Committees and of experts in special education, for example, Agricultural, Commercial, Technical, Medical and Physical or Military education. Politicians who have conceived and drafted the Bill have only looked to their own advantage and interests and not to educational advancement.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I am sorry. You know the rules do not permit more than half an hour. I have given you extra 15 minutes' time.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With all humility and respect we beseech you. If you do not allow time that was allowed by the Speaker to the Minister in charge, I am afraid, Sir, it will be our painful duty to see that we get more time.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is another matter.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: This is a life and death question to us and we are prepared to shed every drop of blood to fight this Bill.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, please.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We shall not be guided by this schoolmasterly conduct even from you. We have most respectfully submitted to you several times and if this goes on it will not be possible to carry on the work.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Roy, I hope you will assist me in coming to a decision. The rule provides that the maximum time that can be given——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, Sir, please read the rule.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. Dr. Sanyal, you will have the courtesy to your own leader.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am only returning courtesy for courtesy.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Roy, I will once again request you to look to the rules. The time I have allowed is according to rules and for Dr. Sanyal I have allowed 15 minutes more. Please see the rule. The utterances that were made by Dr. Sanyal are not parliamentary. I ask your assistance in coming to a decision.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, we have already submitted that in our opinion the limitation of time with regard to speeches is not applicable in the matter of Bills, and it has been very ably argued by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri that this limitation does not apply and the Speaker has accepted it. Whether you will countermand the ruling of Mr. Speaker is a matter for you to decide.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If it is the ruling of the Speaker that time-limit in case of Bills does not arise, certainly I will not go against it. In this particular matter when it is your definite opinion it will be my duty to ask the opinions of the different leaders to come to a conclusion. I will request Mr. Basu and other party leaders to assist me in coming to a conclusion.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, we have always been under the impression that the rule limiting time for speeches does not apply to legislation. On that footing we have carried on discussions in this House for the last seven years. I for one, with regard to the Calcutta Municipal Bill when it was first introduced, spoke, I think, for about 45 minutes because there was no limitation whatsoever imposed under the rules. That has been the interpretation, that has been the convention, that has been the practice. In these circumstances I do hope, Sir, that you will not limit the time with regard to the speeches on Bills. Apart from that there is a very large number of motions tabled by individual members. They have been lumped together but that does not take away the right of any individual member to speak for the full period that he desires to speak. Well, if he speaks irrelevantly, if he speaks nonsense or repeats arguments or speaks in a manner which is unparliamentary, your powers are ample and unrestricted. Otherwise, if he keeps himself within the four corners of the motion and if he speaks in a way that is considered relevant by you, I do submit that the time-limit will not apply to legislation.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is one point and I hope you have made the observation keeping in view the section I have mentioned.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Yes, Sir, I have seen that. Yesterday, I had occasion to discuss these rules in this House in another connection. I quoted all these rules yesterday. They are fresh in my mind. But the part relating to Legislation is different and I would submit that, in the very nature of things legislation being a matter of far-reaching importance which will govern the conduct of affairs in this province for years to come and as definite decisions have got to be taken in shaping a Bill, any such

provision has deliberately been omitted that any time-limit could be imposed. Motions and Legislation have been separately treated in these rules and for a particular purpose and with a definite object, the object being, in legislation speakers should not be compelled to abide by any time-limit. That has been the practice in the Central Legislature. In the absence of any definite rule so far as this Assembly is concerned that in matters of legislation time-limit should be imposed, I think the practice and the convention of this House and the practice and convention in the Central Legislature which is supported by reason and common sense you will have no hesitation in following.

Mr. DAVID HENDRY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, our interpretation of these rules is that except with the permission of the Speaker under rule 41(*4*) speeches should not exceed 15 minutes. I am not prepared to enter into any legalistic argument outside these rules but the plain meaning appears that no speech shall exceed 15 minutes unless specially provided by the Chair.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, as I see the rules—Part IV Motions—I find that time-limit is given but as regards Legislation there is no time-limit given and in fact the Minister yesterday spoke for 75 minutes or so. If a rule is to be applied it must be applied equally to the Minister as to the other members of this House. I do not exactly remember but I think at the time when Sir Azizul Haque was the Speaker of this House there were occasions when members were allowed to speak for more than an hour on certain legislative measures. I do not remember exactly the occasion. Here in this particular case if the Hon'ble Minister for Education could speak for 75 minutes I do not find any rules under which you can stop an honourable member unless there is an agreement.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Discretion does not mean discrimination.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Fazlur Rahman.

The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: Sir, Mr. Fazlur Rahman is not here now. May I make one or two submissions? As regards rule 41(*4*), it is so clear that there is no room for any two opinions. The time of a speech is limited to 15 minutes except with the permission of the Speaker and all the past practices which have been referred to in the House have been with the permission of the Speaker, and it is for you to decide if the time that you have given the honourable member, namely, 45 minutes is enough or whether you do not want to give him any more time and relax the rule. You have got complete discretion and power to control the debate.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: May I add one or two observations? There are in the rules certain motions mentioned, namely, budget cut motions, adjournment motions, general motions and motions by way of amendments. Now, Sir, in the chapter on adjournment motions there are rules limiting the time and there is reason for it, because an adjournment motion can only be discussed in two hours. So there must be a reasonable time-limit for adjournment motions. Then there are budget cut motions and there is a time-limit fixed for each demand. So it is reasonable that

there should be a time-limit for speeches on budget-cut motions. Now, Sir, there is a separate chapter for motions by way of amendments. The rule is deliberately silent about amendments. If it had been the intention of the framers of the rule that there should be a time-limit for Bills and amendments, it would certainly have been inserted in the provisions. The intention is very clear. Therefore, Sir, I submit that there should be no time-limit for Bills and amendments.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I quite follow you.

Mr. A. F. STARK: May I submit one point, Sir? It has been argued that this Part IV relates only to motions in the form of resolutions or adjournment motions. That, Sir, would mean that all rules in this Part only apply to motions in the form of resolutions or adjournment motions, (Cries of "No, no" from the Opposition Benches.) but do not apply to legislation. That means that Rule 42 which gives the rules to amendments, namely, that an amendment must be relevant and within the scope of the question to which it is proposed and that such an amendment may not be moved if it has merely the effect of a negative character does not apply to legislation. It would also mean that Rule 46 which provides for a closure motion does not relate to legislation. It seems to me that that argument has no substance.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I shall be guided by the Assembly Procedure Rules in this matter. I shall also be guided by the conventions and practices of this House and of other legislatures.

It has been brought to my notice that the Hon'ble Speaker gave some more time to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education. But in view of the fact that if I allow a little more time than what has been laid down in the Assembly Procedure Rules others may claim similar privileges and it will be impossible for me to control other members. I would point out to Dr. Sanyal and others Rule 36 of the Assembly Procedure Rules.

The question that it is not a motion in my opinion does not arise. The motion before the House is that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon. I have not interrupted any of the speakers although I have heard very attentively the speeches so far made by different speakers. Members should confine themselves to the motion concerned and not beyond that. Of course I did not seek protection under Rule 15 of the Assembly Procedure Rules under which I have ample power to ask a member to discontinue his speech if he is irrelevant.

In this particular case if Dr. Sanyal wants some more time, I can give him that only on the consideration that the Hon'ble Speaker did not fix any time-limit while the Hon'ble Minister for Education was speaking. Anyhow, how much more time will you require, Dr. Sanyal?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: As much time as I may want to finish my points. (Laughter.) If I am irrelevant or make repetitions you can stop me.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope you will be able to finish in 10 minutes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I cannot give you an exact idea. Possibly, I shall be able to finish in 15 minutes.

Sir, I was on the eleventh argument on which I suggested that the Bill be sent round the country for eliciting public opinion. I was suggesting that the Bill does not make any provision for the proper representation of Managing Committees and of experts in special education, e.g., agricultural, commercial, technical, medical, physical and military education. I submit once more that the Politicians who have conceived and drafted the Bill have only looked to their own advantage and interests and not to educational advancement.

In the next, that is, the twelfth place, the Bill hardly provides for any real educational reform. There is no indication of what new policy the Secondary Education Board will promote and pursue, nor is there any suitable and adequate financial provision made to enable the Board to undertake large reforms. Sir, it is universally admitted that the only essential reform in this sphere of our secondary education lies in the improvement of teaching. It has been repeatedly suggested by educationists and experts that the class of persons that are now attracted to the fold of teaching is so poor that unless proper arrangements are made to attract better types of teachers no real improvement in education can be achieved. The improvement of the standard of teaching is admittedly dependent very largely on remuneration payable to teachers, the low standard of which has for some years been discouraging the good scholars and better types of men from the teaching line. The Bill does not only keep silent over the question but the provision that has been made—the major provision of Rs. 25 lakhs to start with and rising up to Rs. 50 lakhs per year—pales into insignificance in consideration of the great demand for finance to bring about the necessary reform.

In the next, the thirteenth place, the Bill does not enable one to understand the effects of the proposed Bill on the Calcutta University and on the Matriculation Examination held by it. Nor is it clear as to what will happen to the Dacca Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education. A more complete picture embodying all the proposals in the above respects should have been available before this Bill is sought to be proceeded with. The Hon'ble Minister for Education has given a promise on the floor of the House that an amending Bill for the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination is contemplated by Government. I submit, Sir, that if that Bill is not before us simultaneously with the present measure it would be impossible for us to apply our mind properly and with fairness on some of the very important provisions in this measure. Moreover, if, in future, any amending Bill comes with a view to provide proper facilities and proper provisions for taking out the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University from its hands then, Sir, not only the University Act will have to be amended but also the present Bill if it is passed into law and it becomes an Act will also have to be amended, because there has been no provision even in the present Bill for arranging Matriculation Examination of Calcutta and, or of any other University.

In the next, that is, the fourteenth place, the appointment of the President from a panel recommended by a committee, the hearing of disputes by a tribunal, the provisions for grants-in-aid, selection of text-books, etc., on grounds of merit alone were devised in the Bill of 1942 in a manner to ensure educational efficiency free from party and communal considerations as far as possible. These provisions have been deleted from the present Bill and some of the checks contemplated in the 1942 Bill in these respects have been definitely taken away. In that respect the present measure must definitely be regarded as most retrograde and reactionary.

This Bill also does not clearly indicate what would happen to the Government schools, whether Government propose to de-provincialise the schools and hand over the management of these schools to independent *ad hoc* bodies or managing committees or whether these schools will be left as a special care of the Secondary Education Board, with a view to permit that Board to set up some kind of examples before other institutions. We feel, Sir, that without a clear indication of the policy in this respect there is every danger of a step-motherly treatment being meted out to some of these Government institutions which at the present moment are rather pampered with public funds.

The Bill also does not clearly state what will happen to a large number of institutions that at the present moment have been growing under official patronage not merely in the sphere of general education but also in the sphere of special types of education, and in particular, I have in view the Industrial schools and Medical schools of different categories.

This Bill, if passed through the House without securing a fair degree of agreement amongst the various parties, will, in our humble opinion, seriously threaten communal harmony in this province and will create a sense of insecurity and desperation amongst the Hindus and other major communities that have built up a system of sound education in this province. The consequences of such a step will be disastrous. It has been claimed by the Hon'ble Minister that the Bill in many important respects follow the recommendations of the Sàdler Commission. He also claims that the Bill was modelled more or less on the 1942 Bill. I submit, Sir, that in both these respects the claim of the Hon'ble Minister is absolutely without any foundation. Apart from the fact that the Sadler Commission's fundamental recommendations have been completely given the go-bye, even with regard to the 1942 Bill, which in some respects could be regarded as the outcome of a certain degree of talking across the table, and agreement on certain points between a section of the Oppositionists and the Government even those useful measures have been sought to be whittled down. Hardly any useful purpose can be served by anyone assuming an attitude of dogged assertion, however unfounded it may be, that this Bill is based either on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission or on the fundamentals of the 1942 Bill, for which some responsibility was taken by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Sj. Santosh Kumar Basu. There are also many provisions in the Bill which are anomalous, incomplete and self-contradictory. These require careful examination and further consideration. In their hurry to put on the Statute Book a measure calculated mainly to capture power for a small section these important and healthy points have been

overlooked. We submit, Sir, that unless the Bill is circulated for eliciting public opinion it will be impossible for Government to revise the Bill on the floor of the Assembly or even in the Select Committee in the manner that we all desire.

It has not been, Sir, my intention to raise unnecessary controversies. I realise, along with those who are supporting the Government, that for about a quarter of a century educational reforms in the sphere of secondary education are hanging fire and it is our earnest desire that something should be done to see that proper reforms are effected at an early date. I am also one of those who believe that even during the period of the war important measures of reform should be taken up by the Legislature. But, Sir, their background must be different. During a period like this reforms can only be undertaken when there is agreement on major issues between different sections of the House. If there is no major agreement the House has no right to create in the country a welter and throw the existing peaceful and normal avocations of our citizens into a pell-mell. I submit that there is very strong feeling in a very large section of the people regarding the manner and method in which the Secondary Education Bill is sought to be pursued. We would extend our hand of co-operation and offer our best services to the Government in case they are prepared even now to retrace their steps. Speaking on behalf of the Congress Party I can assure everybody concerned that with regard to reforms of the right type and for the training and education of the future generation of our country we shall not be slow to go a very large extent to meet the just claims of any community in this province.

Sir, I have come to a close. I submit that in a province like Bengal with education so dear to our children Government should think hundred times before they rush with any particular method or measure of co-ercive educational reform. The essence of our educational reform must inevitably lie in expansion of facilities and not in contraction. That is the background which I most earnestly appeal to Government to always remember. We feel, Sir, that for the last quarter of a century all that has been attempted in the name of improving efficiency or in the name of setting up one unified controlling authority has been directed to cripple that genuine desire of the people to expand educational facilities of the province. Let not the Government today, backed by an insensate majority, fall an easy prey to that official clique and official policy of strangulation of education which has been universally condemned. I submit that education must be free and expansion must be allowed untramelled. Even if there is any drawback in the present system of education there should be no interference from official quarters and in this respect I can quote chapter and verse from highest educational authorities all over the world to show how dear they have always kept the principle of freedom in the sphere of education.

Sir, I had an occasion to belong to a class of students of an illustrious professor of the London University, Professor Harold Laski. That illustrious professor one day gave us an idea of what education should be like and he said that our hats were off to that great nation that had proved to the world the real foundation of progress for mankind, namely, Russia. There the teacher does not try to impose on the student his own will. The

State does not attempt to cripple the development of the child along its own inclination and faculties, and even at the very earlier stage of boyhood the students develop a spirit of comradeship and equality which stands them in good stead in after life. I claim, Sir, of having had something to do to uphold the honour of that great institution, the London School of Economics and Politics. We were there told that on the floor of that college and within the precincts of that institution anybody could speak out anything and we had heard in the school premises words and sentiments expressed which some of us would feel shuddered to utter outside. And yet, Sir, freedom first and freedom always has kept up the tradition of that college and maintained the progress of education there. I appeal to the present generation of members of our Legislature to keep that ideal in view and to build up a new era for the future generation of this province.

Mr. J. N. GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir. May I know if the time allowed to Dr. Sanyal will be allowed to others who will participate in this debate?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: We shall rise at 7 p.m. today and tomorrow Mr. Speaker will decide that point.

Mr. UPENDRA NATH EDBAR: Sir, I beg to move, by way of amendment, that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th of November, 1944.

Sir, this Bill was first brought in this House in 1940 but it was subsequently dropped for reasons best known to the honourable members of this House. Then it was revived and reintroduced in this House in 1942. Somehow or other this second Bill was also dropped, and the reasons for that also are well known to the honourable members of this House. Now the self-same Bill has been ushered in in this Legislature in a new form and we find that the present Bill is quite different from the Bills previously introduced in this House These changes in the Bill have introduced a lot of controversial elements, and as is usual in such cases whenever a Bill of a controversial nature or of a new character is introduced, it should first be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon: but I find there is no intention to go through that procedure. For all practical purposes, Sir, this Bill is an entirely new Bill and therefore it should be treated as all new Bills are treated, namely that it should first of all be circulated for eliciting public opinion and then it should be sent to Select Committee. I cannot understand why there is this indecent haste on the part of Government to get this Bill passed in this House.

Then, Sir, this Bill may be passed by this House due to the over-zealousness of the Muslim and Scheduled Caste members supporting the Government. Even if this Bill is passed by this House, I do not think the provisions of the Bill can be immediately given effect to in the province. First of all comes the question of finance. The Budget for the current year has been passed and it would not be possible for Government to find huge sums of money for expenditure on Secondary Education during the current year. Therefore if the Bill is even now passed it will not be possible to give effect to it immediately. I hope good sense will still dawn on Government and they will refer the Bill for eliciting public opinion thereon.

Further, I would request my friends of the Government party that they should not be in a hurry to pass this Bill because this is the most inopportune time to do so. To my mind, Sir, there is something suspicious in the over-zealousness of Government to get this Bill hurriedly through this House.

Now, Sir, I come to the provisions in the Bill. There are 53 members on the Secondary Education Board out of which five will be from the Scheduled Castes. Admitting for argument's sake that there should be communal representation on the Secondary Education Board, why should not due representation be given to the Scheduled Castes? I would ask my Scheduled Caste friends belonging to the Government party to say why they could not secure adequate representation of their community on the Board. On the Finance Committee I find not a Scheduled Caste member. When Government is so zealous to have adequate Muslim representation on every Board why should the Scheduled Castes be deprived of their just share? Then there is no representation of the Scheduled Castes on the Girls' Committee. Is it for the reason that there is no woman belonging to the Scheduled Castes who is fit to hold a seat on the Committee? I think the Hon'ble Minister in charge may think that this is so, but things have changed and are fast changing, and I can give the names of a number of Scheduled Caste ladies who are educationally quite fit to be on that committee. There is also not a single Scheduled Caste member on the Examination Committee. Sir, members belonging to the Scheduled Castes have been considered fit to hold seats on the Text-Book Committee and other educational committees and there is no reason why they should be deprived of their right to be properly represented on these committees. Sir, we have got three Scheduled Caste Ministers in the Government of the province, and it does not speak well of them when we find that they have failed to look after the interests of their own community. That shows that they are not worthy of their present position. Sir, some of the Scheduled Caste Ministers have no portfolios which means that they are simply drawing their salary without having any work to do. There are other unworthy Ministers belonging to the Scheduled Caste group who could not press upon the Government for their proper share of representation. If that is the way in which these Scheduled Caste Ministers have been acting so long, if they cannot do anything for their community, the sooner they go out of office the better for us all concerned. Therefore, I request my Scheduled Caste friends of the Government Party to see to these things. I understand that some amendments have been suggested by my friends of the Government Party to have all the grievances redressed, but I would like to see whether these amendments would be moved or whether they would be withdrawn. If they are moved, I shall be satisfied, but if they are withdrawn, it will be a matter of great regret on the part of the Scheduled Castes. I would request them not to withdraw those amendments under pressure at the party meeting, but I would request them to press their amendments and have them passed if they are really earnest for Scheduled Caste education.

Then, Sir, it is not the opportune time because the Japanese are knocking at the gates and we are also famine-stricken and in the year to come

we may be under the grip of starvation or famine. So, at this stage, w should not hurry through this Bill.

Sir, this Bill has been criticised and it has been opposed in the pres and on the platform and also by organised bodies in the country. I do nc find any reason why in the teeth of all this opposition the Government c Bengal should be overzealous in passing this Bill. If it is passed, it wi also affect the Hindus and Scheduled Castes and if they do not like thi sort of education, I do not find any reason why it should at all be passec Therefore, I request the Minister in charge not to be so hasty in passin this Bill into law because there is ample time and when Government hav waited for these two long years, they can also wait for one year more whe the war will be won by the Allies. If we are to think dispassionately o this subject, the Bill should not be hurried through in this fashion. Tha will not cement the feeling existing among the different communities Therefore, I appeal to the Hon'ble Minister not to hurry through this Bil but accept my amendment for circulation so that public opinion can b gathered. I also hope that my friends in the opposite group will not unde stand me that I am opposing this Bill in toto. But the time is not opportun for rushing through this Bill and I request Government to wait. There fore, I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Lahiri, you move your motion.

Babu ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to mov by way of amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of elicitin opinion thereon by the 31st October, 1944.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You may speak on your motion on Monda next. The House stands adjourned till 4-45 p.m. tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 7 p.m. till 4-45 p.m. on Friday the 12th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 12th May, 1944, at 4-45 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 174 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Breach in the Cossye river embankment and Government measures to check future breach.

*299. **Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHOWMICK:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department be pleased to state—

(i) whether the recent breach of the Cossye river embankment took place in day time by forming a small *ghoge*;

(ii) whether the *ghoge* was immediately attended;

(iii) the distance of the *ghoge* was within a mile from the quarters of the Subdivisional Officer, Public Works Department;

(iv) what was the gauge reading of that day on which breach took place;

(v) whether the Public Works Department took any steps to prevent the widening of the *ghoge*; and

(vi) whether the breach was due to negligence of the Public Works Department authority?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government have taken or propose to take to prevent any breach of the Cossye embankment in future?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prosanna Pain): (a) (i) to (iii) and (v) Yes.

(iv) Panskura gauge was 33·50.

(vi) No.

(b) The work of strengthening these embankments has already been taken up.

Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHOWMICK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether people complained to the Parliamentary Secretary while he visited that area that the Officer-in-charge of the road maintenance saw the *ghoge* but did not take step to prevent the flood?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: While the Parliamentary Secretary had been there, he got some information from the public to that effect but on enquiry the complaint was not verified to be true.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (a)(i) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the exact time when the *ghoge* took place?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: One *ghoge* took place at about 10 a.m. That was successfully closed. Another *ghoge* was reported to have taken place at about 3 p.m.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the breach took place?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: The breach took place at about 4-30 p.m.

Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHOWMICK: With reference to answer (*a*) (*v*) will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it was possible for the authority to prevent the *ghoge* from becoming wider?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Attempt was made to close the *ghoge* to prevent the breach.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if this gauge reading is taken once daily or more than once?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: No. Gauge reading is taken during flood times every hour.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the reading the previous day from evening till the time of breach every hour?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: On the previous day the gauge reading was 26:1. The next day at 3 p.m. the gauge reading had increased from 26·1 by one and half feet, and the maximum reading was 33·50 at 4-30.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: What was the reading at 10 o'clock?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: At 10 a.m. it was 33.

Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHOWMICK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether at the time of breach the Subdivisional Officer of the Public Works Department was near about the breach, but he did not take proper steps to prevent the breach?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Just at the time when the breach occurred, the Subdivisional Officer was not on this side of the embankment; he was on the other side of the embankment.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the object of taking gauge reading during flood times?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: To take necessary precautions.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is any indication as to when precaution should be taken?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Yes. At Panskura when the gauge reading is 30, officers take special care.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the reply just now given will the Hon'ble Minister tell us what special steps were taken when the gauge reading went beyond the indicated danger point?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Flood guards and the officers in charge of embankment went there and they took all necessary precautions.

Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHOWMICK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the watcher passed by the side of the *ghoge* and saw the breach, and whether he took proper steps to repair the *ghoge*?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: The watcher saw the *ghoge* and took proper step to close the breach.

Dr. GOBINDRA CHANDRA BHOWMICK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there was a complaint that the watcher did not take proper steps?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: It is true that there was a complaint that the watcher did not take proper step. The complaint is not true. Proper steps were taken in the presenoe of the officers.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the dangerous gauge reading which went beyond 30 was intimated to the Subdivisional Officer and if so, at what time he was informed?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Yes. Whenever the gauge reading goes beyond 30 the report goes straight to the Subdivisional Officer. He got the report this time also.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps the Subdivisional Officer took Did he visit the embankment?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: I cannot say that off-hand. I want notice.

Medical treatment of Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar.

***300. Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar, M.L.A., State prisoner, badly injured his left leg in the knee-joint on the 6th September, 1943, and was, as a result, confined indoors for about two months;

(*ii*) that he is still suffering from certain defects in his knee-joint and the Medical Officer of the Presidency Jail advised proper diagnostic examination as well as curative treatment in the Medical College Hospital;

(*iii*) that no arrangements for his treatment have as yet been made for over four months and a half, since he sustained his injury;

(*iv*) that Mr. Dutta Mazumdar is also suffering from an acute type of Pharyngitis for many months past with periodic attacks of breathing difficulty and inflammation and pain in the throat;

(*v*) that about March, 1943, he was sent to the Medical College Hospital as an outdoor patient when Dr. S. Roy examined him and commenced his treatment which, however, was suddenly interrupted without any reason by the failure of the Jail authorities to send him to the Medical College Hospital any longer since April, 1943;

(*vi*) that his condition deteriorated and on one occasion the Medical Officer had to administer to him a course of "M & B 693" and again advised his treatment in the Medical College Hospital;

(*vii*) that he has not yet been sent to the Medical College Hospital for the necessary examination and treatment; and

(*viii*) that his ailments continue to be neglected without proper medical treatment?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what are the reasons for (1) the neglect of his treatment, (2) the interruption of his treatment in the Medical College Hospital, and (3) for not sending him to the Medical College Hospital promptly; and

(*ii*) what arrangements, if any Government have made for his treatment up till now?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) Mr. Dutta-Mazumdar got a sprain in his left knee-joint while playing football but this "injury" was not of a serious nature.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) No: he has been receiving proper treatment as far as possible.

(*iv*) Yes: he has been suffering from chronic Pharyngitis.

(*v*) Dr. Roy examined the prisoner in March, 1943, and the line of treatment indicated by him has been scrupulously followed.

(*vi*) He was once administered "M & B 693" for his throat troubles but his condition never deteriorated.

(*vii*) and (*viii*) No. He was produced before the E.N.T. Specialist of the Medical College Hospital on the 3rd April, 1944, and the treatment prescribed by him is being followed.

(*b*) I refer the honourable member to my replies to (*a*) of the question.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*a*)(*v*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Mr. Dutta Mazumdar was sent to the Medical College for treatment?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: He was sent to the Medical College even as late as April 1944.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the course of treatment started in the Medical College was interrupted?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir. The treatment is continuing.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to question (*a*)(*ii*) and (*vi*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the Medical Officer in charge of the Presidency Jail advised proper diagnostic examination and curative treatment of Mr. Dutta Mazumdar in the Medical College hospital?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot answer that off-hand.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Mr. Dutta Mazumdar was examined in respect of blood, sputum, and urine.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I want notice.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Medical Officer of the jail advised that Mr. Dutta Mazumdar should be treated in the Medical College hospital instead of being sent to the hospital from jail?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Orders have been issued sanctioning the prisoner's transfer to the Medical College hospital for X-ray examination.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: These orders were confined to X-ray examination and not to the transfer of Mr. Dutta Mazumdar to the Medical College hospital for treatment so long as he does not recover.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Only as an outdoor patient.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the interval of time that elapsed between the date of recommendation that was given by the Medical Officer of the Presidency Jail for taking him to the Medical College hospital and the actual date when he was taken to the Medical College hospital?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: As for the actual date at least I can say that he was once sent on the 3rd of April, 1944.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: How long after?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: He was also once sent in March, 1943.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any specialist in ear, nose and throat diseases in the jail hospital and whether there are necessary instruments for the treatment of nose, throat and ear?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I would refer the honourable member to my reply to questions (*a*) (*vii*) and (*viii*) where it is stated that he was produced before the Ear, Nose and Throat Specialist of the Medical Colllege hospital.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: That is why I want to know whether there is any specialist in the jail hospital to look after that sort of treatment and whether there are necessary instruments in the jail hospital as well?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There are doctors in the jail hospital but it depends upon what you mean by a specialist. If you want a reputed specialist I am afraid the services of a specialist may not be available in the jail hospital but if the prisoners require the attention of a specialist Government arrange for their treatment by a specialist.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that without special instruments with regard to throat no doctor even though a specialist can treat that disease there?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Whatever is considered necessary for the treatment of a patient who is a prisoner Government always arrange that.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I would like to know whether the Hon'ble Minister is aware of the fact that without necessary instruments in the jail hospital it is simply impossible for any doctor to treat the patient with regard to that particular disease?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Not being a doctor myself I do not know what instruments are necessary and how treatment is done.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of removing the patient to some hospital where necessary instruments are available for the treatment of that particular disease?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I do not know what kind of treatment has been prescribed, but I can tell the honourable member that proper treatment is being given to the prisoner.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Has the Government made any enquiry as to whether it is necessary to remove Mr. Dutta Mazumdar as an indoor patient to the Medical College hospital in view of the answer given that he has been suffering from chronic Pharyngitis and X-ray examination is necessary from time to time?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: X-ray examination is not necessary for chronic Pharyngitis. It was necessary for his injury in the knee-joint which he contracted while he was playing football.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: My question was whether Government made an enquiry as to whether in view of his suffering from chronic Pharyngitis and his continued trouble in the knee-joint it is necessary to transfer the prisoner as an indoor patient to the Medical College hospital. Has any such enquiry been made?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: With reference to answer (*a*)(*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister please tell the House whether Government will send this prisoner to the Medical College for diagnostic examination and curative treatment?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already replied to that question. Orders have been issued so that he could be transferred to the Medical College hospital for treatment as an outdoor patient.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to answer (*a*)(*iv*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enquire into the matter and find out whether it is possible to take necessary steps for the treatment of Pharyngitis in a jail hospital and if it is not possible, whether he would consider it desirable to remove the patient to a hospital where that treatment can be given?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Pharyngitis can be treated in a jail hospital.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Searching of women political prisoners' yard in the Dinajpur District Jail.

152. Mr. NIHARENDU DUTTA MAZUMDAR: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that on the 4th February, 1943, at about 2 p.m. a force of about 25 police constables, armed with rifles and bayonets and accompanied by about half a dozen plain clothes police officers of the Intelligence Branch and other officers entered into the yard of women political prisoners of the Dinajpur District Jail and searched the place;

(*ii*) that the Jail authorities had neither any previous knowledge of, nor called for, such a search to take place;

(*iii*) that in protest against the said display of armed police demonstration of the 4th February, the women security prisoners started resisting, after that date, one of the routine weekly jail searches of their yard till July, 1943, until female additional warders and matrons arrived from Calcutta;

(*iv*) that never before the date of the aforesaid armed raid, namely, the 4th February, 1943, did they ever offer any resistance against any searches of the yard by the Jail authorities in the ordinary course under jail rules;

(*v*) that earlier, from about the middle of January, a considerable force of armed sentries was posted around the jail with pitched tents for 24 hours and were retained there for 8 months till September, 1943;

(*vi*) that the Deputy Inspector-General visited the jail in August, and communicated to the appropriate authorities his disapproval of such display of armed guards as quite unnecessary?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*)(*i*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what were the reasons or justification thereof;

(*ii*) precisely under whose authority the armed constables and Intelligence Branch officers entered the jail and the women prisoners' yard; and

(*iii*) the reasons for posting armed sentries around Dinajpur Jail in January, 1943?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of women security prisoners who were being detained in the Dinajpur District Jail on the 4th February, 1943; and

(*ii*) the names of the said women security prisoners?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*)(*i*) Yes: but the number of constables and head constables was no more than seven.

(*ii*) and (*v*) Yes.

(*iii*) The prisoners did resist one of routine weekly jail searches but not in protest against the alleged display of armed police demonstration but on the ground that they objected to being searched twice a week.

(*iv*) They offered no resistance to any searches before the 3rd April, 1943.

(*vi*) and (*b*) The action was necessitated by considerations of public security the details of which, and the information asked for cannot, without detriment to public interest, be disclosed.

(*c*)(*i*) Three.

(*ii*) Mrs. Leela Roy, Mrs. Labanya Prava Das Gupta and Miss Saila Bala Sen.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the necessity or justification for inviting outside constables and head constables into the jail for effecting the search?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: In the interest of public security and safety it is not expedient to disclose the reasons.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'able Minister be pleased to state whether the jail warders were not sufficiently trustworthy to carry out the searches inside the jail as is ordinarily done by jail warders?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot add to what I have already said in reply to the first supplementary question.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the reason or justification for inviting male police constables for effecting the search of female inmates?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Because there are no women constables available.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there is any special rule in the Jail Code that no male person should enter the compound of female jails?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I might explain that this occurred during the regime of the last Ministry and I think the responsibility is theirs to justify anything done in their time.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of this incident and the Jail Code, does the Hon'ble Minister think it desirable that directions should be issued to the effect that in future no male person should be allowed to enter the compound of female jail?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid we cannot agree to that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*c*)(*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Mrs. Leela Roy, one of the security prisoners referred therein, was or has ever been suffering from serious ailment?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I do not know whether this question arises.

Mr. SPEAKER: There are questions relating to Mrs. Roy but so far as the present question is concerned the question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I understand that when she was in bed and suffering the search was effected.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there anything to that effect in the answer given?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In the answers given her name is there and also it is admitted that a search was made.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Where do you get the information that Mrs. Roy was in bed and suffering at the time of the search?

Mr. SPEAKER: Is there anything in the answer which shows that?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Mrs. Leela Roy, one of the security prisoners referred to in answer (*c*)(*ii*), was suffering from any disease at the time when the search was effected?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that Mrs. Labanya Prava Das Gupta, one of the security prisoners, has been suffering from chronic Gastritis for more than a year and was not a likely person to be searched?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice so far as her ailment is concerned.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with reference to answer (*b*), whether the Government of Bengal was afraid of any serious outbreak of disorder in course of the search for which they invited outside armed constables' help?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot say what the then Government was afraid of.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government will consider the desirability of signifying their disapproval of conducting the search without female constables or any females from outside?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I think that question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether at the time of the search conducted any woman—either a lady visitor or one of the female warders of the Jail—was present?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if there is any lady visitor for the jail for particularly these prisoners at all or not?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice, but I may explain that after this Ministry came into office a matron was sent to the Dinajpur Jail after which the resistance of the prisoners to the second search was withdrawn?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that resistance to the second search was offered on the ground that the search was being conducted by force by male constables on the persons of female inmates in the jail?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Resistance to the search was offered because the security prisoners objected to the search of their cells being conducted by male person, but, Sir, as I have said, now that a matron has been sent and she arrived there on the 26th or 27th June, there has been no objection since then.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any search or searches have thereafter been conducted by armed Police Constables after the lady matron of the place has been sent?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Strictly speaking I should ask for notice, but I can say that the answer is in the negative. Had there been any search Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal would be the first to give notice of a question.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of asking the jail authorities not to carry on the searches because the searches are never carried on in jails?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: So far as the special reason is concerned, I have said that it is not expedient in the interests of public safety to disclose it.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: What is the reason of public safety?

Mr. SPEAKER: That he has replied to.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With regard to question (*a*)(*vi*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Deputy Inspector-General during his visit disapproved of the arrangement of special Police Constables and, if so, what were the written remarks with regard to that statement of the Deputy Inspector-General.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I cannot answer that question. I am unable to answer it.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to enlighten the House as to what was the justification for sending seven Constables and Head Constables to search three women prisoners within the prison walls?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I refer the honourable member to my answer (*a*)(*vi*) and (*b*).

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Since the Parliamentary Secretary is unable to reply to my previous question, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state with whose permission these special Police Constables were posted and whether the Deputy Inspector-General was duly informed before sending those Police Constables or not?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I refer the honourable member to my reply (*a*)(*vi*) and (*b*).

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any I.B. Inspector or Sub-Inspector was also present during the search inside the female ward?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I refer the honourable member to my reply (*a*)(*vi*) and (*b*).

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if these I.B. Police Inspector and constables were sent by the Special Branch Department or by any other department or with the sanction of any other officer?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I refer the honourable member to my reply (*a*)(*vi*) and (*b*).

Family allowances granted to political security prisoners and Regulation III prisoners.

153. Mr. NIKUNJA BEHARI MAITI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(*i*) the number of (A) political security prisoners and (B) Regulation III prisoners on the 31st August, 1943, arrested for August movement, 1942;

(*ii*) the number of those (1) who applied for family allowances, and (2) who were granted family allowances;

(*iii*) the highest amount granted to any one family and the lowest to any such?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any family allowances have been granted to the following persons detained in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, with (A) the dates of the first applications by them or on their behalf (B) the amount granted to each, (C) if no allowance is being given, the reasons therefor in each case?—

(1) Sj. Basanta Kumar Das.
(2) Sj. Jagannath Bhattacharja.
(3) Sj. Anil Kumar Bhattacharja
(4) Sj. Kumud Ranjan Ghosh.
(5) Sj. Rajani Kumar Mukherjee.
(6) Sj. Rajendranath Roy.
(7) Sj. Gobinda Lal Banerjee (Khulna).
(8) Sj. Jyotiprakash Sen
(9) Sj. Gunada Majumdar
(10) Sj. Nirmal Chatterjee.
(11) Sj. Sarashi Nath Bose.
(12) Sj. Jyotish Chandra Bhowmick.
(13) Sj. Pramatha Nath Guha.
(14) Sj. Nishi Kanta Ganguli.
(15) Sj. Manindra Kumar Bhowmick.
(16) Sj. Benod Behari Roy Chaudhury.
(17) Sj. Radha Kanta Roy.
(18) Sj. Upendra Nath Roy.
(19) Sj. Satkari Mitra.
(20) Sj. Sudhir Chandra Kanungo.
(21) Sj. Harasundar Chakravarty.
(22) Sj. Bhupesh Chandra Bose.
(23) Sj. Ambika Charan Maitra.
(24) Sj. Nirode Baran Datta Gupta.
(25) Sj. Tarapada Ghosh.
(26) Sj. Phani Bhusan Haldar.
(27) Sj. Bibhuti Bhusan Bose.
(28) Sj. Navajyoti Burman.
(29) Sj. Ramani Ranjan Ganguli.
(30) Sj. Satyanarain Mukherjee.
(31) Sj. Krishna Kumar Chatterjee.
(32) Sj. Harendra Nath Ghosh.
(33) Sj. Sudhir Chandra Roy.
(34) Sj. Banamali Bhattacharya.
(35) Sj. Santi Bose.
(36) Sj. Phanindra Nath Roy.
(37) Sj. Sibapada Mukherjee.
(38) Sj. Bireswar Ghosh.
(39) Sj. Rajballi Sukla.
(40) Sj. Satish Chandra Biswas.
(41) Sj. Sukumar Datta.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: (*a*) (*i*) and (*ii*) and (*b*) The information asked for is not readily available and its collection would involve an amount of time and labour that would not be justifiable in war time.

(*a*) (*iii*) Highest amount—Rs.150 per month.

Lowest amount—Rs.10 per month.

Enquiry about the special motion on the Bombay fire tragedy.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I gave notice of a special motion relating to the conveying of our sympathy for the sufferers of the Bombay tragedy that took place on the 14th of last month and I expected the Hon'ble the Chief and Home Minister would be good enough to move this motion himself as I personally requested him and also the Chief Whip of Government when we would be in a position to offer to the sufferers and victims of the Bombay fire tragedy the sympathy of this province. May I know, through you, Sir, whether Government propose to move that motion themselves or be good enough to give us the necessary consent of the Hon'ble Minister and of yourself to enable us to convey to Bombay the much needed sympathy. Only recently Bombay has done so much for Bengal sufferers and I would like to know whether the Government of Bengal is prepared to help us to bring this subject to the House at an early date.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I informed Dr. Sanyal that as soon as the business before the House is over and we have got a free date, we shall bring in that motion, and I am waiting for an opportunity to do so. As soon as the motion for the consideration of the Secondary Education Bill is carried, on the next Government business day, we shall put it up.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I submit that this is a non-official day which could have been taken advantage of. May I correct the recollection of the Leader of the House that he wanted me to wait for the first two days, namely, the 8th and 9th instant, and he promised that he would take it up either on the 10th or on the 11th. Could it not be done today—a non-official day—when the debate on the Secondary Education Bill would not intervene?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: The arrangement was that as soon as the consideration motion on the Secondary Education Bill was passed on the 10th or 11th, this motion would be taken up but that was not done. I agree that today, a non-official day, this might have been taken up but that would require their consent and your consent, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: The question of my consent does not come in. Anyway, Government have said that they will bring it up later.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I have given notice of my motion. What has happened to it? Have you given your consent?

Mr. SPEAKER: It has been sent to the authority.

Enquiry about the health of security prisoner Mrs. Leela Roy.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, may I draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Home Minister to the very alarming news which has reached

us through the newspapers about the condition of health of Mrs. Leela Roy, at present a security prisoner in the Dinajpur Jail? Probably Government may have moved in the matter and we should be thankful if any reassuring news is conveyed to the House by the Minister. The condition of her health is alarming and she has been suffering from a fell disease. We should be thankful to the Hon'ble Minister if he can take the opportunity of giving some news which will be of a reassuring character.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I think this question should be raised by a short-notice question and not in this way.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: A short-notice question has already been tabled.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: I gave notice of a short-notice question regarding the health of Mrs. Leela Roy about 15 days back.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: I gave notice more than a month ago.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot help you in the matter.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is Government in a position to give any information? Last night at about half past eleven, a young man came to me with frantic news that a telegram had been received at Dacca conveying the news that she was in a very bad state of health and unless immediate steps are taken, her life would be in danger. In view of that, would Government make some move in the matter?

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I put a question as long ago as the 10th April.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think Sir Nazimuddin has given the reply.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, Sir Nazimuddin did say that a short-notice question should be put and that is the method by which Government should be approached. You have now got evidence from several members that they have put in short-notice questions. I would request Sir Nazimuddin to enlighten the House as to the fate of those short-notice questions, whether they have reached him or not. Otherwise he is merely tinkering with a very serious question of this character.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: If a short-notice question has been sent, it will be accepted and reply given.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS.

The Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I beg to move that the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943, be taken into consideration.

Sir, in moving this Bill I submit that this question of robes for the Advocates——

Point of Order.

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUFF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: On a point of order. The point is this. So far as this Bill is concerned it militates against the provisions of section 119 of the Government of India Act which provide that certain Bills cannot be brought before the House without the previous consent of the Governor. We are of opinion that this

Bill is one that requires the previous sanction of the Governor. So the previous sanction of the Governor must be obtained before the Bill can be proceeded with. The question that has been raised is that the objection should be raised at the preliminary stage of the introduction of the Bill and if it has not been then taken, objection cannot be raised at all. I want to point out to the House and to you specially, Sir, that the Bill aims at disabling certain professional man from carrying on his profession unless he is to go through the provisions of the contemplated legislation. The section reads thus: No Bill or amendment which prescribes, or empowers any authority to prescribe, the professional or technical qualifications which are to be requisite for any purpose in British India or which imposes, or empowers any authority to impose, by reference to any professional or technical qualification, any disability, liabality, restriction or condition in regard to the practising of any profession, the carrying on of any occupation, trade or business, or the holding of any office in British India, shall be introduced or moved in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion, or in a Chamber of a Provincial Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor in his discretion.

Sir, this is the provision of the Government of India Act which no one working under the Constitution can contravene. Along with this one must read the Governor's rules on the conduct of the business. There the Governor says that if any objection has not been taken at the introductory stage and his power to be exercised under the individual judgment is infringed in any way, he has got the right of doing away with the Bill at any stage of the proceedings. So, Sir, if we do not proceed under the law and do all these things at the preliminary stage, the Governor under the special rules that he has framed is very anxious to see that his powers are not taken away by anybody. He says that even if a Minister has not exercised his discretion in opposing the legislation at the first stage of the proceedings he has the right of negativing the whole thing so that the whole thing is inoperative. That being the state of affairs I appeal to the House to consider this aspect of the case and to wait till the Governor's sanction is obtained and I do not like to say here what the Governor's opinion is in the matter. I know what his opinion is in a serious matter like this. I appeal to you, Sir, not to be carried away by any idea like this that the above section interferes with the power of the legislature in passing a law. So I say, Sir, that whatever may be the position, the fact stands that this legislature has been constituted under the Government of India Act and you have no right to challenge any of the provisions of the Government of India Act .That being so, I appeal to you—of course your opinion will be final no doubt—I would request you to think of this matter very seriously and see if you can proceed with this matter without getting the sanction of the Governor or not. If he says "no" I cannot make him say "yes". I appeal to you to think of all the aspects of the case and see that nothing wrong is done to the constitution as a whole. The constitution based on the Government of India Act must not be tampered with by us. We have got all the powers and responsibilities under the Government of India Act. I appeal to you, Sir, to read the Government of India Act and the rules that have been framed by the Governor in the matter and to pass orders

in a discreet manner. I would like to tell you one thing. You may pass your order any way you like, but the Governor's power is there. He can at any stage negative the whole thing. So I request you to think of every aspect of the case and then pass order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, with reference to this point of order, I would like to invite your attention to certain very important considerations. The first thing that I have got to submit is that this section which has been quoted and which has been invoked in support of an idea of dilatory tactics on behalf of the Government with regard to this important measure is wholly out of place and completely inapplicable to a case of this character.

Sir, the heading of this Chapter III of the Government of India Act covers provisions with respect to discrimination and as you are all aware, Sir, during the Joint Parliamentary Committee discussions on the Government of India Bill, these and other sections were very very carefully examined mainly with a view to prevent the creation of a fresh disability by an Indian Legislature, on the British and non-Indian lawyers and others practising in this country professionally or technically. A sartorial qualification, not a professional or technical qualification does not come under the purview of either of the two words professional or technical qualification and a sartorial qualification also cannot be regarded as having been ever contemplated in the framing of this section.

The second point that I would like to invite your attention to is this. The Bill as drafted clearly seeks to equalise or make uniform the condition which is already there In the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it will be noticed, Sir, that at present there are three classes of robes worn in the High Court. So the Bill does not contemplate invoking any fresh additional new qualification far less any discrimination. It only thinks of a uniform practice in regard to the three conditions now prevailing and thereby rather seeks to remove existing discrimination.

The third and the more important point is that this Bill was introduced in the Assembly as early as September, 1943, and here I submit that it does not apply merely to this Bill but to other Bills also. It should be the duty of the Government or the Home Department to obtain, if necessary, the sanction or approval of the Governor in any particular case. The Assembly Procedure Rules do not provide for any direct access to the Governor in any event. In a Bill of this character where the Governor's sanction to an amendment appears to be necessary, it is only to be expected that the necessary sanction will be obtained by the Government or by the Department concerned, and I presume that having themselves discovered that this section is no bar they never thought it necessary to trouble the Governor about it.

In view of these three important points, we feel that this Bill should be permitted by you to be proceeded with and in case there is any statutory bar which we have infringed the law courts hereafter will see whether the Act that we are now going to enact would be applicable or not. The legislature here and the Speaker of this legislature should exercise these rights in such a way as to extend the privileges and not to curtail the privileges

of this House. Here, Sir, the interpretation of the Act is in your hands, and the interpretation, I submit, should be such that it does not reduce, infringe or curtail the rights of members.

With these words, Sir, I submit that the Bill be permitted to be proceeded with.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Sir, there is just one point which I do not think the Hon'ble Minister made clear, namely, that in another place when a similar objection was raised——

Mr. SPEAKER: We are not concerned with what happened in another place.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Sir, I think the practice in other places is of some importance to us.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I cannot allow you to state what happened in other places.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, the Bill was not prescribing any disability with reference to professional or technical qualifications. If the Bill wanted to enact that only those who pass B. L. Examination in the first class are entitled to practise and others are not so entitled then it would really be imposing a disability by reference to professional or technical qualification, but that does not apply in this case.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard the point of order raised and also appreciate the assistance that has been offered to me by honourable members of this House. I think in the first place that if any objection was to be raised it ought to have been raised at the introductory stage, because section 119 is clear on that point. It says that no Bill on amendment which prescribes or empowers, and so on shall be introduced, or removed in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his discretion, or in a Chamber of a Provincial Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor in his discretion It applies to the introduction of a Bill. The Bill in question was introduced, I think, during the last session, i.e., in September, 1943, and no objection was raised at that time. I do not think that any objection raised now can be upheld.

The next point is whether the Bill is at all hit by the provisions of section 119(*1*). I am clearly of opinion that it is not This section is intended as has been pointed out by Dr. Sanyal to prevent discriminatory legislation between different classes of His Majesty's subjects in different parts of the dominions and the empire That was the real intention. This Bill does nothing of the sort. On the other hand, this is a legislation which wants to do away with discrimination. That is one point.

The second point is this: that section 119(*1*) relates to disability, liability, restriction or condition, etc., with reference to any professional or technical qualifications and it has got nothing to do with the robe of the person practising as a lawyer. I therefore hold that this Bill is quite in order and I disallow the point of order raised by the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Nawab Musharruf Hossain.

The Hon'ble Nawab MUSHARRUF HOSSAIN, Khan Bahadur: May I ask you to consider just one aspect of the case, namely, that a man

without a robe cannot appear at any Court? Can a man with *dhoti* and *chaddar* appear before a Court? That is the point that has been raised. I would say that I do not propose to take any more part in this Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already given my decision and I do not think I need add anything more.

The Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943.

The motion of Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu that the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943, be taken into consideration was then put and agreed to.

Clause 1.

The question that clause 1 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 2.

The question that clause 2 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 3.

The question that clause 3 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4.

The question that clause 4 stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Preamble.

The question that the preamble stand part of the Bill was then put and agreed to.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I beg to move that the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943, as settled in the Assembly be passed.

The motion of Mr Nishitha Nath Kundu that the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943, as settled in the Assembly be passed was then put and agreed to.

Transfer of Mrs. Leela Roy to Presidency Jail.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Mr. Charu Chandra Roy and Mr. Pain had both referred this question to me about a day or two ago, and I had given orders to see what could be done. I have just been informed that orders have already been passed to transfer Mrs. Leela Roy to the Presidency Jail. I find that her condition is not such that she can be removed at the present moment to the Presidency Jail. As soon as her condition is such that she can be removed to the Presidency Jail she will be brought there.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In view of his statement, will the Hon'ble Chief Minister be prepared to permit a private specialist in Gynaecology to be sent over to Dinajpur to offer special treatment to the lady? I am informed that she is suffering from an acute type of uterine disease.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, In support of the request made by Dr. Sanyal may I also ask the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, in view of the statement that her condition is too serious to enable her to be removed to the Presidency Jail, what arrangements are being made now for her efficient or special treatment while at Dinajpur?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: If I have stated that she is not in a fit condition to be removed, I do not mean that her condition is very serious. We would suggest that whatever medical advice is available there should be utilised.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: A specialist can be sent from Calcutta.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: If anybody comes forward we shall allow him to go there.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1943.

Rai JOGESH CHANDRA SEN Bahadur: In the absence of the mover, Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar, I ask, as the Whip of the party, for your permission that this Bill should be passed over.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have no objection.

The Bengal Close Season for Fishes Bill, 1943.

Mr. AHMAD HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Close Season for Fishes Bill, 1943, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of——

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand, Mr. Ahmad Hossain, that consent has not been obtained in respect of some of the members.

Mr. AHMAD HOSSAIN: I have received the consent of all the members except of Maulvi Mozammel Haque and Mr. Mohsen Ali who are absent in the House, but, Sir, these two honourable gentlemen verbally signified their assent to me.

Mr. SPEAKER: Have you got the consent of persons mentioned in Nos. (9), (10), (11), (13), (15) and (16)?

Mr. AHMAD HOSSAIN: Yes, Sir, I have got the consent of them all except that of Nos. (10) and (16) who have, however, signified their verbal assent.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I do not think it is desirable in any way to accept verbal consent. It looks, Sir, that if the Government Party is going to accept this motion, we would in all fairness request the mover himself to substitute at short notice or with your permission two other names of the members of the Opposition, because it has only one member of the Opposition.

Mr. SPEAKER: In that case, the mover should come to an arrangement with the Opposition. Then let us take up the next item.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, let us come to an agreement and proceed with the Bill.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: May I suggest the names of Mr. Upendra Nath Edbar and Mr. Adwaita Kumar Maji? I submit that in so substituting let us take up two members of the Scheduled Castes who are interested in the question of fisheries so that they may look into it properly.

Mr. AHMAD HOSSAIN: I agree, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: Has Mr. Adwaita Kumar Maji signified his consent? He is not in the House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: His Party Whip says that he has got his consent.

Mr. SPEAKER: I take it that it is agreed to substitute the names of Mr. Adwaita Kumar Maji and Mr. Upendra Nath Edbar in place of Nos. (10) and (16).

Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Close Season for Fishes Bill, 1943, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department,
(2) Maulvi Md. Israil,
(3) Mr. Md. Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri,
(4) Mr. Abdul Hakim,
(5) Mr. Abdul Karim,
(6) Haji Safiruddin Ahmed,
(7) Maulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar,
(8) Maulvi Maniruddin Akhand,
(9) Mr. Abdur Raschid Mahmud,
(10) Mr. Adwaita Kumar Maji,
(11) Mr. Monomohan Das,
(12) Maulvi Quazi Abul Masud,
(13) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(14) Mr. Idris Ahmed Mia,
(15) Mr. Syed Mustagawsal Haque,
(16) Mr. Upendra Nath Edbar, and
(17) Mr. Ahmed Hossain (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st and here, Sir, I propose to substitute the word "August" for the word "May"——

Mr. SPEAKER: I have no objection to accept it as a short-notice amendment.

Mr. AHMED HOSSAIN: August, 1944, the number of members forming the quorum being six.

Before I speak about this Bill, I would like to read the Statement of Objects and Reasons. The urgency of a measure to promote the growth of fish and to save fishes from extinction cannot too strongly be advocated. Fish is not only becoming dearer day by day but in many parts of Bengal which used to abound in fishes it is becoming scarce also. The pinch is being most felt by rural people who have to depend for his supply on his own catches in the neighbouring natural waters. Fish is a principal element for the rice-eating Bengalis' dishes and as such the promotion of its growth is a vital concern for the State as well as the people. The present Bill aims at checking indiscriminate catches, destruction of fries and ovas and provides for unhindered movement of fishes during the general season for spawning.

The motion of Mr. Ahmed Hossain that the Bengal Close Season for Fishes Bill, 1943, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of——

(1) the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department,
(2) Maulvi Md. Israil,

(3) Mr. Md. Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri,
(4) Mr. Abdul *Hakim* (Mymensingh),
(5) Mr. Abdul Karim,
(6) Haji Safiruddin Ahmed,
(7) Maulvi Rajibuddin Tarafdar,
(8) Maulvi Maniruddin Akhand.
(9) Mr. Abdur Raschid Mahmud,
(10) Mr. Adwaita Kumar Maji,
(11) Mr. Monomohan Das,
(12) Maulvi Quazi Abul Masud,
(13) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(14) Mr. Idris Ahmed Mia,
(15) Mr. Syed Mutagawsal Haque,
(16) Mr. Upendra Nath Edbar, and
(17) Mr. Ahmed Hossain (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st August, 1944, the number of members forming the quorum being six, was then put and agreed to.

The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Bengal Land-revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

Khan Bahadur JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce the Bengal Land-revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

Khan Bahadur JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce the Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Bengal Weights and Measures of Capacity Bill, 1944.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce the Bengal Weights and Measures of Capacity Bill, 1944

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

Khan Bahadur JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I move for leave to introduce the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

The Bengal Money-lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

Khan Bahadur JASIMUDDIN AHMED: Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce the Bengal Money-lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1944.

(Secretary then read the short title of the Bill.)

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-18 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 15th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 15th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 185 members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Clerical staff of Commerce, Labour and Industries Department.

***301. Mr. DHANANJOY ROY:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Commerce, Labour and Industries Department be pleased to state—

(a) how many posts there are at present in the Upper and Lower Divisions in the Commerce, Labour and Industries Department;

(b) how many of them are held by—

(i) Muslims,

(ii) Caste Hindus,

(iii) Scheduled Castes, and

(iv) other communities;

(c) whether any new posts in the Upper and Lower Divisions have been recently created;

(d) if so, whether in filling up the newly created posts Communal Ratio Rules and Recruitment Rules have been followed; and

(e) if not, why not?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. K. Shahabuddin):

	Upper Division.	Lower Division.
(a) Permanent	11	16
Temporary	4	8
(b) Permanent—		
(i) Muslims	4	7
(ii) Caste Hindus	5	5
(iii) Scheduled Castes	Nil	1
(iv) Other communities	2	1

Remarks—Two Lower Division posts are vacant pending receipt of Finance Department decision as to which posts should be kept reserved for war service condidates.

	Upper Division.	Lower Division.
Temporary—		
(i) Muslims	3	4
(ii) Caste Hindus	1	2
(iii) Scheduled Castes	Nil	2
(iv) Other communities	Nil	Nil

(c) and (d) Yes.

(e) Does not arise.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: With reference to answer (b)(iv), viz., "other communities—Upper Division 2 and Lower Division 1," will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us to which community do they belong?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID Anglo-Indian and Christian.

Supply of quinine in Noakhali.

***302. Mr. HARENDRA KUMAR SUR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(i) the amount of quinine allotted and sent to the District Magistrate, Noakhali, for the Noakhali district from the 1st April, 1943 to the 31st January, 1944;

(ii) the authority for distribution of quinine; and

(iii) the method of its distribution?

(b) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of issuing instructions to the District Magistrate, Noakhali, for allotment (of a sufficient quantity) of quinine to meet the requirements of *bona fide* and accredited non-official relief organisations working in the Noakhali district?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (a)(i) 2,313 lbs.

(ii) The District Magistrate advised by the Civil Surgeon and District Health Officer.

(iii) It was issued for sale to selected chemists in municipal areas and to medical practitioners in rural areas and for free distribution through hospitals and dispensaries. From November, 1943, it was distributed free by many other agents—Government touring officers and selected non-official gentlemen and relief organisations. It was also distributed through satellite treatment centres opened from dispensaries.

(b) District Magistrate has issued 61 lbs. to the two relief organisations which asked for quinine and no such instructions are necessary.

Horse Racing.

***303. Mr. S. A. SALIM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(a) the terms and conditions under which horse racing is allowed in Calcutta, Barrackpore, Tollygunge, Dacca and Darjeeling;

(b) whether the Royal Calcutta Turf Club has been given exclusive monopoly to stage horse racing in Calcutta and Barrackpore;

(c) whether there are any Indian members of the Club;

(d) if so, the number of Indian members of the Club; and

(e) whether the Indian members enjoy all the privileges of a member?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a) Wagering or betting on horse races is allowed within certain specified areas and only for a certain number of days in a year.

(b) Yes.

(*c*) to (*e*) I have no information.

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয় অবগত আছেন কি রেস খেলে অনেক পরিবার ফতুর হয়েছে?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is a matter of opinion.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why betting is allowed for a certain number of days in a year?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Before the Bengal Gambling (Amendment) Act was passed in 1913 it was not illegal to wager or bet on horse races. After that it was declared illegal. Government gave permission in the year 1913 for betting to be confined within certain specified areas and on condition that races were held only for a certain specified number of days.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for this modification of the Government order?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It was the intention of Government to control betting and that is why racing was particularly limited to a certain number of days.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what he means by a certain number of days. Is it more than a month or less than a month?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It was meant that the number of race meetings would not exceed 28 days in a year. That was the condition imposed by Government when permission was granted to the Royal Calcutta Turf Club.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: With reference to answer (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*), viz., "I have no information," will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is ready to make an enquiry as to whether the Indians have the same rights as the Europeans have in this Turf Club?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This is a private club and Government is not concerned with the administration of a private club. Therefore Government cannot furnish this information.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us why this private club gets the monopoly advantage from the Government?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Because this was the only club which asked for permission to conduct races and there was no other club which asked for this permission to be granted.

Maulana MD. ABDUL AZIZ: Race বন্ধ করে সর্বনাশের পথ থেকে অনেক পরিবারকে রক্ষা করা উচিত।

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This point was discussed when the Supplementary Budget was passed by this House. It was stated that it was better to restrict gambling to disciplined limits rather than allow gambling in the public gaming houses and things of that sort.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government have taken to restrict gambling as stated just now by the Parliamentary Secretary?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Gambling was restricted by making it illegal to gamble any and everywhere. Betting on horse racing was to be done within specified areas and on a number of specified days, i.e., by restricting the number of days allotted to horse racing and by permitting gambling only to be done in enclosed spaces Government restricted gambling.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Do Government contemplate restricting it further or allow gambling subject to the restrictions just now announced?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There is no proposal to restrict it further before Government.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether Government is ready to allow any Indian club to run the racing as they did it in the case of the Turf Club?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There is no such proposal before the Government. Nobody has come forward to ask for permission.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to answer (c) to (e), namely, "I have no information", will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government will supply the information as they have not been able to supply the information asked for in the question?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already stated that this is a private club and Government are not concerned with the administration of a private club and therefore Government regret that this information cannot be supplied, as it does not come within the purview of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this Department.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell the House how much tax is collected from the Turf Club for allowing this gambling?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Tax from totalisators, tax from book-makers, amusement tax are collected, but I would like to have notice if I am to give exact figures.

Road accidents in Dacca City.

***304. Mr. Syed SAHABE-ALUM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(a) the number of road accidents in Dacca City for the last 4 months;

(b) the number of cases in which military drivers were the offenders;

(c) the number of prosecutions, if any, launched against civilians and military personnel?

(d) the number of convictions obtained against the civilians and the military during the above period; and

(e) the number of such accidents for the corresponding period in 1942-43?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Twenty-six from November, 1943, to February, 1944.

(*b*) Eighteen.

(*c*) and (*d*) Nil.

(*e*) Four.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why no prosecution has been launched against the offenders who caused injuries to persons by rash driving?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: With reference to answer (*a*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any enquiry was made about these accidents, i.e., to find out who were responsible for these accidents?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the son of an ex-Government servant who has been killed in a motor accident in Narayanganj has applied to Government for compensation?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any deaths occurred as a result of these accidents and if so how many?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice

Mr. SHAHEDALI: With reference to answers (*b*) and (*c*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why there was no prosecution though they found out the offenders?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The military offenders were dealt with by military authorities and I ask for notice if the honourable member wants to know why prosecutions were not launched against civilian offenders.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the local Police at Dacca reported to Government of the cases of accident in the district of Dacca?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I am afraid I cannot follow the question.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government received any reports from the local Police at Dacca about these accidents?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This is the report that 26 accidents took place from November, 1943, to February, 1944, out of which the number of cases in which the military drivers were offenders was 18.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: My question is this: I want to know whether these reports were furnished by the Police or by non-official agency?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government's official agency.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to answer (*b*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any enquiry was made by the

Police with regard to these 18 cases and whether it transpired that in any of these cases any one died or was seriously injured?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the local Government made any representation to the military authorities for taking action against military offenders?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The local authorities are constantly awake and always make representation to the military authorities to tighten up control over the military personnel who drive motor vehicles.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether with reference to the case at Narayanganj I have just mentioned the Police have reported that it was a case of rash driving on the part of the military lorry driver?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is not covered by this question.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what particular steps have been taken by the military authorities to prevent these accidents?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: They have taken effective steps and there is now a marked improvement.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: What are the effective steps that have been taken so far?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The speed limit has been restricted and military police have been posted at important street junctions where traffic is heavy.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister in a position to tell the House the number of normal accidents in 1944?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether Government is quite unable to restrict the military personnel from causing accidents?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The answer is in the negative. The military authorities have taken steps to see that these accidents do not occur.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that drivers of military lorries do not obey the Motor Vehicles Rules?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That used to be so sometime back, but now on account of strict vigilance on the part of the local authorities and the military police the position has considerably improved.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to explain the procedure that a member of the public should adopt if he is involved in an accident with military driver?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That position was explained sometime ago by, I believe, the Secretary or the President of the Automobile Association of Bengal and I would refer the honourable member to the statement issued by him.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government of Bengal have got any legal authority to prosecute an American lorry driver for causing an accident?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The members of the United States Services do not come within the criminal administration of this province but a representation can be made to the Provost Marshal and he always takes immediate and strong steps against any offender belonging to his army.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government of Bengal have reported to the American military authorities about these accidents and whether such reports have been acted upon?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The Government Liaison Officer is always in touch with the military authorities both of the British army and of the American army and the position now is very satisfactory. There is co-operation from military authorities and desire to improve matters.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Is the Hon'ble Minister in a position to tell the House what action has been taken by the military in the Dacca cases?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already replied that there is now patrolling of areas where there is more traffic and at important street junctions. Speed limit has also been restricted so that there may not be any frequency of occurrence of accidents.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: What action has been taken by the military in cases that have already occurred in Dacca?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the police were able to find out any military driver who caused the accident and the number of the car which caused the accident?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Distribution of emergency stipends by Inspector of Schools, Dacca Range.

154. **Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware that a sum of Rs.18,300 was allotted to the Inspector of Schools, Dacca Range, by the Director of Public Instruction, during November, 1943, to be distributed as emergency stipends amongst the poor and meritorious pupils of top four classes of the High English Schools under him?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(*i*) the names of the schools,

(*ii*) the amounts received by each of them for (A) the Muslims, (B) Caste Hindus, (C) Scheduled Castes, and (D) all other minority communities separately?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) A statement furnishing the information is laid on the Library Table.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: From the statement laid on the Library Table it appears that only Re. 1 has been given to the Scheduled Caste students of Jamalpur High English School. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many Scheduled Caste students have been given that Re. 1?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: In the Jamalpur Government High School the number of Scheduled Caste students is shown as one.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Sir, I want to know how many Scheduled Caste students were given this Re. 1?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: For that I must ask for notice. But this was done not only in the case of Scheduled Caste students but also in the case of Muslim students. Wherever the number was very small the amount provided was very small also, and sometimes ridiculous sums like this were given to certain schools.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state under what principle that allotment was made between the Scheduled Caste, Caste Hindu and Muslim students?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Specific allotments were available for distribution amongst students belonging to particular communities and money was distributed just as it could be done within the allotment available.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Rs. 80 was given to that Government High School for distribution amongst the students?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, Rs. 80 in all. There were 47 Hindu students, one Scheduled Caste student and 59 Muslim students. The idea was not that every student should be given a stipend but only poor and meritorious students were to be selected by the Managing Committee for the award of the stipends.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Am I to understand that the Scheduled Caste students are not poorer than the students of other communities and that only one student of the Scheduled Caste community was given a help of Re. 1?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: So far as that particular school was concerned that allotment was made by the Divisional Inspector and out of a total grant of Rs. 18,300 for the Dacca Range, Rs. 1,300 was provided for Scheduled Caste students.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is in a position to give the total number of Scheduled Caste students reading in that high school?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The number is shown as one only.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Take it from me that not only one student is reading there——

Mr. SPEAKER: That point does not arise, Mr. Sarkar. If you have any supplementary question to ask, you may do so.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what proportion of the sum of Rs. 18,300 went respectively to categories (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) as mentioned in question (*b*)(*ii*)?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I have already said that the total amount for the Dacca Range was Rs. 18,300 and out of this amount Rs. 6,500 was allotted for Caste Hindu students, Rs. 10,500 for Muslim students, and Rs. 1,300 for Scheduled Caste students.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: And what about (*d*), namely, all other minority communities?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That is not shown.

Dhurong Canal re-excavation scheme.

155. **Dr. SANAULLAH:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Communications and Works Department aware—

(*i*) that the Dhurong Canal re-excavation scheme was taken up by Government in 1942; and

(*ii*) that it has not yet been completed?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) at what stage the said scheme is at present; and

(*ii*) whether he is considering the desirability of completing the said scheme before the rains set in this year?

MINISTER in charge of the COMMUNICATIONS and WORKS DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prasanna Pain): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) (*i*) The work, though started in 1942, had to be stopped that year for want of staff and labour. It was restarted in 1943 and the re-excavation of the channel completed other than the diversion channel, weir and 1,000 feet of the outfall channel. The diversion channel and 1,000 feet of outfall channel were not excavated as it was useless to do so unless the weir was constructed. The weir could not be constructed for lack of materials, particularly wire-netting.

(*ii*) As the required materials are not available, the scheme is not likely to be completed before the rains this year.

Dr. SANAULLAH: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if he will consider the desirability of requisitioning the necessary material from the military?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: It is not possible now.

Supply of yarn to weavers at controlled rate.

156. **Mr. SUKUMAR DUTTA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Industries Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what steps, if any, were taken by the Government to ensure the supply of yarn to weavers at controlled prices;

(*b*) whether the Government has any scheme regarding supply of yarns to weavers; and

(c) whether he is considering the desirability of holding a conference of the members of the Assembly who represent the weaving centres of Bengal and discuss with them for the formation of a scheme for taking immediate steps in this respect?

MINISTER in charge of the INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. K. Shahabuddin): (a) and (b) A Textile Control Adviser has been appointed to go among others, into the question of supply of yarn to handloom weavers of this Province. As success of any scheme for distribution of yarn, however, depends mainly on the marketing of finished products, a scheme for reorganisation of the handloom weaving industry envisaging *inter alia* the supply of yarn to handloom weavers and the marketing of their finished products is now under consideration.

(c) It is premature to hold a Conference just at present but I am prepared to consider the suggestion before the scheme is actually put into operation. In the meantime steps are being taken for circulating the scheme among the members.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (a) that the question is now under consideration, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state since when the matter is receiving attention?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: For about three months.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if it is a fact that for the last three years Government have been approached off and on with proposals from handloom industries for organising suitable marketing arrangements for their finished products as referred to in answers (a) and (b)?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: There was some representation, but it is not a fact that there were representations off and on from the Handloom Weavers' Association.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I have not mentioned any Association. Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether from the handloom weavers of Santipur a specific representation was received by the Department of Industries?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the All-India Spinners' Association had formally approached the Government during the last three years more than twice with representations copies of which were forwarded to my humble self suggesting certain measures for marketing arrangement?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (c), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state who are the members referred to here?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I think all the members can be taken into confidence and the scheme circulated to them.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Who are the members referred to? Members of what?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Members of the Legislature. Question (c) refers to the members of the Assembly and therefore the reply also speaks of members thereof.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state what arrangements at present exist for the supply of yarn at controlled rates to the actual weavers in the mofussil of Bengal?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: No definite arrangement has yet been made, but yarn is now available at controlled prices. There is no shortage of it in the market.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if he is aware that great hardship is being experienced by weavers in the district of Nadia at Santipur as well as by weavers in the districts of Pabna and Dacca for inadequate supply of yarn and for want of supply at controlled rates?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Certainly some time ago before the Textile Control Order was passed into law there was some difficulty experienced by the weavers of various places, but since the Order has been passed now the yarn is available in the principal markets of the Province, and I believe the weavers are now getting supplies of yarn at controlled prices.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that following the introduction of the Textile Control Order yarn in the mofussil market has practically vanished?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I am not aware of it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that there are only about half a dozen non-Bengali merchants in Calcutta who control the entire yarn market in the Province emanating from the city of Calcutta.

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: That is more than I can say, but it is a matter under investigation.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the principal sources of supply of yarn in this province?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the dealers of yarn in the mofussil entertain the complaint that from the Calcutta dealers who are mostly non-Bengalees, they cannot obtain their requirements at the controlled rate?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: We have not received any such complaint from the mofussil dealers.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is aware that booking of yarn from Calcutta has been for a pretty long time under restriction by the Bengal and Assam Railway?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I do not know, I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Department of Civil Supplies or any other department

of the Government undertakes the responsibility of transporting yarn in suitable quantities to the mofassil markets?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: Yes, as far as I know, the Civil Supplies Department undertakes the responsibility of transporting yarn as other goods to mofussil.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when is the scheme of reorganisation of the handloom weaving industry expected to see the light of the day?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: No definite date can be given, but I can assure the honourable member that it will be considered and finally approved in the course of two or three months.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that a certain quantity of yarn suitable for the hosiery industry of Pabna has been lying in the hands of the Government through the Department of Industries?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I do not know. I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that that yarn which is lying with and under the custody of the Director of Industries has not as yet been marked with a price as required under the Textiles Control Order?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government is considering the desirability of releasing that yarn, if it is there, to the local users of yarn, viz., the hosiery industry, to relieve the distress caused to them for want of supply?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: The question is hypothetical—I do not know how it arises. Anyway, Government will consider if there is any such case.

Arrangements for the treatment of Mrs. Leela Roy.

Sj. NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: On a point of information, Sir. Mrs. Leela Roy সম্বন্ধে কি ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয় জানাবেন কি?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, before the Chief Minister replies, we would also like to know if he is going to implement the promise that he held out here on the floor of the Assembly that in case a private practitioner offered to go there at our cost, he would agree to accept his services. In that connection my Leader has already addressed him enclosing a letter from one of the eminent lady practitioners of Calcutta, Dr. Mrs. Maitreyi Bose, offering her services. She is willing to go there and offer treatment to the security prisoner at our cost. We would like to know if the Chief Minister is in a position to give us any light on that as well.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I have informed the Leader of the Congress Party that it is not possible to permit the Lady Doctor, as suggested by him, to go to Dinajpur. Government are, therefore,

sending Dr. M. N. Sarkar, who is one of the specialists on the subject, at Government expense to treat her.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: When is he going?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I cannot say when he is going. Orders are being passed. He will go today or tomorrow.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Babu ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Mr. Speaker, the Secondary Education Bill has been on the anvil during the last four years. The Bill has got a political background behind it quite apart from the educational background provided by the Sadler Commission. Sir, we know that it was during the régime of Sir John Anderson, the late Governor of this province, and under his direct inspiration that the idea for the first time was propounded that Bengal had had too much of secondary education and too little of primary education, that the need of the province was to expand primary education even at the cost of secondary education. Bengal was then passing through an unprecedented wave of terrorism, and secondary schools were looked upon by the Government as the breeding ground of anti-British and revolutionary ideas. Sir, it was in that background that the Bengal Primary Education Act was passed with the object of expanding primary education to the point of making it free and compulsory. We know, Sir, to our bitter experience, how this Primary Education Act, in its actual operation, has proved disastrous to the best interests of primary education in the province, how in the rural areas, it has suffered a great setback. Sir, the Hon'ble Minister for Education may deny it for political purposes, but I am sure the Education Department of the Government of Bengal will bear me out.

Sir, having passed the Primary Education Act the Government of Sir John Anderson applied its mind to the formulation of measures for the curtailment of secondary education in the province. The Secondary Education Bill was then hatched in the archives of the Writers' Buildings with that object in view, though it was placed before the legislature after Sir John Anderson left the province Sir, it was the present Director of Public Instruction who made the first announcement that the intention of the Government was to reduce the number of secondary schools to four hundred, the number then existing being over fifteen hundred Sir, the proposal came as a great shock to the province and was received with widespread resentment from all sections of the public. So, in the original Secondary Education Bill of 1940, we find it stated that the object was the regulation and control of secondary education. There was nothing about development of secondary education—the idea of development was a later addition, when at the pressure of public opinion the Government had to yield.

Sir, having regard to this genesis of the Bill, public opinion in this province has always looked upon this measure with great distrust and suspicion; and it is clear that to what was originally a definite intention to establish official control for the purpose of curtailing secondary education has now been added a new intention of the Moslem League Ministry for

securing its own political control over the entire field of secondary education. In other words, Sir, the British Bureaucracy and the Moslem League have now joined hands over the Bill for two entirely different objects of their own. Sir, the consideration of this Bill cannot be detached from this political background. That is the reason that even during this critical period of our history the British Bureaucracy has permitted the League Ministry to bring forward what has been admittedly the most controversial measure during the last quarter of a century.

Sir, the Ministry has got ample evidence of the Hindu opinion about the Bill when on the last two occasions it was sought to be enacted into law. If there is any measure in recent years about which Hindu opposition has been unanimous and uncompromising, it is this Bill; and yet the Ministry has now decided to take possibly its last chance to hurry the Bill through the present session, at a time when internal and external situation demands harmonious relationship between communities and communities. They knew from their past experience that the Bill would plunge the whole country into turmoil and that the Hindus, for the sake of their very existence will be driven to wage war against this measure. Knowing it full well they have again brought forward this Bill now. Sir, they must take the consequences—they will be entirely responsible for what will follow.

Sir, we Hindus can never take it lying down. It is a question of life and death for us. It is frankly an invitation to civil war. Sir, we know that this Bill constitutes the cornerstone of the Moslem League programme for the establishment of Pakisthan in the province. The League Ministers now propose through this Bill to invade our citadel of education with a view to establish League domination. Sir, the Ministers must realise that every Hindu, irrespective of his political opinion, will take it to be the sacred mission of his life to fight this Bill and to make its operation impossible if it is ever passed into law.

Sir, let me state our case frankly and bluntly. Sir, we have built up the edifice of secondary education in this province through great sacrifice spread over a century. We have established about 1,600 high English schools—that is to say, over 90 per cent. of the high English schools now in existence, and we have kept them open to all communities. If Moslems have not come forward in sufficient numbers in these schools, they have to thank themselves for that. Hindus have never introduced communalism in the sphere of education. Now, Sir, it is our definite determination that we are not going to hand over this century-old edifice of ours to a Board in which Muslim League-cum-officials shall have a permanent majority as the present Bill envisages. Sir, we can have no objection to placing it under a Board which would consist mainly of educationists and which shall be free from the baneful influence of communalism. Sir, we feel that the proposed Board of Secondary Education is essentially of a political character and the administration of secondary education by this Board will have a predominantly communal bias. Sir, the plea of expansion of sound education for which the League Ministers have been shedding crocodile tears is merely a fake and an eyewash. There is no evidence in the Bill itself that it has been inspired with any genuine desire for educational progress.

Sir, I must say that we cannot trust the Muslim League. As long as Pakisthan continues to be the political goal of the Muslim League, every

action of the League is suspect to ourselves and there can be no common ground where we Hindus and Muslims can meet. The introduction of separate electorate in the present Bill deepens our suspicion about the intentions of the League Ministers. Sir, there is no use refusing to face realities. I want to remain a good Hindu, as the League Ministers profess to be good Muslims. If, Sir, they feel that under the present system of secondary education they are at a disadvantage and that they must initiate a system of education in which Muslim boys can be trained and brought up in Islamic tradition and culture, we freely admit their right to do so; but, Sir, we Hindus also claim the same right for the education of our boys and girls. Are we going to get that right under the proposed Board? I am not entering into any detailed examination of the provisions of the Bill. But I can say, Sir, that the Hindu opinion in this respect has asserted itself unanimously in unmistakable voice throughout the country. Every Hindu, be he a politician, or an educationist, who is worth anything, has opposed the Bill with possibly the infamous exception of the few Hindu Ministers. Sir, I challenge the Ministry to point out a single Hindu of any position and influence in this province outside their Council of Ministers who is supporting the Bill. Sir, the League Ministers cannot sit in judgment over what Hindus feel to be their sacred precincts. I want the League Ministers to realise that they will never be able to force this Bill down our throats in the face of our unanimous and determined opposition.

Sir, I think that as long as the present atmosphere of mutual distrust and antagonism between Hindus and Muslims continues, and as long as a common basis acceptable to both the communities is not attained, it will be an act of highest folly to attempt to have a single Secondary Education Board.

Sir, the Ministry must proceed with full recognition of the existing antagonism and divergence in outlook. Sir, I am told that as the majority community the League Ministers claim the right to impose their will on the Hindu minority in the matter of education—in other words, they desire to impose on us a system of education based predominantly on Islamic tradition and culture. Sir, I may say that they shall never succeed in doing so. We shall take it as a challenge to the manhood of Hindu Bengal. Sir, we shall see that the will of a communal majority does not prevail in this province, particularly in the sphere of education. Sir, we value our culture more than our lives and we shall never allow this insidious move to poison the springs of our national and cultural existence.

Sir, we reject this Bill on certain broad grounds of principle. Sir, it introduces the principle of communal reservation and separate communal electorates, the baneful effect of which has been clearly demonstrated in the working of the Dacca University, the Calcutta Corporation and our own Provincial Legislatures. The proposed Secondary Education Board will only provide a fresh platform for the enactment of the ugly schemes of communal recriminations. Sir, the country has a right to know, why, after four years of cogitation the League Ministers have now thought fit to come forward with the proposal for separate electorate. What is the significance behind it? Sir, can they show that this change has had any connection whatsoever with any desire for promotion of secondary education? Sir, we clearly see through their game. They know that they have

no support of even the Muslim educationists in their desire to pakithanise secondary education. Separate electorates have been brought in with the sole object of securing the election of only those Muslims on the Board who will follow the Muslim League directions and who will help in giving effect through this Board to their policy of gaining political and communal control over secondary education. Sir, we can never be a party to this game

Sir, the percentage of representation on the Board as between the two communities is also unacceptable to us. I think, Sir, this attempt to give equal representation to both the communities is grossly inequitable and arbitrary. Sir, ninety per cent. of these schools have been established through Hindu efforts and Hindu initiative and are being run by Hindu resources. Over seventy-five per cent. of the students reading in these schools happen to be Hindus. Sir, barely five per cent. of the existing schools owe their origin to Muslim initiative. Where is then the justification for placing these ninety per cent. of Hindu-managed schools under a Board where Muslim League-*cum*-officials will enjoy a clear majority? Sir, we cannot ignore this vital aspect of the constitution of the Board. We are prepared to be non-communal. We are prepared to forego our rights as a Hindu, provided the Board was constituted on non-communal principles, provided all the elected seats were thrown to all communities without reservation. When this is clearly not possible, we can never submit to this atrocious injustice, this injustice of Muslims being given an equal representation on the Board when their contribution for the building up of secondary education has been so palpably negligible. Sir, they cannot claim any right of possession over a structure which has never been built up by their efforts. Sir, the mere numerical majority of the population cannot be the sole deciding factor in this matter. Sir, whatever we might have conceded in this respect in the past, it can no longer be valid today. They were made under circumstances which no longer exist now. We are now determined to resist all attempts at fifty-fifty representation on the Board. Sir, any detailed discussion about the provisions of the Bill is useless as long as these fundamental features remain unaltered. I don't see any scope for compromise here. Sir, I don't presume that the League Ministers are equally determined not to yield on these vital principles. If unfortunately that be so, only two alternative courses are open to the Government. They must either drop the Bill and wait for a more opportune moment when the present atmosphere of mutual distrust disappears, or they must separate Muslim from Hindu education and set up two separate autonomous boards for Hindus and Muslims—each allotted financial grants on the basis of percentage of students of each community.

Sir, the problem of Scheduled Castes here does not present any difficulty whatever the present Scheduled Caste Minister might say, since there is no inherent difference between Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus in respect of their culture and education. Sir, Hindu opinion will never be satisfied until they are enabled to fashion the education of their boys according to their own light and leading under a separate Board. Any dictation from outside will naturally give rise to dangerous consequences.

Sir, that is the only solution of the deadlock. I hope, Sir, good sense will dawn on the Minister and they will realise the utter futility of forcing

this Bill through this Legislature. Sir, even if this Bill is passed into law in the teeth of Hindu opposition, the matter will not rest there. We know how to meet the situation. We know how to fight against this new menace to our education and culture. Let there be no mistake about that. Sir, the other day the Hon'ble Minister for Education waxed eloquent over the virtues of this Bill. He has good reasons to be so; being a fanatical Pakisthanist, he knows that if the Bill can be passed into law, it will pave the way for the realization of their dream of communal domination. But I ask him let him place before the House an iota of evidence that this Bill has behind it any support from the Hindu community. Sir, the Ministers and their followers have been circulating the canard that the Opposition to the Bill is being engineered by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. If they really think so, let them take the House into their confidence as to the support of responsible Hindu opinion on which they are banking. I can say, Sir, that in this particular matter, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has behind him the support of all sections of Hindu opinion in the province. Those who have eyes to see and ears to hear know this. If they refuse to see things as they are, blinded by political passion, that is their business.

Sir, I foresee dark days before us if what they claim to be Muslim opinion regarding secondary education is thrust on us against our consent. I yet hope the Ministers will retrace their steps.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH SEN: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon by the 30th September, 1944.

Sir, honourable members addressing the House on the subject have stated that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill has had a chequered history in this legislature. This is mainly due to the import of extraneous consideration verging on communalism in the sphere of education in this province The framing of the Bill was determined more by a desire for dominance of political interests over education than by a genuine spirit for educational reform. The Bill introduced by successive Ministries since 1940 were tainted more or less by the narrow spirit of communalism which evoked strong protests from all quarters. That has been the main reason why no progress could have been made with the Bill. The present Bill is also not free from this taint of communalism. Rather more so. A no more retrograde and reactionary Bill introduced in the name of educational reform could have been conceived of. This is not to say that there is no need for reform in the system of secondary education as now obtains in the province. On the contrary, I am of opinion that our present system of secondary education needs complete overhauling. Reform is long overdue. Whatever may be the guiding factor that originally prompted the authorities to shape the system of modern education in this country, there is no gainsaying the fact that it failed in its true purpose. Since the days of the Sadler Commission everybody admitted the necessity of educational reform. It is held that reform in the present system of education is a *sina qua non* to our all-round national progress—progress in all spheres of life, economic, political and cultural. But reform is one thing and change another. Any change cannot be regarded as reform unless we are foolhardy to believe in the inevitability of progress. A change becomes a reform

only when it is made with an eye to the needs of the situation? Nobody would deny that education in the present day world is regarded as an instrument of economic, social and moral uplift of mankind. In fact, it is the most effective instrument for human progress. No country can prosper unless it possesses a sound system of education for its people. Hence education to be really fruitful must have its foundation in a broad liberal outlook on life and things. To be true to its object, education should subserve the requirements at once of the individual and the society. Its sacred character should not be vitiated by communal or sectarian tinge. Even a narrow sense of nationalism should not mar the character of our educational system. Hence it is the spirit of the times to have an educational system liberal and catholic in outlook. Progressive thinkers in all climes are of opinion that if you want to have lasting peace on the face of this earth by banishing war and strife for ever, you are to do so by changing the mental make-up of the average citizen so that he may be in a position to think and act liberally in affairs that affect his fellowmen. Educational system should therefore be designed to meet this higher and nobler ideal too along with the basic requirements of the everyday world. Coming to the national sphere, if communal harmony and peace is to be achieved, the only way of attaining it is by imparting liberal education to all citizens. If we are to live as a progressive nation, we must do as other nations are doing. But can the same be said of the Bill that has been introduced by the Government? Will the system of education which such a Bill proposes to introduce conduce to the best interests of the people? Assuredly not. If the Bill is made into law, surely the sacred portals of our educational institutions will be turned into so many arenas for communal bouts. Thus the very object of education will be defeated. The Bill is a highly controversial one and its provisions bristle with narrow ideas of communalism and political partisanship. This is not the occasion to discuss in detail the objectionable features of the Bill. Suffice it to say that if the Bill is passed into law, the secondary education system of the province will be controlled by a body that will have no independent existence of its own but only be a handy subservient tool in the hands of the political party that may be in power for the time being. The Bill will extend communalism in the educational sphere by providing for election, nomination and co-option of members of the Board on a communal basis. The result will be that neither the Board nor its chief executive officer will have any scope for autonomous functioning, while Government will have the supreme powers for controlling secondary education in the province. Narrow sectarianism will prevail in a sphere that should at least be free from the virus of communalism. Interest of education proper will be sacrificed to political and communal considerations. Freedom which is the essence of every educational system will be conspicuous by its absence. The Bill in a word is an attack on the freedom of thought and culture. It would hamper the educational and cultural progress of the Province. Young minds will be crippled and nursed with narrow communal outlook on all problems affecting life. Although Pakisthan is a far cry in the Indian constitution, the League Ministry of Bengal are determined to have —Pakisthan in education. If, however, the present Ministry, are bent on imparting non-secular education to the Muslims of the Province, there

already exist educational facilities for the purpose. For such a purpose the system of general education should not be so conditioned as would make it communal in outlook. Moreover, our experiences in the political as well as other spheres of life would quail even the stoutest heart to support communal electorate in educational institutions. The present Assembly is elected on the basis of a separate electorate system and the result is that today communalism runs high in the legislature, of which the present Bill is verily an offshoot. In the educational spheres the only University in India that has a separate electorate system is the Dacca University and considering the parts the University students there played in communal riots in Dacca the result must be regarded as discouraging and disquieting too. Whatever educational facilities for liberal education Bengal now possess, most of these owe their origin, growth and existence mainly to private enterprise and benefactions. So it would be an act of criminal injustice to stifle these institutions by subjecting them to cater to communal needs and passions. The Bill is therefore to all intents and purposes a retrograde and reactionary one.

The time is also not opportune for the passage of a Bill highly controversial in character. The Province is passing through the most critical period in its history and it would not be prudent to enact such a controversial legislation now. Besides, in the post-war scheme educational reconstruction is to figure prominently. The question of educational reform would also come under critical consideration of the Government of India. It is likely that the salutary recommendations made in the Sargent Report are going to be the basis of a reconstructed system of national education. But the provisions of the proposed Bill are absolutely at variance with those recommendations. So would it not be better if the consideration of the question is postponed till the war is over when the whole system of national education will be examined by experts with a view to bring about the kind of reform that would prove to be in the best interests of the country? If the Province could have carried on for so many years with its present system of education, it can carry on still for a few years more. The zeal of our communalist politicians for a change in the name of reform can certainly wait till the war is over. There is no sense in rushing in indecent haste the Bill through the legislature, without even circulating it for opinion or referring it to a Select Committee for a critical examination of its provisions. This is a procedure that goes against all accepted rules of business in a parliamentary government and smacks of Nazi party dictatorship.

An Act becomes a law only when it has the support of public opinion behind it. But can such support be claimed on behalf of this Bill? I know that the Ministry with their position secure with the support of the European Group can ride roughshod over the sentiments of the minority. But the minority may not take things lying down and a determined minority can easily create troubles for the Ministry. I, therefore, hope that better sense will even now dawn on the Ministry and the Bill in its present shape will not be proceeded with.

Now, I would say a few words in respect of the attitude that might be adopted by the European Group to this Bill. Their attitude will be a

vital factor in the passage of the Bill, because it is to their votes that the Ministry owes its existence. The European Group might be charitably disposed towards the Bill and express some sort of righteous indignation on the provisions of the Bill, but at the crucial time when independent judgment and action would be called for they would probably be going into the same lobby with the ministerialist party. That would be queer logic indeed. But they can afford to do so, because they know full well that their sons and daughters would not receive education in this country and whatever might be the educational system in this Province, they will not be affected by it. But since the days of John Stuart Mill Englishmen are traditional lovers of freedom in thought and expression. This is a peculiar gift of the Englishman's character. But will they behave strangely on this occasion and allow the Bill to be passed into the Statute Book, a Bill that is designed to stifle the fountain head of free and liberal education in this Province? I would, therefore, appeal to them as Englishmen who love and cherish the ideal of free thought and education, to exercise their better judgment and oppose the Bill that is communal to the core. The least they can do is not to allow themselves to be party to the passage of such a pernicious piece of legislation. As they are not affected in the least with the provisions of the Bill, they should at least remain neutral during the passage of such a contentious legislation.

Lastly I would appeal to His Excellency the Governor as the Crown Representative to exercise his discretionary powers and disallow the consideration of a highly controversial legislation at a time when a united front of all people is urgently called for to resist the common enemy. At a time when enemy has made incursions into the Indian soil in the Eastern theatre of war and when a united stand of all people is required to resist aggression, a measure that is certain of embittering the relations of the two major communities of the Province should not be proceeded with. If Bengal is to be a contented base for offensive operations against the enemy, His Excellency should not allow the enacting of a measure that would exasperate the feelings of the two great communities and thereby endanger the tranquillity of the Province by dividing the people of the Province into two warring camps engaged in a violent agitation.

With these words, Sir, I propose the circulation of the Bill for elicitation of opinion thereon.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st July, 1944.

Sir, I consider it the height of unwisdom that this moment when the enemy is practically battering at the Eastern gates of the province has been chosen for the introduction of a measure which from its very nature is bound to evoke, as it has already evoked, a nation-wide controversy and commotion. If Kohima and Imphal in Assam have no meaning for the Government of Bengal, if they choose to be so blockheaded as that, they might at least have waited till victory was completely achieved when the time would be opportune for the introduction of a suitable Bill in the light of the far-reaching and far-seeing ideas that are expressed today all over

the world by reputed educationists regarding post-war educational reconstruction. From this point of view the Bill is, to say the least, ill-timed and inopportune. I do not, however, propose to attack the Bill on this front. I shall deal with its merits and show that it is unworthy to be on the Statute Book of a modern state with any pretension to the educational progress and welfare of its people.

Sir, the Bill indeed professes to provide for the development of secondary education in the province as well as its regulation and control and includes a formidable catalogue of things in its definition, but it leaves the way open to the Government to scrap them up at any moment as we find from the proviso to the definition clause.

This, Sir, makes us suspect that the real object of the Bill is far other than the rational development of secondary education in the province, viz., a tightening of the grip over the existing educational institutions in the name of regulation and control. This suspicion is further confirmed by the very meagre financial provision made in the Bill which is not sufficient to work out any scheme of secondary education well worth the name.

Now, Sir, let me pass on from the merely professed object of the Bill to its real object, viz., regulation and control of secondary education. Here, reading between the lines, one finds Government's anxiety to officialise and communalise the whole fabric of secondary education in the province. I propose to confine myself to the communal aspect of the question and that too on one vital point only.

Sir, it has been suggested that the Bill under consideration is nothing new in this respect, it being practically a reproduction of another Bill of the same name that was introduced in 1942 during Mr. Fazlul Huq's régime on which there was agreement between some representatives of the two communities. The statement is untrue and misleading to a degree and must not deceive anybody. The best way I can repudiate this misleading statement is by saying that even at this stage we are prepared—at least I am prepared—to honour the agreement that was made on the 1942 Bill and accept the same Bill *in toto* if it is reintroduced today though we know that it falls far short of the requirements of an ideal educational enactment. The agreement that was made then on the 1942 Bill was made in the hope that it would be possible—however long and difficult the task might be—to build up the superstructure of national education in the secondary stage on the basis of the 1942 Bill. The Bill indeed was not free from communal complexion, but it had not the deadly poison of pronounced anti-nationalism that characterises the Bill under consideration through and through. This Bill, unlike the one of 1942, introduces the vicious principle of separate communal electorates for the representation of educational and other interests on the Board and its statutory committees. There never was and there never can be any agreement on this vital point which, if conceded, cuts at the very root of national education. What was conceded was representation on the basis of joint electorate with a reservation of seats allotted to communities concerned.

Sir, one can very well understand weightage given to a community or communities which for historical reasons have not had their proper share in education and, therefore, in educational institutions, but the claim of a

community to representation on an educational body on the basis of communal electorate is a preposterous one and must be resisted by all right-thinking people whichever community they may belong to. I wonder that the Hon'ble Education Minister does not understand the difference between the one and the other. Sir, I propose to elucidate this point at some length because I consider this to be the plague spot—the darkest plague spot in the Bill. What is it, I ask, that lies at the root of the desire to have the Muslim representatives of the board and the committees elected exclusively by Muslims? I pose the question as such, that is, regarding Muslims alone because Hindus of whatever political persuasion—do not want separate communal electorates specially in the field of education. On an answer to this question will depend the answer to a lerger question, viz., the question of Pakisthan. So far as I have understood the demand of Pakisthan, it is based mainly on the feeling—faked or real, more faked than real—namely, that the cultural differences between the Hindu and the Muslim communities are so great and pronounced that they cannot remain members of one common State. No one with his senses open will deny that the Hindu and the Muslim communities have their cultural differences. Which two communities under the sun have them not? The question that really matters is not whether there are cultural differences, or whether the differences are great but whether differences are insurmountable. No one who knows anything about human history, civilisation, culture and psychology will agree that the cultural differences between any two communities, however great, can be insurmountable. Look at India. The Hindu and the Muslim cultures, living and growing side by side, as expressed in literature, art, architecture, music, painting and even in religion, as evidenced in mediaeval times, have mixed and blended wonderfully to form one common and complex culture which may well be called the Indian culture. The political megalomaniac may not discover this unifying creativeness of history or knowing it may disregard it in his mad craze to create disruptions for suicidal political ends, but those who sincerely desire the Hindu and the Muslim communities to live side by side as good and friendly neighbours in happiness, progress and fellowship must adopt means to accelerate and consciously work out this unifying creativeness or creative unification of history. This latter can best be effected through a well-planned system of rational and national education. When and to the extent this goal is achieved the cry of Pakistan will lose much of its force and will in time be discarded altogether as it deserves to be.

The progress of education achieved so far in Bengal has been achieved following this historic urge of unification and the system that has been evolved is absolutely secular, non-denominational and synthetic in character and suitable to the susceptibilities of all irrespective of creed or community. In making this statement I am not oblivious of the fact that some of my Muslim friends regard this system as pro-Hindu in character. The charge certainly refers to the cultural part of the educational system evolved. As a Hindu who has spent a good part of his life in educational activities and educational studies, I am prepared on behalf of the Hindu community to plead guilty to the charge to the extent of admitting that the system bears the impress of the Hindu mind and the Hindu genius. How much of what

is called the Hindu bias of this culture is due to its common racial origin, *i.e.*, the racial origin common to Hindus and Mussalmans and therefore should not be a taboo to any community—need not be discussed here. The fact remains that the system evolved for the past 50 years or so, though perfectly secular, non-denominational and synthetic in character, is also the handiwork of the Hindus and therefore naturally bears the impress of the Hindu mind and the Hindu genius. A sincere and patriotic Muslim who wants his community to be an equal and honourable partner of the great Indian nation must help build up this culture which so far and so long has been mainly the creation of the Hindus. The creative mind of Islam by contributing to this culture must give it the impress of the Muslim mind too so that the resultant shall be a synthesis which is neither exclusively Hindu nor Muslim in character but from the national point of view something higher and greater that includes and harmonises them both When and to the extent this goal is achieved, the cry of Pakisthan will lose much of its force and will in time be discarded altogether as it deserves to be.

I say that the creative mind of Islam must contribute to this culture. It is not merely by parodying and writing such stuff as "গোমাংস অতি সুস্বাদ্ খাদ্য" or "শুকরের মাংস অতি সুস্বাদ্ খাদ্য" that one can express the beauties of one's culture and religion. Tell us, tell our children something of the beauty and grandeur of the great democratic religion Islam which enjoins that an Emperor and a street beggar must sit side by side to say their common prayers to their common father and allow your children to hear something from us of the deep significance and the beauty of the great Hindu religion which teaches that all creation is essentially one not even excluding inanimate objects When we can impart something of this understanding to our children Hindu and Muslim through a system of education it will serve its purpose to a certain extent

Now Sir, a genuine system of education, as has been envisaged, must be entrusted to people who believe in the synthetic aspect of culture as I have just described A Board of Education, if it is intended to be the vehicle of anything like national education, must be composed of men who know and respect each other's culture and religion and enjoy each other's confidence I know it is not an easy task to find such suitable men in the two communities, but the least that should be done is to have them elected on the basis of joint electorate, so that only those persons in the two communities may be returned who respect each other's religion and culture. Unfortunately in the Bill under consideration this salutary principle is given a go-by, so far as it introduces the vicious principle of separate communal electorate.

How far this pernicious principle of communal electorate works when applied to an educational body may well be illustrated by reference to the affairs of a University of which the political pundit of the Muslim League party the Hon'ble Khwaja Shahabuddin was sometime the distinguished vice-chancellor and the constitutional pundit of the Muslim League party Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the redoubtable Chief Whip of the Government party, is a prominent member of the Executive Council and is its representative in this House. It may be known, Sir, that the University of Dacca is the only university in India in which members are elected to the Council, to

the Court and to the committees on the basis of separate communal electorate. Attempts were made to introduce the same principle to the Delhi University, but the proposal was turned down by the Central Legislature and by Lord Linlithgow. The Dacca University got this precious gift because the separatist Muslims having been disgruntled at the loss of political partition of Bengal had to be conceded partition in another shape, and which is a more effective and more dangerous partition than a partition in the field of education. Our Pakistani friends in the University of Dacca are making a cent. per cent. use of this precious gift of British diplomacy. If I mention only one or two incidents of this hotbed of Pakistanism, it will illustrate what I mean. Those who desire to know more of this novel experiment in Pakisthanisation of education may try to secure a copy of what is known as the Report of the Larkin Committee. Mr. Larkin, Divisional Commissioner, Dacca, was the Chairman of a committee of which the two other members were Mr. Ibrahim, Public Prosecutor of Dacca and now a District and Sessions Judge, and Mr. Pankaj Kumar Ghose, Government Pleader. Among other things, this committee arrived at the unanimous and interesting finding, namely, that in the Dacca University education is synonymous with communalism and communalism is synomymous with education.

Sir, it will be remembered that a year or two back our illustrious countryman Sir Mirza Ismail was invited to deliver the Convocation address of the University of Dacca. He came and delivered a masterly, thought-provoking address which was a literary treat to those who can appreciate. The function was otherwise successful, but it was boycotted by the Muslim members of the University Council, the Court, the Muslim members of the professorial staff and Muslim students The only offence of Sir Mirza Ismail to deserve this discourtesy and insult was that he does not subscribe to the two-nation theory of the Pakisthanwallas, and speaking elsewhere a few days previously he had exhorted his audience to stand for the glorious ideal of a united nation. The redoubtable Chief Whip of the Government party knows more than anybody else who organised this boycott and prevented the willing Muslims from attending the function. What however is of interest to note is, and this is borne out by facts, that it was this principle of separate communal electorate which by fostering a spirit of malignant communalism within the sacred precincts of the University had made this among other disgraceful incidents possible in the University. It had encouraged some students to attack and assault their fellow students while the latter were receiving their lessons in their class room peacefully and unsuspectingly. It had encouraged and emboldened some students to lay violent hands on their fellow students of the other sex within the precincts of the University. (Cries of "Shame, shame" from the Opposition benches.) Sir, what a hell of life it will bring to Bengal if this same principle is introduced into the regulation and control of secondary education in Bengal as is proposed in the Bill. Sir, I say this in spite of the statement which the Hon'ble the Education Minister made the other day on the subject. I have not stood up here to lay the blame of these disgraceful incidents at the door of a particular community, but I merely point out that a malignant disease, namely, communalism has attacked the body politic of the Dacca University. I would go further and say that it has vitiated the very atmosphere of civic life of Dacca beyond all hope of repair. Sir, I cannot

forget how my unfortunate city has for long three years passed through the nightmare of communal disturbances, communal riots, murder, defilement of sacred places, arson and looting of the worse type. (Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Was it due to the Dacca University?) Yes, partly so. The whole of Dacca knows and Bengal knows what an honourable part I played in bringing about harmony and peace between the two communities. (Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: What about the Calcutta University?) The Calcutta University is heaven when compared to the Dacca University in that respect. I hold no brief for the Calcutta University, but I am prepared to show—here I make this declaration without any fear of contradiction—that considered from the point of view which I have just placed before the House the Calcutta University is heaven compared to the Dacca University. Sir, I shudder to think that the tragic scenes of Dacca may be re-enacted all over Bengal if this pernicious principle of separate communal electorate is introduced into the regulation and control of secondary education as is proposed in the Bill. I feel, Sir, so strongly on this point that if the Government insists on having a communal Board as proposed therein I would even go to the length of supporting the demand of a separate Board, not a Hindu Board but a national Board, a purely educational Board non-communally elected and open to all communities. I have no doubt that if we have such a Board it will be more popular than the pernicious Board proposed in this Bill.

Sir, I have placed before the House my thesis in support of a non-communal Board. I feel——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: How long will you take to conclude?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: 10 minutes, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Then you can continue your speech after the prayer adjournment.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Deputy Speaker: Sir, I have characterised the principle of separate communal electorate as a pernicious principle. I call it pernicious because it is designed to divide and destroy the very fabric of a harmonious social life Just look at it. The Bill not remaining content with dividing the Hindus and Muslims in the field of education, also seeks to divide the so-called Caste Hindus and the so-called Scheduled Caste Hindus. What are, I ask, the cultural differences between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus that justify the application of separate communal electorate to their representation? The division of the Hindu society into Caste Hindus and Scheduled Caste Hindus is a mere political device invented by designing persons who want to keep India under perpetual subjection. Culturally they are one. They worship the same *Thakur*, sing the same *kirtan* and fall at the feet of the same saints and sages who have swayed the minds of the Hindu society from time immemorial. What is it that necessitates their division into two artificial groups? What is it that necessitates the introduction of separate communal electorates so far as they are concerned. It is evident that the bureaucratic hand is behind this measure. It wants to divide us. Let me give you one instance of this bureaucratic motive. During the last disturbances at Dacca

my revered leader, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, went there and made a suggestion to the local officials that a joint squad of the Hindu and Muslim students should be allowed to parade the streets crying "Hindus and Muslims, be united". Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was himself ready to lead the squad. Sir, believe me when I say that this very reasonable suggestion was spurned by the powers that be. Why? Because the powers that be do not want Hindu students and Muslim students to see eye to eye in any matter and work for the welfare of the community. So, Sir, I repeat that the hand of bureaucracy is visible in the Bill under consideration.

Now Sir, does anybody expect that we are going to accept a Bill of this nature which will divide Bengal educationally into separate sections? I say, no. Bengal shall not take it lying down. Bengal during the last Swadeshi days has unsettled a settled fact. This settled fact shall be also unsettled. Bengal will be thrown into a whirlpool of agitation unparallelled in the history of India if this Bill is made into law.

I have said that Hindus do not want separate communal electorate. I think, Sir, I should correct myself by mentioning half-a-dozen dishonourable exceptions, viz., the half-a-dozen people in Bengal who are today sailing in the same boat with the Muslim League for the lure of office. They have been so demoralised that they have not the courage to speak the truth. If there is a grain or particle of political honesty left in these people they should face their constituencies and seek their mandate over this question. I have no doubt as to what mandate they will receive there. I also have no doubt as to the kind of reception they will get there if they choose to disobey the mandate. They may have garlands but surely not of flowers. They must realise the situation. They must realise their duty. May I make an appeal to them? "It is a splendid opportunity for you to restore yourselves in public estimation and to make amends for the act of desertion that you made in the past. Will you do it?" I know that it is mere speculation. I know Sir, that they will not face their constituencies. Whatever these people may do individually is not of great concern to us but the Government as the Government of the people have a duty in this matter. They have got to consult public opinion in a thoroughgoing manner on a very serious matter like this, and it is with this object in view I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

SJ. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 25th July, 1944.

আমার প্রস্তাবের সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই আমার কোন একটি বন্ধু বলেছেন যে এত সকালেই এই জনমত সংগ্রহ শেষ করার প্রস্তাব আপনি কেন দিয়েছেন? আমার বক্তৃতার প্রসঙ্গে আমি সে কথা আপনাদের কাছে পরিষ্কার কোরে বলবো। কিন্তু এই বিষয়টি আরম্ভ করবার পূর্ব্বে কবীন্দ্র রবীন্দ্রনাথের কবিতার দুটি লাইন প্রথমতঃ মনে পড়ছে, সে লাইন দুটি হচ্চে—

নাগিনীরা চারিদিকে ফেলিতেছে বিষাক্ত নিশ্বাস,
শান্তির ললিতবাণী শুনাইবে তীব্র পরিহাস।

আজ চারিদিকে নাগিনীর দল যে বিষাক্ত নিঃশ্বাস ফেলে এই Assembly এবং বাংলার আকাশ বাতাস বিষাক্ত করে তুলেছে তার মধ্যে যুক্তির কথা, নীতির কথা, জাতির মঙ্গলের কথা, সমগ্র হিন্দু-মুসলমান-খৃষ্টান মিলে এক শান্তিপূর্ণ আবহাওয়ায় জাতি গঠনের কথা তীব

পরিহাসের মতনই শোনাবে এবং আমি যেই বল্‌ছি সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই আমার সম্মুখস্থ বন্ধুদের মুখে সেই পরিহাসের হাসি একটু একটু ফুটে উঠ্‌ছে! কাজেই, যদিও জানি যে এখানে কোন যুক্তির কথা, ন্যায়ের কথা, শিক্ষার আদর্শের কথা বিকোবে না, তথাপি আমাদের বলতে হবে,—জাতির মঙ্গলের জন্য, বাংলার মঙ্গলের জন্য এবং শুধু বর্ত্তমান মঙ্গলের জন্য নয়, ভবিষ্যতের মঙ্গলের জন্যও, শুধু আজকার এই সীমাবদ্ধ দৃষ্টি দিয়ে নয়, ভারত এবং বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ মঙ্গলের দৃষ্টি দিয়ে আমরা যে আলোচনা চালাবো এই শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে, সে আলোচনা হয়ত ব্যর্থ হয়ে যাবে, হয়ত আজ কারো কাণে সে কথা পেঁছাবে না; কিন্তু আমরা জানি আজ হোক, কাল হোক, যা সত্য, তার জয় হবেই। "জয় জয় সত্যের জয়।" অসত্য যা তা দুদিন মাথা তুলে দাঁড়াতে পারে—

অন্যায়েনৈধাত তাবৎ ততঃ ভদ্রাণ্যপশ্যতি।
ততো জয়তি সপত্নান্ সমূলস্তু বিনশ্যতি॥

অন্যায়ের দ্বারা কিছু সময় শ্রীবৃদ্ধি হয়, অন্যায়ের দ্বারা মানুষ নিজের স্বার্থসিদ্ধি অনেকটা জোরে নিতে পারে—সে কথা সত্য; অন্যায়ের দ্বারা যারা প্রতিপক্ষ তাদের পরাভূত করা যায় একথাও সত্য, কিন্তু অন্যায়ের পরিণাম সমূলেন বিনশ্যতি। কাজেকাজেই আজ যাঁরা লাভের সম্ভাবনা পেয়েছেন আর তারা সুবিধা করে নিচ্ছেন কিন্তু সেদিন খুব বেশী দূরে নয় যেদিন সমূলেন নিধন উপস্থিত হবে।

এই যে বর্ত্তমান শিক্ষা বিলটা আমাদের সম্মুখে উপস্থিত করা হয়েছে এই বিলের অন্তর্নিহিত ভাব বিশ্লেষণ করার পূর্ব্বে, এই বিল আসার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই যে সংবাদটা সংবাদপত্রের মারফতে আমাদের নিকট বিতরিত হয়েছে সেটা হচ্ছে এই যে বরিশাল ব্রজমোহন কলেজের ৩ জন অধ্যাপক প্রফুল্লকুমার চক্রবর্ত্তী, শান্তিসুধা ঘোষ এবং সুধীর কুমার আইচ্ মহাশয় এই তিনটিকে কলেজ থেকে বিতাড়িত করতে হবে। যদি না করা হয়, তবে কলেজের সাহায্য বন্ধ করা হবে। আজ ঠিক এই বিলের পিছনে যে মনোবৃত্তি, তা পরিষ্কারভাবে, কদর্য্যভাবে, নগ্নভাবে প্রকট হয়েছে গভর্ণমেণ্টের এই জরুরী বিধানের মধ্য দিয়ে। সেই প্রফেসাররা অপরাধ করেছে কি? তাদের অপরাধ—তারা দেশকে ভালবেসেছে, এর বেশী অপরাধের প্রমাণ তাদের বিরুদ্ধে নাই। তাঁরা দেশকে ভালবেসে দেশের অধীনতা-শৃঙ্খল ভঙ্গ কোর্‌ছেন—এ অভিযোগ গভর্ণমেণ্টও তাঁদের বিরুদ্ধে আনেন নি; যেহেতু তাঁরা ছেলেদের কাছে প্রিয়, যেহেতু তাঁরা দিন রাত্রি ছাত্রদের নৈতিক, মানসিক ও দৈহিক উন্নতি কিসে হয় সেই চিন্তা করেন, কিসে ছেলেদের চরিত্র ঠিকমত গড়ে ওঠে, তারা প্রকৃত মানুষ হয়ে ওঠে, সেই সাধনা নিয়ে তাঁরা জীবনের আর সমস্ত কিছু জলাঞ্জলি দিয়ে শিক্ষাব্রত গ্রহণ করেছেন এবং তারা ছেলেদের শেখাচ্ছে—তাদের দাঁড়াতে হবে ভারতবর্ষের চরিত্রবান সন্তানরূপে, বীর সন্তানরূপে এবং তাদের গড়তে হবে একটা শক্তিশালী ভারতবর্ষ। এই শিক্ষা তারা দিচ্ছে সত্য, কিন্তু এই শিক্ষা কি কোন অপরাধের শিক্ষা? এবং এই শিক্ষা দেওয়ার জন্য যে শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী শিক্ষা সংশোধনের বিল আমাদের সম্মুখে উপস্থিত করেছেন, তিনিই সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আদেশ দিয়েছেন যে ঐ তিনটি প্রফেসারকে কলেজ থেকে বিতাড়িত কর। যদি বিতাড়িত না করা হয়, তাহলে কলেজের সাহায্য বন্ধ হবে। (Shame, shame.)

আমরা জানি বর্ত্তমানে যেভাবে এই শিক্ষা বিল পাশ হতে চলেছে তাতে মনে হয় এর প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য একটা এই যে বাংলার শিক্ষা—একেইত শাসন-সংযত কণ্ঠে বাঙালী নিজের প্রাণের কথা বলতে পারে না, তবুও শিক্ষায়তনের মধ্য দিয়ে যেটুকু সামান্য স্বাধীনতা স্ফুরণের সম্ভাবনা আছে তাকে অঙ্কুরে বিনাশ করে দেবার জন্য এই অপপ্রচেষ্টা একটা প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য

যোগাচ্ছে। এই বর্তমান আইন করার মনোবৃত্তিতে তাই আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি বাংলার শিক্ষার অগ্রগতিকে রুদ্ধ করারই প্রয়াস। আমরা জানি ১৯০৮ সনের কথা। তখন ব্রজমোহন বিদ্যালয়ে আমরা পাঠ করতাম। তখন হঠাৎ একদিন Government office থেকে হুকুম এলো যে, ব্রজমোহন বিদ্যালয়এর ছাত্রদের কোন বৃত্তি দেওয়া হবে না, ব্রজমোহন বিদ্যালয়ের কয়েকজন শিক্ষককে বিদ্যালয় ত্যাগ করতে হবে। এ আদেশ হয়েছিল কেন?—ব্রজমোহনের শিক্ষকগণ ও ছাত্রগণ বঙ্গভঙ্গ আন্দোলনে বৈধভাবে যোগদান করেছিল। এই অপরাধে বিদ্যালয়ের শিক্ষকদের নির্ব্বাসিত করা হয়েছিল বিদ্যালয় থেকে, এবং যারা ছাত্র ছিল তাদের scholarship বন্ধ করা হয়েছিল। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পরীক্ষায় যারা শ্রেষ্ঠ শ্রেষ্ঠ স্থান অধিকার করেছিল, তার মধ্যে সে বৎসরের ব্রজমোহনের অনেক ছাত্র ছিল এবং এই বিদ্যালয় থেকেই প্রথম স্থান অধিকার করেছিল একজন ছাত্র। তার ফলে ব্রজমোহন বিদ্যালয় থেকে যাদের scholarship পাওয়ার সম্ভাবনা ছিল এমন ধারা যারা কাপুরুষ ছাত্র তারা পালালো। যারা scholarshipএর আশায় জলাঞ্জলি দিয়ে বিদ্যালয়েই রয়ে গেল তাদের ভবিষ্যৎ জীবনে অনেক দু:খ ভোগ করতে হয়েছে। কারাগারেও কাউকে কাউকে অনেকবার যেতে হয়েছে, তার মধ্যেকার একটি ছাত্র ছিলাম আমি। যা হোক, এটা শিক্ষার মনোবৃত্তি নয়। যেভাবে শিক্ষা বিভাগ চলে এসেছে শিক্ষা বিভাগের প্রকৃত কাজ হচ্ছে দেখা—কিসে ছাত্রদের মনোবৃত্তি উন্নত হবে, দৃঢ় হবে—যে সম্বন্ধে আমাদের আর্য্য শাস্ত্রে আছে—"যুবা স্যাৎ সাধু অধ্যায়ক: আশিষ্ট: দ্রঢ়িষ্ট: বলিষ্ঠ:"। তাদের প্রাণ হবে পরিপূর্ণ তেজোদ্দীপ্ত, তাদের চরিত্র হবে—সত্যে ভরপুর, তাদের বুকে থাকবে সীমাহীন আশা, তাদের বাহু হবে লৌহবৎ দৃঢ়। তাদের চিত্ত হবে ভয়-ভাবনাশূন্য। এই হচ্ছে শিক্ষার আদর্শ। এই আদর্শই বেদ আমাদের শিখিয়েছে। আর বর্ত্তমানে যে শিক্ষার মনোবৃত্তি নিয়ে এই Education Departmentটা চলেছে তাতে দেখা যায়—তারা চায় ঠিক এর উল্টোটা; অর্থাৎ আমাদের ছাত্রদের চিত্তে যেন না থাকে সাহস ও বীর্য্যবত্তা, তাদের বাহুতে না থাকে যেন শক্তি। এমনি একটা অসহায় কেরাণী সৃষ্টির মনোবৃত্তি নিয়ে চলেছে আমাদের শিক্ষা বিভাগ। কোন বিদ্যালয়ের কোন শিক্ষক ছাত্রদের প্রাণে জাগিয়ে দিয়েছে স্বদেশের কথা, কোন বিদ্যালয়ের কোন শিক্ষক ছাত্রদের মধ্যে ছড়াচ্ছে জাতীয় উদ্দীপনা—তার পিছনে লাগ। আমি জানি বহু গভর্ণমেণ্ট স্কুলের হেড্ মাষ্টারদের যে promotion হয়েছে, এজন্য নয় যে তাঁরা ভাল শিক্ষা দিতে পারেন, তাঁদের promotion হয়েছে এইজন্য যে তাঁরা গুপ্তচরের কাজ কতখানি সুশৃঙ্খলভাবে করতে সক্ষম হয়েছেন। এই সম্বন্ধে আমাদের ব্যক্তিগত অভিজ্ঞতা আছে—সরকারী শিক্ষা বিভাগ কি ভীষণ ইতর মনোবৃত্তি নিয়ে বাংলার যুবকদের কুক্ষিগত করে বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনকে পঙ্গু করবার জন্য ক্রিয়াশীল আছে। আমরা জানি যে শ্রীকৃষ্ণ জন্ম গ্রহণ করেছিলেন কংস রাজাকে ধ্বংস করবার জন্য। কিন্তু কংস রাজা শ্রীকৃষ্ণকে ধ্বংস করবার জন্য কতই না বর্ব্বর উপায় উদ্ভাবন করেছিল তাঁর জন্মের পূর্ব্ব থেকে। ঠিক তেমনিভাবে ভারতের নব-জাগ্রত স্বাধীনতার আকাঙ্ক্ষাকে ধ্বংস করবার জন্য ভারতের বর্ত্তমান কংসের দল ঠিক সেই রকম বর্ব্বর উপায়ের আশ্রয় নিয়েছে। শ্রীকৃষ্ণকে ধ্বংস করার জন্য কংস কর্ত্তৃক উদ্ভাবিত উপায়ের মধ্যে সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ উপায় ছিল—পুতনা রাক্ষসীকে পাঠিয়ে শিশু কৃষ্ণকে বিষাক্ত স্তন্য দিয়ে মেরে ফেলা। আজ শিক্ষার ব্যপদেশে শিক্ষা বিলরূপী পুতনা রাক্ষসীকে বাংলাদেশময় পাঠান হচ্ছে—বাংলার শিশুর জাগ্রত জীবনকে, তরুণ প্রাণকে বিষের দ্বারা ধ্বংস করার চেষ্টাস্বরূপে। আমরা জানি ধ্বংস করার যত প্রচেষ্টাই হোক না কেন তার কোন প্রচেষ্টাই সফল হবে না। (MR. ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: তবে এত চীৎকার কেন?) (Laughter.) আজ যাঁরা হাসছেন, রাজতক্তে বসে ভাবছেন যে আমাদের তক্ত পাকা,

আমি তাঁদের বোলে দিচ্ছি—তাঁদের তত্ত্ব কতখানি পাকা তা তাঁরাও জানেন। বিগত মহাযুদ্ধে কত রাজতন্ত্র ধূলিসাৎ হয়ে উড়ে গেছে, বর্ত্তমান মহাযুদ্ধেও হয়ত কত রাজতন্ত্রের সেই দশাই হবে, আমাদের এই যে প্রবল প্রতাপান্বিত বৃটিশ রাজতন্ত্র এটাও যে উড়ে যাবে না তা কে বলতে পারে? (MR. RASIKLAL BISWAS: কেন আপনারা কি বলতে পারেন না?) বৃটিশের রাজতন্ত্রই যদি উড়ে যায় তবে বৃটিশ সিংহের লেজরূপী যে মুসলীম লীগ তার অস্তিত্ব কতখানি থাকবে তা আমরা সকলেই বুঝতে পারি। কাজেই বৃটিশ সিংহ যতদিন তাকে খাড়া কোরে রাখছে ততদিনই মুসলীম লীগ বা মুসলীম লেজের যা কিছু দাপট, কিন্তু যখন বৃটিশ সিংহ তার দুই পায়ের মধ্যে লেজটাকে ঢুকিয়ে দেবে—যেমন পাঞ্জাবে দিয়েছে—তখন আর তার নড়বার ক্ষমতা থাকবে না। কাজেই বৃটিশের দয়ার উপর যাঁদের ভিত্তি তাঁরা যে কটা দিন প্রভুর আদর পাচেছন—মনে ভাবছেন এই আমাদের পরম সুসময়—যা কিছু করবার করে নিই। তাই বর্ত্তমানের এই শিক্ষা বিলে যে সমস্ত ধারা ও বিধি-বিধান সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে তা দেখলে পর মনে হয় এ আর কিছুই নয়—এ বৃটিশ সিংহের মুসলীম লেজ নাড়াচাড়া দিচ্ছে। এখন হিন্দু লেজের কথা। (Pointing to the treasury benches) ওখানে শুধু মুসলীম লেজ নয় হিন্দু লেজও আছে। কিন্তু তার লোম নাই (laughter), তার পিছনে জনমত নাই। তাই সে মুসলীম লেজের সঙ্গে জোড়াতাড়া দিয়ে তার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে হাসে, সঙ্গে কাশে, সঙ্গেই উঠে, এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বসে। কাজেই সেই যে হিন্দু লেজ যে একদিন বৃটিশ সিংহ হতে আলাদা থাকতো, এবং তার সঙ্গে সংঘর্ষ করবো এই কথা ঘোষণা করেছিল, যে একদিন জ্বালাময়ী বক্তৃতা দ্বারা বৃটিশ সিংহকে পঙ্গু করবার চেষ্টা দেখেছিল সেই নরেন্দ্রনারায়ণ চক্রবর্ত্তী প্রভৃতি আজ মনুষ্যত্ব, জাতীয়তা ও মর্য্যাদা বিসর্জন দিয়ে মুসলীম লেজের দ্বিতীয় লেজরূপে ওখানে জড়িয়ে রয়েছে।। (Laughter.) কাজেই ঐ হিন্দু লেজের কথা বলা আর না বলা একই কথা।

এখন কথাটা হচেছ যা কিছু চলেছে, যা কিছু ব্যবস্থা হচেচ, এর পিছনে উদ্দীপনা কোথায়, শিক্ষার আদর্শ কোথায়—এর পিছনে জাতিকে মহান করার প্রেরণা কোথায়? এর সন্ধান তো বিলের ভিতরে কোথাও মিলছে না? এবং প্রথম থেকে দেখে আসছি Governmentএর Education Departmentএর কার্য্য—যখন তারা কোন স্কুলে grant-in-aid দেয়, প্রথমেই জিজ্ঞাসা করে, তোমাদের স্কুলে কয়টি মুসলমান শিক্ষক? Managing Committeeতে কয়জন মুসলমান সভ্য? এতেও দেখছি ঠিক তাই। Scheduled casteএর কথা কেউ জিজ্ঞাসা করে না। শুধু ভোটের জন্যই Scheduled casteএর Assemblyতে যা কিছু যোগ জিজ্ঞাসা। তারাও অল্প স্বল্প পেলেই খুসী—যেমন "আমরা দুটী ভাই, শিবের গাজন গাই, একটি দুটী পয়সা পেলে খুসী হয়ে যাই"। সেইজন্যই জামালপুরের স্কুলে তাদের ভাগ্যে ১৲ টাকার বেশী জুটল না। অথচ ভোটের সময় দেখি Scheduled casteদের ডাক পড়ে। (A VOICE: কেন ৫ লক্ষ টাকা?) ও: কি বিরাট দান? দেড় কোটি Scheduled castes, যারা শিক্ষায় পিছনে পড়ে আছে, যাদের শতাব্দীর পর শতাব্দী ধরে শিক্ষা বিষয়ে নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়াবার কোন ব্যবস্থাই হয় নাই, যাদের শিক্ষিত সমাজে দাঁড় করাবার দায়িত্ব সমগ্র জাতির,—তাদের শিক্ষার জন্য মাত্র ৫ লক্ষ টাকা! সেই ৫ লক্ষ টাকাও কিভাবে ব্যয় হচেছ আমার Scheduled caste বন্ধুরাই বলতে পারেন এবং সবচেয়ে বেশী বলতে পারেন সিংহ গর্জ্জনে আমাদের ক্ষেত্রনাথ দা। তিনি মনের দুঃখে বলেছেন—আমাদের কমিটি করে। কিন্তু কমিটির কথা শোনে কে? কাজেই Scheduled casteদের আশা ভরসা আপনাদেরই অনুকম্পার উপর; দাবী করার সাহস তাদের নেই। শুধু একটি দুটি পয়সা পেলেই তারা খুসী হয়ে যায়; এর বেশী তারা চায়ও না, পায়ও না।

(MR. ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: আপনারা কি দিয়েছেন?) আমরা তাদের কি দিই বা না দিই যেদিন আমাদের হাতে ক্ষমতা আসবে সেইদিন দেখবেন। আমাদের বাঙালী হিন্দুর যে সামান্য অর্থ সামর্থ্য আছে এই Assemblyর বাইরের Scheduled casteদের মধ্যে কত বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন আমরা করেছি তা নরেন্দ্রনারায়ণ চক্রবর্ত্তী কতকটা বলতে পারেন। তিনি এক সময় আমাদের হিন্দু সভার কর্ম্মী ছিলেন। আমি সে সাফল্যের কথা বলতে কিছুমাত্র গৌরব মনে করি না। সেটা হিন্দুদের পক্ষে অগৌরবেরই কথা। আমাদেরই মধ্যে যে এক কোটি দেড় কোটি লোক শিক্ষায় পিছনে পড়ে আছে সেটা কলঙ্কের কথা, লজ্জার কথা। এই জন্য আমরা যদি আজ পাঁচ কোটি কিম্বা অন্তত: এক কোটি টাকাও দিই, তবে আমাদের পাপের কতকটা প্রায়শ্চিত্ত হয়—একথা আমরা আজ স্পষ্টকরে স্বীকার করি। (KHAN BAHADUR JASIMUDDIN AHMED: স্বীকার করেন তাহলে।) আহা, এই যে Scheduled castes, এদের জন্য আমাদের মুসলীম লীগওয়ালাদের বড়ই দু:খ, বড়ই দরদ! হায় রে Scheduled castes!! কিন্তু জিজ্ঞাসা করছি মুসলীম লীগকে—তাদের মধ্যে নিকাড়ি, বেদে, নাগারসি, জোলা প্রভৃতি যে সমস্ত শ্রেণী আছে—যারা সংখ্যায় সমগ্র ভারতবর্ষে ৪ কোটি বলে দাবী করে, তারা যে দাবী কোরে আসছে যে আমরা সামাজিক মর্য্যাদায়, শিক্ষায়, চাকুরিতে পিছনে পড়ে আছি, আমরা আমাদের প্রাপ্য সুবিধা পাচ্ছি না, তখন হে মুসলীম লীগ, তোমার নিজদের এইসব Scheduled caste-প্রীতি থাকে কোথায়? হিন্দুর বেলায় Scheduled castes, আর মুসলমানের বেলায় Scheduled casteএর কথা উড়ে যায়, তখন সব মুসলমান এক। যদিও তারা চেষ্টা করছে—কিন্তু এসব মোমিন সম্প্রদায়ের conferenceএর resolution কার্য্যকরী হচ্ছে না। শরিফ মুসলমানগণ এদের সংখ্যার দোহাই দিয়ে সুবিধা আদায় করে নিজেরাই ভোগ করছেন। কিন্তু আমি মুসলীম লীগের ভাইদের বলতে পারি—যদি তারা মুসলীম লেজ না হয়ে ইসলামিক মর্য্যাদা নিয়ে ভারতবর্ষে রাষ্ট্র-কর্ত্তৃত্ব কামনা করে, সেদিন হিন্দুদের মত তাদের সমাজেও ইংরেজের কৃপায় Scheduled caste গজাবে।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am sorry you are hopelessly beside the point. Please come to your points.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Sir, I submit I am not beside the point. I am just speaking about the allotment that ought to be made for the depressed classes among the Hindus. How it is beside the point I do not know.

যে কথা হচ্ছিল—যে মুসলমানদের এই অস্পৃশ্য বা Scheduled castes বলে গভর্ণমেণ্ট এখন পর্য্যন্ত কিছু নির্দ্দেশ করে নাই। আমি জানি, হয়ত এমন দিন আসতে পারে, যেদিন মুসলীম লীগ বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের পতাকাবাহী না হয়ে নিজের পায়ের উপর ভর দিয়ে দাঁড়াবে এবং পাকিস্থান বা কাকিস্থান নয় প্রকৃত মুসলীমস্থান কামনা করবে (A VOICE FROM THE GOVERNMENT BENCHES: হাঁ, আমরা চাই মুসলীমস্থান।) সেটা চাইবার সাহস আছে? বীর্য্য আছে? তাতে দু:খ সহ্য করতে হয়, কারা বরণ করতে হয়, মরণ বরণ করতে হয়—সেখানে সুখের কোন আশা নাই। এই সমস্তের জন্য তৈরী হয়ে মুসলীমস্থানের দাবী করতে হয়,—সে নাজিমুদ্দিনের কাজ নয়, জিন্নার কাজ নয়। যাক, এখন সে কথার কাজ নাই। কিন্তু যে কথা বলছিলাম—যদি লীগ কোন দিন নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়িয়ে বৃটিশ সিংহের সঙ্গে বোঝা-পড়ার জন্য অগ্রসর হয়, সে দিন দেখবেন Hindu Scheduled castesএর মতন Muslim Scheduled castesও রাতারাতি গজিয়ে উঠেছে। যে দুর্ভাগ্য আজ হিন্দুরা সহ্য করছে সে দুর্ভাগ্য ভোগ মুসলমানেরও করতে হবে—যে দিন সে নিজের বীর্য্যবলে ভারতবর্ষে

নিজের স্থান যোগাড় করবার সাহস দেখাবে, সে দিন বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদ মুসলমান Scheduled castes'ও সৃষ্টি করবে। এখন কথা হচ্ছে এই যে Scheduled castesদের হিন্দুদের থেকে আলাদা করার যে ব্যবস্থা এই বিলে হয়েছে সেটা শুধু নিন্দনীয়ই নয়, আত্মঘাতী। যদি আমরা দেখ্‌তে পেতাম যে Scheduled castesদের জন্য ৫ লক্ষের জায়গায় ৫০ লক্ষ recurring grant দেবার ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে তাহলেও না হয় সেটা স্বীকার করে নিতাম। যদি দেখ্‌তাম মুসলমানদের মধ্যে যারা পিছনে পড়ে আছে তাদের শিক্ষার জন্য বিশেষভাবে অর্থের ব্যবস্থা করা হচ্চে তাহলেও বুঝ্‌তাম যে মুসলীম লীগের এই ব্যবস্থায় মধ্যে আন্তরিকতা আছে। কিন্তু তা নাই। তাদের আন্তরিকতা মাত্র এইটুকু—বৃটিশের মনস্তুষ্টি কোরে চলা। হিন্দুর মধ্যে ভেদবিভেদ সৃষ্টি করে, নিজেদের প্রবল করার দুর্বুদ্ধি, আর হিন্দুর কিসে অনিষ্ট হয় সেই চিন্তা করা। একটুখানি অনিষ্ট হিন্দুর করতে পারলেই যেন জিৎ। আজ এই যে বিলটা এত তাড়াতাড়ি এসেছে তার মধ্যে এই মনোবৃত্তিটাই কি কার্য্যকরী নয়?

এই বিলের পিছনে আরো একটা মনোবৃত্তি এই যে, গত বৎসর যে লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক বাংলায় না খেয়ে মরেছে তার মধ্যে মুসলমান অনেক মরেছে—তার উপর কৃষি-আয়কর বিল পাশ করে যে ওদের বহু মুসলমানের বিদ্বেষভাজন হতে হয়েছে তাদের বুঝিয়ে দিতে হবে যে, দেখ এই আইন কোরে হিন্দুদের কি সর্ব্বনাশ কোরেছি! এই বিলটা তাড়াতাড়ি পাশ করে নিয়ে মুসলমান নিরক্ষরদের দেখাতে হবে—দেখ তোমাদের কি উপকারটা করেছি। আজ কদিন পূর্ব্বে বিলটা উপস্থিত করবার বেলায় শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী জোর গলায় বলেছেন—এ বিল নূতন কিছুই নয়—ডাঃ শ্যামা-প্রসাদ মুখার্জির দ্বারা যা নিষ্পত্তি হয়েছে সেইটাই উপস্থিত করেছি—তবে কিনা Joint electorateএর জায়গায় separate electorate, আরো সামান্য দু' চারটা অদল বদল ছাড়া আর কিছুই করা হয় নাই। এই প্রসঙ্গে আমার একটা গল্প মনে পড়ছে—একবার একটা স্কুলের এক মাষ্টার মহাশয় একটি অপেক্ষাকৃত ভাল ছেলে আর একটি খারাপ ছেলের কাগজ দেখে ভাল ছেলেটিকে করেছিলেন ফেল আর খারাপ ছেলেটিকে করে দিলেন পাশ। ভাল ছেলেটি পেয়েছিল ১০০র মধ্যে ৪১ নম্বর আর খারাপ ছেলেটি পেয়েছিল ৩৯। তাঁকে তখন জিজ্ঞাসা করা হলো—ভাল ছেলেটি ফেল করলো আর খারাপ ছেলেটি পাশ করলো কি করে? তিনি উত্তর করলেন—আমি মোটের উপর ঠিকমতই কাজ করেছি। দেখলাম একজন ৪১ নং পেয়েছে আর একজন পেয়েছে ৩৯ নং। আমি যে ছেলেটি বেশী পেয়েছে তার থেকে ২ নং কেটে এনে যে ছেলেটি কম পেয়েছে তাকে দিয়েছি—এই মাত্র। তিনি মাত্র দুটী নম্বর কেটে এনে আর একজনকে দিলেন, কিন্তু ফল হলো কি—যে ছেলেটি পাশ করতো সে হলো ফেল! কাজেই আমাদের শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী যদি ২।৩টি সংখ্যা ক্ষেত্রবিশেষে বাড়িয়ে এবং কমিয়ে থাকেন তাতে অপরাধ আর এমন কি হতে পারে? (MR. RASIKLAL BISWAS: এই কমানো ব্যাপারটা কলিকাতা University সম্বন্ধে কি না, তাই যদি হয় তাহলে ঠিকই করেছেন।) ঢাকা কি কলিকাতা কোন Universityরই ধার রসিকলাল বিশ্বাস মহাশয় ধারেন কি না আমার জানা নাই, কিন্তু কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যে বহু গর্দ্দভকে B. A. পাশ করিয়েছে, M. A. পাশ করিয়েছে, একথা আমি অবিশ্বাস করি না। নৈলে এমন যোগ্য শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টে আসেন কি কোরে? (Laughter.) নৈলে সে দিন যা তিনি দেখিয়েছিলেন Sir P. C. Royএর বুদ্ধি খণ্ডন করার ব্যাপারে, অমন বুদ্ধিহীনতার নমুনা আর কেউ দেখাতে পারতো না। তিনি দেখিয়েছিলেন—Sir P. C. Roy কি ভুল করেছেন (MAULVI MD. ISRAIL: তিনি বুঝি আর ভুল করতে পারেন না?) (Noise and interruption..........).

Sir P. C. Royএর যুক্তি খণ্ডন করতে হলে তিনি কি বলেছেন তা বোঝা দরকার, এবং যদি উন্নততর যুক্তি থাকে তা দিয়ে যুক্তি খণ্ডন করলে সকলেই প্রশংসা করত, কিন্তু যুক্তির ভিত্তি যদি এই হয়—যাই কেন তোমরা বল না, আমরা এটা পাশ করবোই; আমাদের যেটা প্রয়োজন সেটা করবোই। এই ধরণের কথা যেখানে যুক্তি নামে চলে, সেখানে যুক্তি না দেখায়ে ভোটের জোরে পাশ করায়ে নেয়াই অধিকতর শোভন হ'ত। যুক্তি দেখাতে যেয়ে নিবুর্দ্ধিতা ধরা পড়ত না। এই রকম ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের শাস্ত্র বলেছেন—"তাবচ্চ শোভতে মূর্খ। যাবৎ কিঞ্চিন্ন ভাষতে"। মূর্খ যে পর্য্যন্ত কথা না বলে ততক্ষণই তার বাহাদুরী; কোন কথা বল্লেই তার স্বরূপ ধরা পড়ে যায়। কাজেই স্যার পি, সি, রায়ের প্রসঙ্গটা——

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

SJ. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Sir, I want more time.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: But there are other motions and other speakers.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, I would like to know from you whether there is any hard and fast rule that a speaker should be stopped after half an hour.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, no.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: If that is so, then he can go on. I accept your "no, no"'.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The thing is I have listened to his speech attentively. He is not always to the point. He has already taken full 30 minutes. There are other speakers.

How long more will you take, Mr. Das Gupta?

SJ. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: 10 minutes more, Sir.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope you will be as brief as possible.

SJ. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Yes, Sir.

এখন কথা হচ্ছে এই যে, বর্ত্তমানে এই শিক্ষা বিল যা আমাদের সামনে এসেছে, এতে আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি—যাঁরা শিক্ষাব্রতী তাঁদের কোন স্থান নাই। কলেজের Principal বা Professor তাঁদের কোন স্থান নাই। স্কুলের শিক্ষকদের একটু দয়া করে ঘরের পিছনের বারেন্দায় অস্পৃশ্যদের মতন একটু জায়গা দেওয়া হয়েছে। কাজেই এই শিক্ষা বিল পাশ হলে দেশের শিক্ষা-ব্যবস্থাটা যে কি হবে সেটা বুঝতে আর মাথা ঘামানোর দরকার হয় না। আমরা জানি যে, শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে যদি কিছু নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতে হয় তাহলে সেখানে সবচেয়ে প্রাধান্য থাকা উচিত যাঁরা সমগ্র জীবনব্যাপী শিক্ষা বিতরণ কোরে আসছেন—একমাত্র তাঁদেরই। কিন্তু আপনারা দেখিয়ে দিতে পারেন—এই বিলে তাঁদের জায়গা কোথায়? সেইজন্য এই বিলটা যে আমরা circuculationএর জন্য পাঠাতে চাইছি তার প্রধান কারণ হচ্ছে—গভর্ণমেণ্ট একটু সুযোগ পাক, স্কুল, কলেজ এবং বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের মধ্যে এই বিলটাকে ছড়িয়ে দিয়ে এই বিলটা কিভাবে পরিবর্ত্তন ও সংশোধন করলে কার্য্যকরী হতে পারে সেইটার ব্যবস্থা করা। কিন্তু আমাদের কথা কে শোনে? আর গরীব শিক্ষকদের কথাই বা শুনছে কে? তারা না খেয়ে মরলেও যখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট তাদের প্রতি দয়া দেখানোর প্রয়োজন বোধ করেন না, তখন তাদের মতামতের কোন দরকার গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে থাকাই অস্বাভাবিক।

তারপরে মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বলেছেন যে, গতবারের যে বিল ছিল তাতে শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় একমত হয়েছিলেন। তাতো হয়েছিলেন, ওঁর কথা মেনেই না হয় নিলাম, কিন্তু তিনি করেছিলেন—Joint electorate এখানে separate electorate কেন? Separate

electorate না করলে কি অনিষ্টটা হতে পারে সেটা কি বুঝিয়ে বলতে পারেন? যদি আজ মুসলমান বন্ধুগণ মনে করেন—হিন্দুদের সঙ্গে মিলে মিশে তাঁদের [illegible] অসুবিধা আছে, তাহলে তাঁদের জন্য তো মক্তব, মাদ্রাসা রয়েইছে। আর যদি বলেন—মক্তব, মাদ্রাসা নয়, আমরা চাই—আধুনিক ধরণের শিক্ষা এবং সেই আধুনিক ধরণের শিক্ষা ব্যাপারে আমাদের প্রতিভা ও প্রভাব বিদ্যমান থাকা চাই। তাই যদি চান, তাঁরা আলাদা একটা মুসলীম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় খুলে দিন না। কোন আপত্তি নাই। তাঁরা যদি মনে করেন যে হিন্দুদের দেখলেই তাঁদের রাগ হয়, তাহলে ভিন্ন হয়ে থাকলেই হয়। এক জায়গায় থেকে ঝগড়া করবার যদি মতলব থাকে, সে আলাদা কথা—আমার কোন কোন বন্ধু বলেছেন যে, মহাশয় আমাদের একটা লক্ষ্য আছে—আপনাদের সঙ্গে সমান হওয়া। আপনারা অনেকটা এগিয়ে গিয়েছেন, যদি আপনাদের একটু পিছনে টেনে না আনি তাহলে কি কোরে সমান হব? পৃথিবীতে এমন অদ্ভুত যুক্তি দেখি নাই। যে উন্নতির পথে এগিয়ে চলেছে, সে থমকে দাঁড়িয়ে বা পেছনে হটে এসে অপরের সঙ্গে সমান হয় না, তার মহামানবতা অপরকে শিক্ষিত করে, উন্নত হওয়ার অনুপ্রেরণা জাগিয়ে তাতে এগিয়ে দেয় মাত্র। যদি পেছনের কোন লোক এগিয়ে যাওয়ার চেষ্টা না করে অগ্রগামী ব্যক্তিকে জোর করে পেছনে ঠেলে দিতে চাহে বা হাত ধরে টেনে তার গতিকে ব্যাহত করতে চায় তখন হয় সে বাধাকে অগ্রাহ্য করবে, নয়তো সে বিদ্রোহ কোরে তার এগিয়ে চলার সংগ্রামকে জয়যুক্ত করবে—না হয় সংগ্রাম কোরে কোরে মরে যাবে। যে এগিয়ে চলেছে তাকে যদি ছাড়িয়ে যেতে হয় তাহলে তার চেয়েও জোরে হেঁটে সেটা করতে হবে—তাকে পিছনে টেনে নয়। তাই আমার মুসলমান বন্ধুদের বলছি—যদি তাঁরা হিন্দুদের সঙ্গে সমান হতে চান, জোরে হেঁটে হিন্দুরা যতটা এগিয়েছে তার চেয়ে দ্বিগুণ জোরে, চারগুণ জোরে, এগিয়ে চলুন এবং এগ্নি কোরে চলে তাদের পিছনে ফেলে যান। হিন্দুরা কোন আপত্তি করবে না, তাদের উন্নতিকে অভিনন্দিত করবে।

আজ বাংলায় শত শত বিদ্যালয় খুলেছে কারা? কাদের অর্থে বিদ্যালয়গুলি গড়ে উঠেছে? আর তাতে বিদ্যালাভ কি শুধু হিন্দু ছেলেদেরই হয়েছে? শুধু Caste Hinduরাই হয়েছে? আমরা সকলের এগিয়ে যাওয়ার জন্যই বিদ্যালয় খুলেছি। চাক্ষুস প্রমাণের উপর, বাস্তবতার উপর কথা বলা চলে না। ইংরেজ রাজত্বের এই গ্লানিকর গোলামীর মধ্যেও আমরা তথাকথিত Caste Hinduরাই সমগ্র বাঙালী জাতিকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়ার চেষ্টা প্রথমাবধি করে এসেছি—হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে যে কোন প্রভেদ রেখে—তা নয়, যাতে সমগ্র বাঙালী জাতিটাই মহান হতে পারে সেই চেষ্টাই আমরা কোরে এসেছি এবং এখনো করছি। আর আপনারা চাইছেন সেই চেষ্টা যাতে কলুষিত হয়, ব্যর্থ হয়, সমস্ত জাতির মধ্যে একপ্রাণতা, ঐক্যবদ্ধতা আনয়নের সেই চেষ্টা যাতে পণ্ড হয় তারি উপায় উদ্ভাবন করতে, এবং সেই জাতি-গঠনের চেষ্টাকে ধ্বংস করে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের ভিতর তীব্র বিদ্বেষের বিষ সৃষ্টি করে সমগ্র জাতিকে অধঃপতনের অধস্তলে নামিয়ে দিতে। কিন্তু সে চেষ্টা যতই করুন না কেন, ঐ পুতনা রাক্ষসীর যে দশা হয়েছিল,—শ্রীকৃষ্ণ যেমন তার সমস্ত শক্তি টেনে নিয়ে তার জীবনান্ত করেছিলেন, আমরাও তেম্নি আপনাদের এই অপচেষ্টাকে আমাদের সমস্ত শক্তি দিয়ে চুষে তার জীবনীশক্তি ধ্বংস করবো। (MAULVI MD. ISRAIL: এখন বুঝি appeal ছেড়ে warning দিচ্ছেন!) এটা সাবধান বাণী মনে করেন, বেশ তাই করুন। যে জাতি বৃটিশ সিংহের সঙ্গে পাল্লা লড়বার সাহস রাখে—যারা বৃটিশ সিংহের কেশর টেনে ছিঁড়ে তাকে তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে ভারতবর্ষকে স্বাধীন করতে চায়, তারা সাম্প্রদায়িকতার ফেরুপালের দংষ্ট্রাবিকাশে ভীত-সন্ত্রস্ত হয়ে পালিয়ে যাবে না। (A VOICE: ওহো—কত বড় বীর!) আমি জানি আপনারা আবার এসব কথা পরিহাস কোরেই ওড়াবেন, এর অধিক মনুষ্যত্ব আপনাদের কাছে আশা করি

না। জাতির এই দুর্দিনে যারা এরূপ অনিষ্টকর বিভেদ বুদ্ধি জাগ্রত করতে পারে তাদের কাছে অধিক কিছু আশা করা অশোভন, কিন্তু যারা বাঙালী জাতির উন্নতির জন্য উৎসর্গীকৃতপ্রাণ, আমি তাদেরই উদ্দেশ্যে কবীন্দ্র রবীন্দ্রের ভাষায় বলছি—

বিদায়ের আগে ভাই,
ডাক দিয়ে যাই,—
দানবের সনে যারা সংগ্রামের তরে
প্রস্তুত হতেছে ঘরে ঘরে॥

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon by the 15th July, 1944.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Kundu, for your information and for the information of the members of the House I will read out a small paragraph from the "Parliamentary Procedure in India" by Daniel Chamier, Barrister-at-Law:

"On another occasion a visitor looked in at the House of Commons and heard a member speaking and left again and took a horse and rode to the suburb of Wimbledon, dined there and then rode back to Westminster and again looked in at the House of Commons and found the same member still speaking on the same subject."

I shall read one more instance:—

"Sir Samuel Romilly once joined in an evening debate and then went home and dined and retired to rest and rose on the following morning and took his usual walk and had breakfast and then looked in at the House. He found the debate still going on and was able to vote on the question which he had discussed on the previous evening."

I would request the honourable members to speak sensibly and to speak strictly on the subject under discussion.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I heard with some attention the speech of the Hon'ble Minister for Education. With due deference to him I must say that his speech was without any substance, any logic or any reason.

It was throughout full of verbose and betrayed colossal ignorance of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission and of the Central Education Committee. Either the Minister did not carefully go through the recommendations or did not understand the spirit of them or deliberately distorted the facts. Because he could not advance convincing arguments he abused Dr. P. C. Roy, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, all of them veteran educationists. It is an irony of fate that the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's speech will be considered to be carrying more weight than that of all those educationists,—not because he knows much of education and of educationists but because he was accidentally pitchforked into the position of Education Minister of unfortunate Bengal. There is a Bengali proverb: পড়িলে মেষের শৃঙ্গে ভাঙে হীরার ধার। I have tried to translate it as literally as possible. The translation is: Sharpness of a diamond fails when the test is applied to the horns of a ram. I shall now quote from his speeech and advance my arguments in support of the circulation of the Bill. The Hon'ble Minister says

that the University of Calcutta put obstacles in the way of passing a Secondary Education Bill as and when attempts were made in that direction and Dr. Mookerjee was the leader of such opposition. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and other leaders of Bengal felt the need of the formation of a Board for the real development of secondary education. The Sadler Commission Report testifies to this and belies the statement of the Minister. Dr. Mookerjee with other leaders came to an agreement on the Secondary Education Bill. When the Hon'ble Minister admits that the present Bill is based on the Bill of 1942, how does he say that Dr. Mookerjee and a section always oppose such a measure? Really no one opposes the formation of a Secondary Education Board or the passing of a connected legislation if it will really be for the development of education. We are yet agreeable and ready to pass a Bill if the Bill is re-drafted exactly on the agreed lines even though it be not an ideal Bill. A Minister for his advantage mentions about the agreement but for another advantage kicks at the solemn agreement and presses for support of quite a new Bill. While we agree to respect the solemn agreement, it is for the Minister and the Government Party to respect it. The Minister says that the changes in the new Bill are of a slight nature and not of fundamental character. If it is so, why not please take up that agreed Bill and why insist on the new Bill? We say that the changes introduced are fundamental and very material ones. You have in the Bill given full power to the Government to include or exclude any of the items of secondary education except items Nos. M(1) and M(2) under clause 2. In the agreed Bill the Government were to accept the recommendation of the Board. In this Bill you have given absolute power to the Government in regard to the appointment of the President. In the agreed Bill the Government had to select from three chosen by a Committee consisting of the two Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta and the Dacca Universities, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission and the Education Minister. Will the Hon'ble Minister yet say that they are only formal changes? Will he give reasons how by these changes he has improved the agreed Bill. He has introduced separate electorates not only for the Hindus and Muslims but also among the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus. He has even gone beyond the provisions of the Government of India Act in this respect. Still he says that the changes are slight and not of fundamental nature. Can anyone in this world with a little political sense say that the changes in this respect are progressive and for the betterment of relations between the different communities and sections? We have had a bitter experience of communal electorate in the Calcutta Corporation, in the Dacca University and in this House. The communal electorate has worsened and deteriorated the situation. It is, therefore, a highly retrograde, reactionary and anti-national Bill. We cannot and will not support such action whatever abuses you may hurl at us. There are provisions regarding recognition of schools which you have changed. You have omitted the arrangement for compensating the Calcutta University for the loss caused by taking away from it the control and supervision of the matriculation examination. The provision of funds made clearly go to show that the object of development is a mere hoax. The fund is quite inadequate even for the purpose of expansion and development of general education only. Crores of rupees will be required for adopting the schemes of the Sargent Committee. The Hon'ble Minister

said as follows which has been reported in the "Hindusthan Standard". Mr. Khan says: "What we are doing by the present measure is nothing but the setting up of an administrative machinery for secondary education. The Bill does not deal with what should be the contents of secondary education. Whatever post-war plans are prepared by the Government of India and in whatever form these plans are ultimately adopted in Bengal certainly a strong administrative machinery will be necessary to put that plan into execution." He admits that he is not really passing this legislation for the development and expansion of education, but he is passing this measure for creating an administrative machinery only The Minister therefore admits that the measure is only an administrative one and there will be no bar in adopting the scheme and plans formulated by the Central Education Committee. This irresponsible remark would not have been made if the Minister understood the real implication of the recommendations of the Central Education Committee. These remarks also go to indicate that not only there is no scheme or plan of development of education in the Bill itself, but there is no scheme either in the speech or even in the brain of the Minister. If it is so, if the Bill is only for administrative purpose, why such an indecent hurry? The Bill in a nutshell and according to the admission of the Hon'ble Minister is an administrative machinery for communalising and officialising education and smothering it to death. It is a sequel to the imaginary distrust and grievance of a section of the Muslims against the Hindus whose contribution for the growth and promotion of education in this province is munificent and immense. These philanthropic and benevolent Hindus never made any grant on communal or territorial considerations. One crore of rupees in the University Trust Fund is there for the benefit and advantage not only of the Hindus but of all communities not of Bengal but of India. Generosity could not go any further. It is shocking to learn that the Muslim Leaguers have not only failed to appreciate this but by their attitude have shown ungratefulness of a tremendous magnitude. If the Hindu donors and public hereafter be slow to donate liberally and withhold their support in the face of such grave provocations, it is the Muslims and Scheduled Castes people, who are comparatively poor and need education the most, will be worse sufferers. Failing to solve the food problem the Ministry has taken recourse to these tactics to create diversion in the minds of the people, to mislead the Muslim mass and to turn away the attention of the people from real to false issues and to save the Ministry finally from a fall.

One word for the Hindu Ministers and members who are lending support to the passage of this Bill. Some say they cannot support this Bill and actually the Hon'ble Mr. Pain took a very prominent part in organising opposition to the Bill in the year 1940. He issued strong statements and made very sound speeches in the year 1940 against the Bill which though not an ideal one was somewhat better than this Bill. People naturally think that the Hindu Ministers and members cannot therefore support this measure. They are certainly great hypocrites if they do not oppose the Bill, but at heart and in mind feel that the Bill is reactionary and anti-national. Their silence indicates their support. If, however, they support the Bill they should have the courage to speak out their mind. Of course, I do not attach any great importance to their opinions and support, for what are they but

so many henchmen and sycophants of the present Ministry? Having no support from people outside and from members of their community inside they must have to submit to the wills and behests of the Muslim League Ministers, else they are sure to be driven out of the Ministry and the party. Out of 65 Caste Hindu members there are only 7 and out of 31 Scheduled Caste members there are 18 in the Government side. Hindu opposition in this House is in clear majority. Outside the Hindus have most unequivocally expressed their strong condemnation against the Bill. Backed by a handful of Hindu members and Ministers the Hon'ble Education Minister has been emboldened to say that Hindu opinion is in favour of the Bill. This is most inaccurate. If the Ministry, and for the matter of that the Government, are so sure about the Hindu support, in the fitness of things and following the parliamentary procedure they must take courage to circulate the Bill for public opinion and the Hindu Ministers and members should go out in their constituencies and face the public for opinion. If the opinion will be in favour of the Bill we shall be silenced. I offer this challenge which I am sure the Ministry dare not accept. If, however, the public opinion in their constituency will be against, you are bound to come out if you have a little grain of constitutional intuition and honesty. The Hindu Ministers and members are party to the greatest mischief that is going to be done to the education of Bengal and to all that is good and for the prosperity of Bengal. Future generations will remember with indignation the deplorable and ignoble part played by the Hindu Ministers and members for their own selfish ends. They are all accessories to the most mean conspiracy to divide people from people, brothers from brothers, Hindus from Muslims and Hindus from Hindus, to lower the sacred and lofty ideal of nationalism and to give a go-by to all united and national efforts for the uplift of the nation and attainment of independence. They are taking us one century back

It is admitted that the Bill of 1940 was not liked by a large section of the people in the province and the Bill was agreed to be modified as a result of popular demand. It is therefore all the more reasonable to think that the people are against this Bill which according to the arguments advanced by me has been fundamentally altered. Heaven will not fall down on us if we wait for a month or so as I have mentioned in my motion for eliciting public opinion, specially at a moment when the enemy is knocking at our doors, when peace, amity and unity amongst all castes and communities are the most needed. You are by introducing this Bill inviting war, disruption, disunion in the country. I once again appeal to you either to send it for circulation for eliciting public opinion or come to an agreement between all the parties here in this House or proceed on the agreed Bill of 1942 of which the Hon'ble Minister was so much vociferous.

The Minister said that the charge that the Government were out to destroy Hindu culture and Hindu educational edifice was maliciously false. I shall say one word, namely, please analyse in cool brain the state of deterioration in the primary education system in the province. The number of primary schools where a Hindu can send his boy where he can receive strictly general education free from Islamic culture has dwindled into nothing. Where is the guarantee that the fate of secondary education will not be

similar under a communal board tried to be established with political motive? I give this friendly warning that if you pass the Bill into law by sheer force of votes you take a tremendous risk for which you must be prepared.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA CHOSE: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th June, 1944.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the time is almost up. Is it necessary to take it up today? I have moved the motion today, but want to speak tomorrow.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: For your convenience speak for five minutes today and then you will have the right to speak tomorrow.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA CHOSE: All right, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, আজকের এই Secondary Education Billএর ব্যাপারে আজকে যে motion আনা হচ্ছে এ আমাদের পক্ষে বড়ই দু:খের বিষয়। জাতীয় জীবনে এমন এক একটা সময় এসে পড়ে, যখন জাতি বিভ্রান্ত হয়ে পড়ে। এই বিভ্রান্তির দিনে জাতির নেতৃস্থানীয় লোক যাঁরা তাঁরা যদি spirit of the day থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন না হয়ে জাতিকে নিয়ন্ত্রিত করতে পারেন, সুপথে পরিচালিত করতে পারেন, তাহলে জাতির অধ:পতন ঘটতে পারে না, এবং সর্ব্বসাধারণে নেতাদের কাছে এইটুকু আশা করে। কিন্তু আজ শুধু বাংলায় নয় সমগ্র ভারতের এমন দুর্ভাগ্য, এবং শুধু আজকের নয় গত ১৫ বৎসর ধরে যে একটা দুর্ভাগ্যের রেশ চলে আসছে, সেই রেশ থেকে আমরা কেউ মুক্ত হতে পারছিনে। আমাদের প্রকৃত অবস্থাটা কি? হিন্দু মুসলমানকে বিশ্বাস করতে পারে না, মুসলমান হিন্দুকে বিশ্বাস করতে পারে না। লীগের দল nationalist, জাতীয়তাবাদী মুসলমানদের বিশ্বাস করতে পারে না, আবার জাতীয়তাবাদী মুসলমান লীগ দলের মুসলমানকে বিশ্বাস করতে পারে না। এই আবহাওয়ার মধ্যে দাঁড়িয়ে আমরা যার যা ইচ্ছা সে তাই বলে যাচ্ছি। কিন্তু আমাদের জাতির ইতিহাস চিরদিন কি এমনই ছিল? যে Hon'ble Minister আজকে Education Minister রূপে শিখণ্ডী সেজে একটা Bill খাড়া করেছেন সে জিনিষটা যে জাতির পক্ষে ভাল একথা কি তিনি বলতে পারেন? মৌলানা মহম্মদালি সৌকতালির আহ্বান আসবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে অসহযোগ ও খিলাফৎ আন্দোলনের যুগ যখন এসেছিল, তখন সেই মিলিত আন্দোলনের পতাকা নিয়ে মি: তমিজুদ্দিন যখন এগিয়ে চলেছিলেন সেই দিনের কথা স্থিরভাবে, শান্তভাবে সাম্প্রদায়িক উত্তেজনা ও পারিপার্শ্বিক অবস্থার কথা ভুলে যদি এক মিনিটের জন্য আমরা চিন্তা করি তাহলে আমরা বুঝতে পারবো যে কোথায় আমরা ছিলাম ১৯২১ সালে, আর ১৯৪৪ সালে আমরা কোথায় এসে দাঁড়িয়েছি। বিগত ২৫ বৎসরের ভাঙ্গা-গড়ার রাজনৈতিক ইতিহাসের মধ্য দিয়ে আমরা যে সমস্ত লোক চলে এসেছি এবং যে উত্থান-পতনের ইতিহাস গৌরবময়—

(While the member was still continuing the House was adjourned for the day.)

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 16th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 16th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 185 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Opening of free kitchens in Bengal.

*306. **Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(a) how many people died of starvation for want of food in the year 1943 all over Bengal;

(b) how many free kitchens were opened in different districts showing the number and the expenditure incurred in respect of each district;

(c) how many people were fed in each free kitchen;

(d) what was the respective expenditure incurred thereon;

(e) under whose supervision these respective kitchens were conducted;

(f) who supplied the rations and at what rate;

(g) whether any misappropriation of fund or of foodgrains has been reported;

(h) what is the total expenditure the Government have incurred;

(i) what is the total number of people who were supplied with food, free of cost; and

(j) what was the cost per capita?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea): (a) This concerns the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department, *vide* Revenue Department Memorandum No. 4884F.R., dated the 10th March, 1944.

(b) to (d) A statement containing information is laid on the Table.

(e) District Officers, Subdivisional Officers, Circle Officers and Officers of the Jute Regulation Department.

(f) The Department of Civil Supplies mainly, at controlled rates. In some cases, the rations were purchased in the local market at controlled rate.

(g) Yes, from the Dacca and Midnapore districts.

(h) About 3 crores on free kitchens and on cash and grain doles.

(i) About 28 crores taking one meal or one dole as the unit.

(j) About two annas.

Statement referred to in reply to clauses (b), (c) and (d) of starred question No. 306.

District.	No. of free kitchens— Opened by Government.	Subsidised by Government.	Number of persons fed daily per kitchen.	Total number of persons fed.	Expenditure incurred by Government.
1	2	3	4	5	6
					Rs.
Bakarganj ..	371	8	291	9,279,485	7,67,092
Bankura ..	200	10	250	52,500	5,09,963
Birbhum ..	171	Nil	270	2,712,222	2,89,191
Bogra ..	19	4	730	17,000 (daily).	91,000
Burdwan ..	184	32	300	8,946,175	8,81,385
Chittagong ..	643	8	174	111,882 (daily maximum).	6,53,780
Dacca ..	257	25	462	5,409,769	11,46,065
Darjeeling ..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Dinajpur ..	27	Nil	217	284,699	40,210
Faridpur ..	228	Nil	629	19,055,115	7,56,086
Hooghly ..	247	7	433	19,251,180	8,24,048
Howrah ..	97	Nil	800	8,211,065	4,50,312
Jalpaiguri ..	11	Nil	309	56,582	84,841 (including free doles).
Jessore ..	1	24	968	118,718	7,366
Khulna ..	33	80	250	1,429,600	1,33,480
Malda ..	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Midnapore ..	1,318	37	643	78,403,152	50,31,156
Murshidabad ..	Nil	204	198	2,169,000	29,515
Mymensingh ..	292	28	300	5,000,000	5,00,000
Nadia ..	47	16	2,021	1,023,576	89,057
Noakhali ..	604	2	250	12,674,210	10,46,606
Pabna ..	30	43	300	4,068,000	1,44,718
Rajshahi ..	Nil	15	191	314,843	9,581
Rangpur ..	114	74	516	5,555,721	4,69,690
Tippera ..	386	125	150	2,810,190	4,71,563
24-Parganas ..	274	42	600	36,000,000	13,00,000

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to answer (*g*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the cases reported from Dacca?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice, if the honourable member wants to know about individual cases.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the local M.L.A.'s and local M.L.C.'s have got any power to supervise the kitchens?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Certainly.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: With reference to the answer just now given by the Hon'ble Minister, do I understand him to say that in saying that cases have been reported from Dacca he does not know what are the cases?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Different cases have been reported from different places. I certainly do know about cases.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: With reference to the district of Jessore as stated in the table, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the reason of opening only one centre in the whole district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The places where these free kitchens had been opened were decided by the local officials according to local requirements and because there was no demand from this area many kitchens were not opened.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any prosecution has to be started in regard to any of these cases?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: In some cases.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Has any prosecution been started in Dacca?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I cannot say off-hand but if the honourable member is pleased to cite any individual case I can let him have the information.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this centre was opened by Government first or the initiative was taken by non-official agency in the district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I cannot say off-hand.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the officers of the Jute Regulation Department supervising the free kitchens are generally of low education and have got no experience in this affair?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Not to speak of those officers, unfortunately none of us has had any previous experience of these free kitchens.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that deaths due to starvation were mostly due to inefficiency and autocracy of the Jute Regulation Department's officers?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I have no such information.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that two pleaders of Dacca who worked in collaboration with Mr. J. De, District and Sessions Judge, President of the Relief Committee, have been prosecuted?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Those cases relate to distribution of doles, whereas this question relates to opening of free kitchens.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why 24 institutions were subsidised by Government in the district of Jessore, whereas only one free kitchen was opened by Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: These 24 institutions sought Government help and subsidy and so they were helped.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the amount of help or subsidy that Government gave to these 24 institutions?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: It is impossible for me to say off-hand what was the total amount of help rendered. But they were helped both in the shape of money as well as in the shape of grains.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that Jessore contains more than 17 lakhs of people out of which about 65 per cent. are Muhammadans for which you have given only Rs. 7,306? Is this a liberal contribution of the Government of Bengal for my district?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Sir, the question of liberality does not arise. The amount was sanctioned and spent.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: In view of the reply given by the Hon'ble Minister, am I to understand, whether it be liberal or cruel, that the Government sanctioned only Rs. 7,000 for the district of Jessore in consultation with the whole Cabinet?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The question of consulting the Cabinet did not arise because these amounts were sanctioned as asked for by the local authorities.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: With reference to question (*g*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleaesd to state how many cases of misappropriation of funds or of foodgrains have been reported to Government from Dacca and Midnapore?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Has any action been taken against any of the offenders in connection with this misappropriation?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The answer is, yes.

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Has the attention of the Hon'ble Minister been drawn to the figures for the district of Faridpur where only Rs. 7½ lakhs was spent for more than 1 crore 90 lakhs of people, meaning thereby that Government spent less than six annas per person?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is an argumentative question.

Number of permits issued for removal of rice from Jamalpur.

***307. Mr. ABDUL KARIM:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Civil Supplies Department be pleased to state the number of permits that were issued by the Collector of Mymensingh during the month of December, 1943, to take away rice from the subdivision of Jamalpur stating separately :—

(*a*) the name and address of each permit holder;
(*b*) the quantities granted to each of them; and
(*c*) the places to which and the purposes for which that rice was allowed to be taken away?

MINISTER in charge of the CIVIL SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy): Six permits were issued during the period in question. A statement giving the required particulars is laid on the Table.

Statement referred to in reply to starred question No. 307.

Date.	Name and address to whom issued.	Rice.	Paddy.	From	To	Purpose.
1-12-43	Dulichand Omraolal of Dacca.	2,000	1,000	Singjani	Dacca	For sale to public.
6-12-43	Jagannath Jasodalal Roy Choudhury of Narayanganj.	600		Do.	Do	Do.
11-12-43	President, Food Purchasing Committee, Dacca.	2,000	.	Do.	Do.	For railway grainshop.
14-12-43	Messrs. Kalikaprasad Damandas of Ultaingan j.	500	.	Do.	Do.	For sale to public.
14-12-43	Surendramohan Saha of Sherpur town.	1,000	.	Do.	Do	Do.
15-12-43	Messrs. Gopilal Chandan Mal of Chhotabazar, Mymensingh.	750	.	Do.	Do.	Do.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House as to how many people died of starvation in the subdivision of Jamalpur?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Sir, my submission is that this question does arise in this way that rice was being sent out of that subdivision when people were actually dying of starvation for want of rice in the locality. Sir, Government did not think it necessary that such permits for taking

rice out of the subdivision ought not to have been given when hundreds of people were dying there of starvation.

Mr. SPEAKER: It may be, but strictly speaking that question does not arise out of this question.

Yield of food crops in different districts of Bengal.

***308. Maharaja SRISHCHANDRA NANDY of Cossimbazar:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether statistics collected in respect of the food position of the Province is up to date; and

(*b*) what are the latest figures in respect of—

(*i*) production of rice and other staple food crops, district by district, and

(*ii*) area of lands brought under effective cultivation, district by district?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain): Exact statistics are not available. I lay on the Table a statement received from the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, giving the acreage and yield of *aus* and *aman* paddy, district by district, as estimated by him. Detailed figures about *boro* paddy and other food crops are also not available.

Statement referred to in reply to starred question No. 308 showing the acreage and yield of Aus and Aman rice, district by district.

DISTRICT COMPILATION SHEET.

Districts.	Acreage.		Yield.		Total.
	Winter rice.	Autumn rice.	Winter rice.	Autumn rice.	
			Maunds.	Maunds.	Maunds.
1. 24 Parganas ..	1,094,200	73,700	15,874,700	803,300	16,678,000
2. Nadia	330,000	558,600	4,092,000	5,601,600	9,693,600
3. Murshidabad ..	438,000	288,500	5,431,200	3,144,700	8,575,900
4. Jessore ..	560,100	466 900	6,945,200	5,089,200	12,034,400
5. Khulna	1,065,000	107,900	13,206,000	1,176,100	14,382,100
6. Burdwan ..	622,800	52,400	8,340,500	525,500	8,866,000
7. Birbhum .	619,800	60,400	7,685,500	658,400	8,343,900
8. Bankura ..	427,900	170,600	5,306,000	1,859,500	7,165,500
9. Midnapore ..	1,471,900	243,600	18,251,600	2,124,200	20,375,800
10. Hooghly ..	280,000	35,000	3,472,000	419,600	3,891,600
11. Howrah .	196,000	14,000	2,430,400	152,600	2,583,000
12. Rajshahi ..	725,800	204,200	8,999,900	2,225,800	11,225,700
13. Dinajpur ..	1,063,500	264,800	13,187,400	2,886,300	16,073,700
14. Jalpaiguri .	376,400	157,800	4,667,400	1,290,000	5,957,400
15. Darjeeling ..	59,000	5,000	721,600	50,100	771,700
16. Rangpur ..	652,000	750,000	8,084,800	7,357,500	15,442,300
17. Bogra ..	580,000	159,000	8,990,000	1,733,100	10,723,100
18. Pabna ..	513,600	320,000	6,368,600	3,488,000	9,856,600
19. Malda ..	370,000	311,000	4,955,000	3,796,700	8,751,700
20. Dacca ..	800,000	462,500	9,920,000	5,041,300	14,961,300
21. Mymensingh ..	1,517,200	1,282,000	19,565,800	13,973,800	33,539,600
22. Faridpur ..	950,000	386,000	11,780,000	3,155,500	14,935,500
23. Bakarganj ..	1,400,000	547,000	18,228,000	5,962,300	24,190,300
24. Chittagong ..	442,000	228,800	5,480,000	2,294,400	7,774,400
25. Tippera ..	979,500	401,200	12,145,800	3,935,800	16,081,600
26. Noakhali ..	598,000	311,000	7,415,200	3,050,900	10,466,100
27. Chittagong Hill Tracts.	44,000	60,200	572,900	590,500	1,163,400
28. Cooch Behar ..	..	..	..	..	..

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government is contemplating to set up a machinery to have exact statistics of the foodgrains of the province?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Government has already prepared a scheme and it is now being examined by the Finance Department.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when we can expect the statistics of the food position from the Government?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: We are thinking of setting up a machinery to collect materials before the next *aman* crop.

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware that without exact knowledge of the food position of the district the food policy of the Government is going to be a failure?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: It goes without saying.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Is the Hon'ble Minister in a position to state the date when the scheme for the collection of crop statistics will be put into effect?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: The scheme will go to the next Cabinet meeting. That is all I can say. After it has been passed, it will be put into effect.

Alleged travel under handcuffs by third class of certain class of prisoners during transfer from one jail to another.

***309. Mr. HARENDRA KUMAR SUR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that security prisoners, and convicted persons placed in division II on transfer from Chandpur, Feni and Noakhali Jails to Comilla Jail had to travel in third class under handcuff?

(*b*) Is it a fact—

(*i*) that M. Abdul Aziz, a security prisoner detained in Noakhali Jail, was treated like an ordinary division III convict; and

(*ii*) that he was not given the facilities and privileges of a security prisoner even after his confirmation under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules?

(*c*) Is it a fact that Srijut Bankim Chandra Mahalanabis, M.A., B.L., a division II prisoner, was not given any of the privileges and facilities of a division II prisoner while he was lodged in the Chandpur Jail?

(*d*) If the answer to (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of taking necessary steps to put a stop to the recurrence of such action?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) No. Inter-class accommodation is ordinarily arranged for in such cases.

(*b*) and (*c*) No.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the persons concerned, i.e., security prisoners and convicted persons, were given an opportunity to place their case?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I might explain that the hon'ble member is labouring under a misapprehension. The persons referred to were not security prisoners when they were transferred. They were under-trial prisoners.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Srijut Bankim Chandra—

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Srijut Bankim Chandra Mahalanabis when transferred was only an undertrial prisoner.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state what are the rules regarding undertrial prisoners when they are transferred?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Allowance of prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818.

***310. Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(*i*) the number of applications for allowance received from the prisoners detained under the Ordinance and Regulation III of 1818 up to the last available date;

(*ii*) the number of such prisoners that are in receipt of an allowance;

(*iii*) the number of such prisoners receiving allowance of Rs. 25, or under;

(*iv*) the number of such prisoners receiving allowance between Rs. 25 and Rs. 50;

(*v*) the number of such prisoners receiving allowance between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75; and

(*vi*) the number of such prisoners receiving allowance between Rs. 75 and Rs. 100?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the principle on which the amount of allowance is fixed?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) The information is not readily available and its collection will involve an expenditure of time and labour which is not justified in the present emergency.

(*b*) Since the formation of the present Ministry the grant of family allowances has been liberalised and they are now more freely granted not only in the case of proved and absolute necessity but, to a reasonable extent, also in the cases in which the detention of the prisoner has resulted in a loss of legitimate income to the family and dependants. All cases in which allowance had been previously granted have been reviewed in the light of the more liberalised policy and the abnormal increase in the cost of living. Subject to the limitation that the allowance should not exceed the prisoner's pre-arrest income the allowances in appropriate cases have been increased. Suitable allowance has also been sanctioned in a number of cases in which they had previously been refused.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: On a point of order, Sir. I draw your attention to the fact that regarding answer (*b*) although the question is about Regulation III of 1818 prisoners the answer relates to security prisoners.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I will refer honourable member to question (*a*)(*i*) where it says "detained under the Ordinance and Regulation III of 1818 up to the last available date". The heading only says "Regulation III" but in the body it refers to the prisoners detained under Regulation III and also to the prisoners detained under the Ordinance.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of Regulation III prisoners now in the province?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to question (*a*)(*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state how he says that the information will not be readily available and its collection will involve an expenditure of time and money——.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Because the honourable member desires to know the number of applications for allowance received from the prisoners. Sometimes several applications are received from one prisoner. It would mean going into the register and into details, and the result will not be commensurate with the expenditure of time, labour and money involved.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any application on behalf of Ashrafuddin Ahmad Chowdhury was sent to the Secretariat for allowance?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Condition of health of security prisoner Mrs. Leela Roy, M.A.

***311.** (SHORT NOTICE) **Miss MIRA DUTTA GUPTA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that Mrs. Leela Roy, M.A., a security prisoner now detained in the Dinajpur Jail, has been suffering from severe internal hæmorrhage for the last 8 months resulting in a complete emaciation; and

(*ii*) that her condition of health has been such as she may collapse any moment?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Government are ready—

(*i*) to release her immediately; or

(*ii*) to transfer her at once to Medical College Hospitals for proper medical treatment.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) She has developed a fibroid of the uterus with increasing loss of blood for the last few months, causing weakness and anæmia.

(*b*) (*i*) No.

(*ii*) Orders for her immediate transfer to a Calcutta Jail have issued. She is not prepared to have the usual medical treatment; she has been given necessary facilities for treatment at her own choice. The question of her transfer to the Medical College Hospitals will depend on the advice of specialists in Calcutta.

Sir, I might add that subsequent to this the Hon'ble Chief Minister has decided that in the circumstances Government must make available to Mrs. Roy as good medical advice and attention as possible and he, therefore, has directed that the Surgeon-General be requested to depute Dr. Manindra Sarkar, Surgeon-Specialist of the Eden Hospital, to proceed to Dinajpur immediately with instructions—

(*a*) to use his own judgment in giving Mrs. Roy necessary treatment including operative treatment, if considered necessary, if necessary facilities are available in Dinajpur;

(*b*) in case the necessary treatment, operative or otherwise, cannot be given in Dinajpur, Dr. Sarkar may be requested to do what he can to effect sufficient improvement in the patient's condition to enable her to undertake the journey to Calcutta.

Miss MIRA DUTTA GUPTA: With reference to question (*b*)(*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons for the answer "No"?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: In the interests of public safety and security it is not expedient to explain the reasons.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the answer (*a*) which does not deny that Mrs. Leela Roy may collapse any moment, will Government consider the desirability of releasing her forthwith?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There is no statement that she may collapse at any moment.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Yes, the question is she may collapse any moment and Government do not deny that she may collapse. In view of this answer, will Government consider the desirability of releasing her forthwith?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when they first received this information about the illness of Mrs. Leela Roy?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is it a fact that Mrs. Leela Roy applied for more than once from the Dinajpur Jail and the Civil Surgeon who is also the Jail Superintendent recommended her transfer so long back as 8 months and he stated in his recommendation that she was seriously ill and she may any moment collapse?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is not correct. The answer is in the negative.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House when Dr. Sarkar is starting for Dinajpur?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Orders were passed by the Chief Minister that the Surgeon-Specialist should go immediately. I do not know whether he has already left. He is likely to leave today or tomorrow.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, M.L.A., sent notice of question as long back as the fourth week of January which was admitted by the Hon'ble Speaker and sent to the administrative department on the 10th February, 1944, where he definitely stated that her life was in risk?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, M.L.A., in his budget cut motion on "Jails and Convict Settlements" definitely raised the question about the alarming condition of her health?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is not a question. The proceedings will show what the honourable member said.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Has the pointed attention of the Hon'ble Minister been drawn to the definite statement made by Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: You are supplying information.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Has his attention been drawn to the statement that her condition was alarming on the 21st March?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: If the honourable member did deliver a speech, it must be on record. I have nothing further to add.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Was Government's attention drawn to a statement made by Mr. Atul Chandra Sen in the cut motion during the last session drawing attention of the Government to the fact that Mrs. Roy was in a dying condition?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Such a statement might have been made by the honourable member and, if so, it must be on record. At that time, the position was not as stated by the honourable member.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the admission made by the Hon'ble Minister that Government's attention has been drawn to the statement, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what they have done so long in the matter?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government did not accept the statement made by the honourable member at that time.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what enquiry he made after the statement had been made in the House to come to the conclusion that this statement made by the two honourable members of the House could not be accepted?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government were receiving reports of treatment that was being given to Mrs. Roy.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Are Government now satisfied that the statements made by the two honourable members were correct?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, it was not correct at that time.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is posted with the information regarding her condition today and yesterday?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot say about today but Government is posted with up-to-date information.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether "up-to-date" means today or yesterday?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government is not receiving daily reports, but Government did receive a report, I think, day before yesterday.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister please consider the desirability of instructing the authorities in Dinajpur to acquaint Government daily with her latest condition?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government is satisfied that whatever steps had to be taken had been taken. The Surgeon-Specialist has been deputed and Government does not consider that there is any necessity of issuing bulletins.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the deputed Surgeon-Specialist has already left?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question has already been answered.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the table the report from the Dinajpur Jail which contradicted the statement as delivered by the Parliamentary Secretary to the statements made by the honourable members of the House?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It does not contradict.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that failing to release Mrs. Leela Roy is antagonising public opinion and this is against all canons of chivalry?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: In view of the fact that order has already been passed to send Dr. M. N. Sarkar to treat Mrs. Roy, will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of asking Dr. Sarkar's opinion whether Mrs. Roy deserves release on medical grounds or not?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is a hypothetical question.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell the House whether any gynæcologist not in the service of Government offered his or her services to go to Dinajpur for her treatment?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I refer the honourable member to the statement of the Chief Minister made in the House yesterday.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the question asked by Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty yesterday regarding the appointment of a doctor and sending him to Dinajpur, will the Hon'ble Minister be

pleased to state if Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty was not consulted or taken into confidence while these things were being considered by Government?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister consider the desirability of seeking the opinion of Dr. M. N. Sarkar whether release of Mrs. Roy is necessary for her treatment?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That question will arise after the return of Dr. Sarkar and when he submits his report.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether after the arrival of Dr. Sarkar Government will enquire into the matter as to whether the release is necessary on medical grounds?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have said that question will arise after Dr. Sarkar has returned and submitted his report.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Whether Government will enquire into the question, that is the question.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is no use quarrelling.

Enquiry about communal disturbances in Dacca.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, before we pass on to the next item of business, may I make a request to the Hon'ble Chief Minister? Since yesterday when in connection with the Secondary Education Bill I recalled the tragic incidents of the last communal disturbances in Dacca, news has been received from various sources apart from what has already appeared in the press——.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly resume your seat? There is one point which I should like to impress upon the House. A statement, if at all to be made, on any important matter......(Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Yes, Sir, very important.) I do not know whether it is important or unimportant, I am just telling you the procedure that ought to be followed in matters of this description. If a matter which is not on the agenda is to be brought up, it is only fair that Speaker's permission should be obtained first, and the Speaker can give permission only if he knows about the subject matter, at least if he gets some idea about the matter. It is only fair that the member who desires to make any statement of this nature should approach the Speaker first and give him some idea as to the matter on which he wants to speak. This is the first part.

The other part that I should like to impress upon the House is that when any occasion arises for any important statement to be made on a matter of urgent public importance it is desirable that the statement should come through the leader of a party, whenever the member who wants that it should come to the House belongs to a particular group or a party.

Furthermore, it is desirable and it will be helpful in the matter of discussion if previous intimation wherever practicable is given to the Leader of the House. These are the things which may kindly be borne in mind for our future guidance.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I bow down to your ruling, but the situation to which I want to refer demands the immediate attention of the House and when I tell you what the situation is, you will certainly agree with me that it deserves a reference in the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would allow you today to make this statement——.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: On a point of order, Sir, I suggest that you should hear him first *in camera* in your chamber. Before that I think it is very irregular on the part of the member to bring up things like this.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, about the observations that have come from the Chair there is no difference of opinion amongst us, but one thing requires some clarification. Sometimes unavoidably the Leader of a party may be absent and in this case Mr. Sen has been authorised by our Leader to speak on his behalf.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, under the rules nothing can be brought before this House unless it is on the order paper, or unless it is in connection with a certain motion before the House but for the sake of convenience and for the urgency of the matters, certain conventions have developed here. Only the Leaders of parties who can take the responsibility can make statements before the House. Another procedure which you are suggesting is that if you are satisfied about the importance of a particular thing and about the correctness of the thing and that it is not an irresponsible thing, then you can give your consent to make a statement before the House. Of course, with regard to this event whether any convention is right or wrong is a matter which you should decide first in consultation with all the party leaders. Anything and everything should not be brought before the House and therefore in this particular case, as my Leader has suggested to you, you should first hear him in your chamber and then you may allow him to speak.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I thank you for the permission you have given me.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before you speak I should like to say just a few words. I have already enunciated the principles that ought to be followed. One more point has been raised by Mr. Sanyal on this side of the House. In the event of unavoidable absence of a party leader, the Deputy Leader or anybody who is so authorised may speak~~, but the condition precedent~~ to this ~~is that Speaker's permission should be taken first~~. So far as the present matter is concerned, Mr. Sen practically has spoken out something and I have permitted him to speak. I do permit him on this occasion as an exceptional case, but I will not allow any further discussion of this sort.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, since yesterday when in connection with the Secondary Education Bill I recalled the tragic incidents of the last communal disturbances of Dacca, news has been received from various sources apart from what has already appeared in the press which goes to show that the city of Dacca is again on the verge of communal disturbances. So far as has been known two persons have been stabbed to death. Will the Hon'ble Chief Minister kindly make a statement on the situation especially indicating what steps have been taken to prevent a repetition of the tragic past?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As I am against this procedure I do not propose to make any statement whatsoever.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, কাল এই সম্পর্কে আলোচনা প্রসঙ্গে বলেছিলাম যে বাঙ্গালীর দুর্ভাগ্য এই Secondary Education Bill নিয়ে আমরা এইভাবে একটা অশান্তির সৃষ্টি করছি। Secondary Education Bill ব্যাপারে এমন কিছু ঘটনা ঘটে নাই যার জন্য সমস্ত বাংলায় একটা অশান্তির দাবাগ্নি জালিয়ে দিতে হবে। ১৯২১ সনে যদি বাঙ্গালী হিন্দু মুসলমান খেলাফৎ এবং অসহযোগ আন্দোলনের ভিতর দিয়ে একত্র এগিয়ে যেয়ে থাকে তাহলে ১৯৪৪ সালে কি এমন ঘটনা ঘটেছে যাতে আমরা একসঙ্গে চলতে পারি না? আমার মনে হয় আমরা নিজেদের পথ ভুলে এমন একটা অবস্থায় এসে পড়েছি যে আমরা নিজেরাও বিভ্রান্ত এবং দেশবাসীকেও বিভ্রান্ত করছি। Secondary

Education আজ উদ্দেশ্যহীনভাবে এদিকে সেদিকে চলছে, তাকে control করতে হবে। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি Secondary Education Billএর উদ্দেশ্য কি? জনকয়েক হিন্দুকে সরিয়ে দিয়ে জনকতক মুসলমানকে বসিয়ে দিলেই কি educationকে উন্নতির স্তরে নিয়ে যাওয়া যায়? যদি মন্ত্রী মহাশয় বুঝিয়ে বলতে পারেন যে এই বিল বাঙ্গালীকে উন্নতির স্তরে নিয়ে যাবে তাহলে আমি ইহা একপ্রাণে সমর্থন করব।

বাঙ্গালী হিন্দু এই Secondary Education প্রথা নিয়ে কোনদিন সন্তুষ্ট ছিল না, বর্ত্তমানেও সন্তুষ্ট নয়। তার প্রমাণ বাংলার ইতিহাসের পাতায় পাতায় লেখা আছে। ১৯০৫ সনে দেখতে পাই সুরেন্দ্রনাথের নেতৃত্বে বহু বাঙ্গালী হিন্দু মুসলমান এই বিষয়ে আন্দোলন করেছিলেন। তারপর ১৯২১ সালে কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় থেকে হাজার হাজার ছেলে বেরিয়ে পড়ল। এই শিক্ষার বিরুদ্ধে নিশান নিয়ে তারা কেবলমাত্র বাংলায় নয় ভারতের এক প্রান্ত থেকে অপর প্রান্ত পর্য্যন্ত নূতন শিক্ষার পতাকা বহন করে নিয়েছিল। একদিকে মহাত্মা গান্ধী, অপর দিকে দেশবন্ধু চিত্তরঞ্জন এবং মৌলানা মোহাম্মদ আলী ও সৌকত আলী নূতন শিক্ষা প্রবর্ত্তনে অগ্রণী হন। মৌলানা ও মহাত্মা গান্ধী আলিগড় ইউনিভারসিটিতে চলে গেলেন, সেখানে ছাত্রদের সঙ্গে বসে নূতন প্রেরণা আনলেন, অলিগড় ইউনিভারসিটি শূণ্য হয়ে গেল। সুতরাং Secondary Education ব্যাপারে কোন আন্দোলন হয় নাই একথা কেউ বলতে পারে না। ভারতের হিন্দু মুসলমান সমস্বরে ঘোষণা করেছে এই শিক্ষা আমরা চাই না এ শিক্ষা প্রকৃত শিক্ষা নয়। যে আদর্শ যাদের উপর এই শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠিত, সেই আদর্শ ভারতের আদর্শ নয়, এবং সত্য কথা বলতে কি মহাপ্রাণ এনড্রুজ সাহেবও বলেছেন যে এ শিক্ষা বৃটিশেরও আদর্শ নয়।

ভারতের হিন্দু, মুসলমান, খৃষ্টান একত্র বসে সমস্বরে "Rule Britannia" কবিতা আবৃত্তি করছে। আমাদের cultureএর পক্ষে ইহা কতখানি অপমানজনক বুকে হাত দিয়ে জিজ্ঞাসা করলেই সকলে অনুভব করতে পারেন। কিন্তু খুব কম লোকই আছেন যাঁরা একথা সমস্বরে ঘোষণা করতে পারেন। কোন্ আদর্শ নিয়ে মোসলেম লীগ-মন্ত্রী এই Secondary Education Bill এনেছেন? যদি এই বিল হিন্দু-মুসলমান জাতীয়তার ভিত্তিতে গড়ে উঠে থাকে তবে আমি সর্ব্বপ্রথম ভোট দেবো। গত দেড় শ বৎসর ধরে মুসলমান ধর্ম্মের উপর, মুসলমান জাতির উপর, মুসলমান জাতিকে দাবিয়ে রাখবার জন্য যে অত্যাচার অবিচার হয়েছে তার ইতিহাস রচনা করুন এবং Secondary Educationএর পাঠ্য পুস্তক করুন। সিপাহী বিদ্রোহের প্রকৃত ইতিহাস আমি ১৯ বছর বয়সে হাতে লেখা পড়ি। সেই ইতিহাস পাঠ্য পুস্তক করে হিন্দু, মুসলমান, খৃষ্টান সকলকে যদি পড়াতে পারেন তাহলে ভারতের ছাত্রদের মনের ভাব বদলিয়ে দিতে পারেন; ভারতের চেহারা অন্য রকম হয়ে যাবে। লীগ মন্ত্রী তা করতে পারেন কি?

এমন কি বর্ত্তমানে শিক্ষার যে নীতি এবং policy সেই policy শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী নিয়ন্ত্রণ করেন না। কে করে সকলেই জানেন, তিনি কেবল পতাকা বহন করেন। সেই policyর ফলেই যত অশান্তি এবং ভেদ-বিভেদের সৃষ্টি। তার ফলে দাঁড়ায় Hindu Muslim riot, আত্মকলহ ও গৃহ বিবাদ। এই শিক্ষার প্রসার কিভাবে চলছে! আজো জনসাধারণকে বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া হচ্ছে যে পরস্পর পরস্পরকে যত দাবিয়ে রাখতে পারবে তোমাদের তত বেশী কৃতিত্ব। একটা riotএর সময় হিন্দু বেশী মরল না মুসলমান বেশী মরল সেই হয় পরস্পরের গর্ব্বের বিষয়। এ শিক্ষা এনে দিচ্ছে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে বিদ্বেষ। তারপরে আরম্ভ হয় stabbing. যদি আজ ২১ জন হিন্দু stabbed হয় তাহলে কাল ২২ জন মুসলমানকে stab করতে হবে—এই যে একটা বিভীষিকা—এই বিভীষিকা যারা সৃষ্টি করেন সেই সমস্ত culpritদের শাস্তি দেওয়া উচিত। এরাই নিরীহ লোকদের উত্তেজিত করে। এদের

এমন শাস্তি দেওয়া উচিত যাতে ভবিষ্যতে কোন দিন এরা নিরীহ লোকদের উত্তেজিত করে নৃশংস কাণ্ডের সৃষ্টি না করে। বর্ত্তমান Secondary Education Bill এই সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাবকে প্রজ্বলিত করে তুলবে, সারা বাংলা শ্মশানে পরিণত হবে।

এখানে আমরা হিন্দু মুসলমান প্রত্যেকে শিক্ষিত বড় বড় মহারথী প্রত্যেকেই দেশের জন্য প্রাণ উৎসর্গ করছি। কিন্তু সত্যকার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী নিয়ে আর এক দিক দিয়ে দেখলে পাগলা গারদের কথা মনে হয়। পাগলা গারদে ২০০।২৫০ পাগল রয়েছে, কেউ হাসছে, কেউ কাঁদছে, প্রহরী মাত্র দুইজন। আমাদের বর্ত্তমান অবস্থা হচ্ছে তাই।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER : আমাকে address করুন।

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSH : বাস্তবিক আমার পক্ষে খুব পাগলামি হয়েছে ওদের address করছি, তবে একথা সত্য ওদের কাছ থেকে আশা ভরসা কিছু রাখি না। পাগলের কাছ থেকে কিছু ভাল আশা করাও পাগলামি ভিন্ন আর কি হতে পারে!

মুসলমান cultureএর দ্বারা অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে যদি এই বিল আনা হয়ে থাকে তাহলে তমিজুদ্দিন সাহেব বাস্তবিকই মুসলমানের বন্ধু হবেন। কেবল মাত্র Muslim Leagueএর আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে যদি এই বিল আনা হয়ে থাকে তাহলে কিছুতেই এই বিল সমর্থন করা চলে না। Pan Islamএর জন্য এক সময় মৌলানা মহম্মদ আলি এবং সৌকত আলি চেষ্টা করেছিলেন কিন্তু তাদের কি দুর্দ্দশা হয়েছিল সেটা তারা উন্মুক্ত কণ্ঠে স্বীকার করেছিলেন। বর্ত্তমানে আমরা দুর্ভাগ্য বশতঃ যে ভেদ নীতির প্রভাবে চলছি, এইভাবে চললে আমরা কোথায় যাব, কি হবে, একথা বিচার করা দরকার। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে মুসলমানদের প্রভাব প্রতিপত্তি নাই একথা আংশিকভাবে সত্য। মুসলমান সমাজের যতটা সুযোগ পাওয়া উচিত ছিল ততটা পান নাই একথা সত্য। হিন্দুরা একটা coterie করে পরকে বঞ্চিত করে এসেছে। এর জন্য লজ্জা পাওয়া উচিত।

মুসলমানের সাধনা এবং কৃষ্টি বাংলা দেশকে একদিন প্রভাবান্বিত করেছিল। মুসলমান culture প্রতিফলিত হয়েছিল Sultan Saladinএর ভিতর। সমস্ত Christian Power মুসলমান cultureকে ধ্বংস করার জন্য জেরুজেলেমের crusade ঘোষণা করেছিল।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, may I interrupt you for a minute? You are proceeding very quickly from Bagerhat to Jerusalem. (Laughter.)

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Yes, Sir. I am proceeding from Bagerhat to Turkey and from Turkey to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem I shall come back to Bengal. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: On a point of order, Sir. একজন মেম্বর কত সময় করে বক্তৃতা করতে পারেন।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have not yet decided finally the time-limit that will be given to the mover of a motion.

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: On a point of order, Sir. When a member speaks nonsense, can he not be stopped?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is provided in the rules. You can see the rules.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: আমার বন্ধুকে বলব মুসলমান culture সম্বন্ধে এক জায়গায় দাঁড়িয়ে কোন কিতাবের (পুস্তকের) সাহায্য না নিয়ে ৩।৪ দিন বলে যেতে পারি। এত কথা বলব যে রসিক বাবু তা থেকে অনেক কিছু শিখতে পারবেন। Muslim culture জিনিষটা কি? Muslim culture হিন্দু cultureএর মত নয়। কথায় আছে ঠাকুরদা পাকা বাড়ী করেছিলেন।

তার পৌত্র সেই বাড়ীর ইট তুলতে গিয়ে দেখে concreteএর মত শক্ত। কুষ্মাণ্ড পৌত্র তখন বলল শালা পাকা * * বাড়ী গিয়েছে। বর্ত্তমানে বাংলার লীগ প্রভাবান্বিত মুসলমানদের সেই অবস্থা দাঁড়িয়েছে।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, you ought not to have used that expression. It will be expunged from the proceedings.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Sir, it is a Bengali proverb. You can expunge it if you like.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, you have spoken for 45 minutes already. I hope you will be very brief.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: মুসলমানগণ যেদিন সমস্ত খৃষ্টান powerকে বিধ্বস্ত করে স্বাধীনতার পতাকা উড়িয়েছিল, সেদিন জগতের লোক Muslim cultureএর কাছে মাথা নত করেছিল। আমার বন্ধু বলছেন ননসেনসিকেল কথা বলা হচ্ছে। কিন্তু বোঝবার মত যোগ্যতা, সামর্থ্য ও শিক্ষা থাকা দরকার, তাহলে সেটা full of sense হয়ে যায়। মুসলমান জগতের ইতিহাসে সবচেয়ে বড় culture দেখিয়েছেন বাদশা সালাদিন। তিনি সমস্ত Christian Powerকে বিধ্বস্ত করে তাড়িয়ে দিলেন। Richard the Lion Heart কবচ নিয়ে দেশে ফিরে গেলেন।

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: On a point of order, Sir. Are all these relevant—I mean the reference to Sultan Saladin in connection with the Secondary Education Bill.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: To be very frank, to me it appears that most of the speeches are not relevant to the subject-matter. I reminded the members off and on and asked them to come to the point. Still the members are going on in this way. I would remind Mr. Ghose again to be relevant and to come to the point. Mr. Ghose, I would remind you once more of section 15 of the Assembly Procedure Rules.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: What is it please?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It runs as follows:—

"The Speaker, after having called the attention of the Assembly to the conduct of a member who persists in irrelevance or in tedious repetition either of his own arguments or of the arguments used by other members in debate, may direct him to discontinue his speech". Please come to your point. I have already stated that you have taken more than the time I allotted to members of your group. I hope you will finish soon.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. Is it your ruling that education has no bearing on culture?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is no point of order.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: The honourable member is taking so much time in order to impress upon the House that the proposed education measure will go against the culture particularly of Muslims for whom they profess to have so much regard.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: বড়ই দুর্ভাগ্যের কথা আজ আমরা প্রকৃতিস্থ হয়ে জিনিষটা বুঝতে পারছি না। আমরা যে বুঝি না তা নয়, আমরা বুঝতে চাই না। বহুদিন পূর্ব্বে এক-জন author লিখেছিলেন বাঙ্গালী আত্মবিস্মৃত জাতি। আজ বড়ই দুঃখের সহিত বলছি বাঙ্গালী মুসলমান সম্বন্ধেও সে কথা বলা যায়। আমরা কেবল পরস্পর ঝগড়া বিবাদ নিয়েই আছি। বাংলার মুসলমানকে অতীতের ইতিহাস স্মরণ করতে অনুরোধ করি।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. Mr. Ghose, I have already requested you to address the Chair. You are addressing members as in a public meeting.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: Thank you, Sir.

আমরা কেবল বলি I am a Hindu, I am a Muslim. Allahabad ষ্টেশনে শোনা যায় "হিন্দু চা", "মুসলমান চা" Assemblyতেও শুনি I am a Muslim, I am a Hindu. আমাদের আদর্শ হওয়া উচিত অন্য প্রকার। একজন Deputy Magistrateএর ভুলে যাওয়া উচিত তিনি হিন্দু কি মুসলমান। তার মনে রাখা উচিত যে তিনি Public Servant. ঠিক তেমনি আমাদের মনে রাখা উচিত যে আমরা সমগ্র বাংলার প্রতিনিধি। এখানে ধর্ম বিষয়ে civil religion ছাড়া আর কিছুই চলতে পারে না। ব্যক্তিগত ধর্ম যাই হউক না কেন রাষ্ট্র জগতের ধর্ম হবে civil religion.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope you will finish in two or three minutes.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: From the remarks that the honourable member made a few minutes ago we took it that he had already finished his speech.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: আমার বন্ধু বলছেন sheer nonsense. তিনি অনেক কিছুই জানেন না। তাকে শুনতে বলি, তাতে তার sense কিছু বাড়বে। এই Houseএর অনেক মেম্বর হয়তো খবর জানে না লীগের প্রাণ মৌলানা মোহাম্মদ আলি যখন দেখলেন হিন্দু মুসলমান বিরোধ অবসান হবার নয় তিনি suggest করেছিলেন প্রত্যেক মুসলমানকে elected হতে হলে শতকরা ৮০ ভাগ মুসলমানের ভোট পেতে হবে এবং ২০ ভাগ হিন্দুর ভোট পেতে হবে। তাহলে communal questionএর কতকটা অবসান হবে। এই যে পদ্ধতি একে তখন Maulana Mohamed Ali's formula বলা হতো। এর প্রতি আমি বিশেষভাবে দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করি। আজ হউক, কাল হউক হিন্দু-মুসলমানকে এক সঙ্গে দাঁড়াতে হবে। সাময়িক উত্তেজনাবশে আমরা যেন আমাদের ইতিহাস কলঙ্কিত না করি।

মহাত্মা গান্ধী কোথায় বলেছিলেন—"My last request to Mr. Jinnah still stands and I will be ready to discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim understanding as soon as I get better. মহাত্মা গান্ধী ঘোষণা করেছেন মি: জিন্নার সঙ্গে তিনি আবার আলোচনা করবেন। আপনারা এখন অশান্তির সৃষ্টি করবেন না। দয়া করে কয়েকটা মাসের জন্য নিরস্ত থাকুন। Secondary Education Bill কয়েক দিনের জন্য Select Committeeতে গেলে বাংলা দেশের কোনই ক্ষতি হবে না।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have already promised some honourable members to speak on this motion, but my idea is this. After the motions for Select Committee—there are possibly 12 motions—are moved honourable members who want to speak will speak later on. I have already given my assurance to Mr. Mullick, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Abdul Wahed, Mr. Abdul Hafiz and others who will speak on this motion. I will call upon Mr. Mullick and I will request members not to exceed 15 minutes.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: On a point of order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Will you please resume your seat? Mr. Mullick has already promised that he will not speak for more than 15 minutes.

Mr. MUKUNDA BEHARY MULLICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose these dilatory motions asking the House to circulate this Bill for eliciting opinion. I maintain that besides taking an obstructive attitude

of delaying the consideration of this Bill there is hardly any substance in any of these motions. What is the exact purpose for which the movers of these motions ask this Bill to be circulated at this very late hour? If it is to elicit genuine opinion of those who can be said to take any real interest in the secondary education of the province, I maintain that this House has got representatives of the people through whom all shades of public opinion are duly and properly represented. I maintain further that their opinion is the true opinion of those who count in the country. At any rate there are many amongst those who take an interest in the secondary education.

Since the idea of Government to introduce this measure in the current session of the Legislature was made known, we have been noticing that meetings have been held in different parts of the town where resolutions have been adopted decrying this Bill. As far as I have been able to gather, none of these meetings and resolutions have hardly said anything about the provisions of this measure. One general slogan has been used in all these meetings that this is a "communal" measure and it will strike at the root of "national" education in this country. Before any resolution of this abstract type was adopted by such meetings, if these meetings could at all be said to have been held by people of any representative character, one would have expected that they should have said something about the provisions of this Bill to indicate as to how this is designed to strike at the root of any proper education, much less a national education, of this unfortunate country. I am afraid I have looked in vain to the resolutions which have been published in the papers to find out anything of this nature. On the contrary, if one were to analyse the nature of these gatherings, one only finds that not only orators made to order were asked to express themselves from their own imaginations and presumptions, but that even students reading in the schools and colleges have also been set up to organise such meetings and to pass almost similar resolutions by way of protest of this measure. I am further informed that even people engaged in theatrical performances and cinema shows have also met and passed similar resolutions. Again people whose opinion did certainly count at one time but who have either severed their connections from all wordly affairs or who are absolutely invalid, are also reported to have been approached for lending their support to such organised propaganda. A section of the press is no doubt very handy to give publicity to these reports without even taking the trouble to find out the nature of the representative character of the people who attended such meetings and who passed such resolutions. Not only this; they even did not feel it necessary to examine the provisions of the Bill for the justification or otherwise of the resolutions so adopted. I feel constrained therefore to observe that such propaganda, if it means anything at all, means only this that as some vested interests somewhere are perhaps going to be affected, the agitations if any at all, have been organised from that quarter. I dare say it is absolutely clear by now as to how all this has come about. The bewailings of most of the movers of these motions have not convinced us in the least, but these have amply manifested as to where the shoe is pinching. They have clearly indicated that they do not trust anybody. If it is so, I do not think that they have any right to ask others to trust them.

If it is really designed by these motions that the public should have a say on the provisions of this Bll, I maintain, as I have observed already, that this has also been sufficiently done. Honourable members of this House are certainly in a position to express their views and those of their constituencies, which mean the province as a whole. I do not understand therefore that if a motion like this were accepted, to whom the Bill will have to be sent again for eliciting opinion.

In the next place it cannot be said that this Bill has been sprung upon this House and upon the country as a surprise. For if we analyse the events as have happened in connection with this measure it will appear clear to everyone that this measure has been before this House and the country since 1940, if not earlier. I am not at all surprised but I am really

very sorry to find that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, after the 90 minutes' speech of his as the then Chief Minister and also the Education Minister in introducing this measure in this House in 1940, has thought it fit to table amendments of a wonderful character at the instance of persons who did not hesitate to impute all sorts of motives to him so long as he was in office. The Hon'ble Minister has given us the whole history of this measure and I should not be justified to repeat. It is indeed a matter of gratification that with the formation of the present Ministry in April, 1943, they have not shelved this important measure for which there has been a great demand for a very long time in the country, but that they thought it proper to go ahead with this measure even in that Committee formed by their predecessors. That Committee finished their deliberations and had a report ready for presentation to the House. The report was not in fact placed before the House as it transpired that this Bill had lapsed. The Government, however, have now thought it fit to reintroduce the Bill. I wonder how after all these events, can it be maintained that the country and their representatives have not got any idea of this measure or that they have not got the opinion as is now intended to be obtained. This does not seem to me to be any argument whatsoever and this is only an attempt to try and shelve the measure to suit the purposes of some interested section of the people. Such people may well be advised to pause and to realise that personal considerations can never be introduced in the affairs of public institutions and once personal considerations are introduced by people in public institutions, such people are bound to come to grief.

If now we consider for a moment the condition of the secondary education as it is at present in the province, it will perhaps be not wrong for us to maintain that it is in a hopeless state. There is hardly any control by anybody over this education as is given in the schools. We know that the teachers are not only not properly paid, but they are in many cases not paid at all. The students are not properly looked after. I do not blame anyone for this; perhaps there are reasons for which it has not been possible for anybody to look after these institutions and the students reading in them. Who are the authorities who can be said to have any power to look into this matter? It must be on the one hand the Government of the province and on the other the University. Now, so far as Government is concerned, it has hardly got any agency to do this. The schools do not come directly under their control. There are some schools only who enjoy some financial grant-in-aid from Government. The Government are perhaps satisfied by looking into their accounts to find out if any scale of pay and fees is maintained to entitle them to any financial aid from Government. With regard to the curriculum to be followed and the standard to be maintained, perhaps Government have got no say. Regarding these matters they generally come under the jurisdiction of the University. The University have hardly got any agency to look into the detailed activities of these institutions. They are perhaps satisfied by directing the standard of studies to be followed in the schools and to subject the students of the Matriculation Standard to an examination and to give them a certificate of competency. The University by their Arbitration Board have only got the power to interfere if there is a dispute between a teacher and the Managing Committee. But that is of no avail so far as the internal affairs of such schools are concerned. We have known how quickly schools of this type are getting into existence like mushroom growth without proper funds, without proper committees and without the least idea of trying to give any proper education to such young boys in the country. It must be admitted therefore that a Board of this type is essentially necessary to look to all these matters so that things may not yet move from bad to worse. A Board like this is overdue and in fact it was suggested by the Calcutta University Commission years back. It is therefore based upon experience of the events which have taken place in the field of secondary education for these long years. It is rather too late now to say that the consideration of an urgent measure of this nature should be further delayed.

If we analyse the provisions of the Bill we will find that it is a simple measure which seeks to establish a Board for the regulation, control and development of secondary education in this province. On this Board there are representatives of different sections of the people including those who take some interest in the education of young boys whose conduct and whose education are sought to be controlled and developed by this measure. Whether this Board has got the proper type and proper number of such representatives or not, is a matter of detail which can be settled on the floor of this House. It does not require any further consideration of the country at all. In the next place to carry out the decisions of the Board, an Executive Council is sought to be established. Along with this, several Committees dealing with educational activities of different sections of the people are also sought to be set up. In order that the Board can properly function, they require some funds. Committees to deal with this fund and to deal with their accounts are also sought to be established by this measure. Government have in the end retained power to make rules for the guidance of the Board and all these Committees, which will be put into operation after they have been published. The idea is that in case any proper suggestion is made, they may be looked into and if found feasible they may be accepted.

It is suggested that this is a communal measure as against a national one. Now, Sir, I must confess my ignorance that I do not appreciate the term "national" for I do not find it defined anywhere. Need I only remind those who are shouting the loudest today of the memorable speech that was delivered by no less a personage than Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, against the activities of another person of eminence who set up the movement of non-co-operation in the country not only regarding political affairs but educational affairs as well. We noticed in those days that even street urchins were hired to take their seats on the steps of the University buildings, stopping all approaches and trying to prevent students as also examination candidates from entering the Examination Hall. I need not go into details of these activities but I would like to ask those of the critics of this measure today to read that speech to find for themselves the reply that was given by the giant of educational reforms against criticisms for a National University for the one which was characterised as one of a slave mentality. Those who are savouring communalism in a simple measure of this nature, are doing so because they are only seeking their past activities reflected on the mirror of their minds. In any event, a Board to deal with the problems of secondary education in Bengal is immediately called for. One which is designed to be set up is certainly entitled to have a proper trial. If things go wrong, there will be nothing to prevent this House from amending the measure.

If the argument is that whatever I do is communal and whatever you do is national, then the position can be well appreciated. I submit however that it is too late in the day to deny that this is an unfortunate caste-ridden country of ours and that experience shows that everything up till now has been done on a consideration of caste and community. Although the Government, which has been established by law in this country, has been functioning for about a couple of centuries, it has not been possible for a large section of His Majesty's innocent and law-abiding subjects to realise, much less to enjoy, the benefits that an Administration of the kind not fettered by considerations of caste and community could have given through a liberal education. All such benefits as the facts clearly show have been enjoyed only by a few people of the favoured castes and communities. There was a time, when even these innocent and law-abiding subjects, backward as they have always been, were even choked and gagged from giving an expression to their feelings of grievances, not to talk of those grievances being remedied at all. I maintain therefore that the time has come when such elementary rights as are due to these communities must be conceded to them and they must be allowed proper facilities so that they can think

and act for themselves. The time for the people of a few favoured castes and communities to assume themselves to be the perpetual guardians of these innocent people must be taken to have come to an end.

Where after all does any communal consideration arise in this Bill? What is it that is sought to be done by it when it seeks to establish a Secondary Education Board in this province? It is not designed that each community should have anything about their general educational development as distinct from the rest although their special difficulties have to be solved and special needs have to be looked after. On the facts as they stand today, it is only fair and reasonable that proper representatives of all the communities of this country as a whole should meet on a common platform so that the necessities and difficulties of all can be discussed for a satisfactory solution and that is exactly what is designed to be done by this Board. The same can be said with regard to the Committees which are intended to be set up through a measure of this nature. The right that is sought to be given to the Scheduled Castes and other minority communities is justly due to them on a consideration of elementary principles and should there be anybody to oppose these elementary rights being given to them, we should be extremely sorry to have to say that he is not a friend of these communities at all. I hope, however, that my apprehension will be found to be absolutely unfounded.

It is in the next place suggested that Government is trying to have the utmost control over this Board as also upon the Council and the Committees. This, I submit, Sir, is a fallacious argument. The Government of today is composed of the representatives of the people. If however it is maintained that it is not a representative Government because of considerations, which I need not dilate upon, it makes the matter rather an unfortunate one. But we have got to admit that those who are in charge of the Administration are certainly the representatives of the people. They are answerable to this House and the country at large for whatever they do and therefore they are not outside the control of this House. On the contrary it is necessary that there must be some authority at the top which must be able to cry "halt" if things go wrong.

Coming now to the education of the Scheduled Castes, I maintain that this has been hopelessly ignored both by Government and by other institutions which have had anything to do with secondary education in the province so far. Time has come when their cases as also those of the other minorities cannot be allowed to go by default and their education must be properly looked after. This education must be so directed that it can be truly useful to them so that they may not have to suffer the same unfortunate consequences from a meaningless and useless education as others have done in the past. I congratulate the Hon'ble Minister and the Government for having taken courage to be straight and frank enough to put forward not only their views but the views of the country as a whole before the House for an early consideration.

I listened with interest to the observation made by my honourable friend Mr. Charu Chandra Roy when he said on the 10th May last, that although Government had a Committee to deal with the educational affairs of the Scheduled Castes, their advice has practically been kept a dead letter and this has been followed more in the breach than in the observance. It is just to rectify a situation of that character that this Bill seeks to set up a more effective Scheduled Caste Education Committee so that their conclusions cannot be brushed aside in the way as has been done up till now either by Government or by their officers. I am sorry to say in this connection however that their representation on the Board and the Executive Council as also on the Examination Committee has not been a proper one. If it is agreed that these communities should have their representation on the Board and other bodies sought to be set up under this measure, it follows as a matter of course, that this representation must not only be a proper one but it must be one of their own choice. We have therefore been compelled

to [illegible] amendments with regard to these clauses and I hope both Government and the House will be good enough to agree to those amendments when they will be placed before them for consideration.

With these words, Sir, I oppose all the dilatory motions and I support the motion of the Hon'ble Minister that the Bill be taken into consideration forthwith. (Applause.)

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Secondary Education Bill, 1944, has for its object the formation of a Board to control, regulate and develop education other than primary and post-Matriculation in our country. This Bill consequently is of vital importance to my community, namely, the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans who are not only one of the peoples of Bengal, being children of the soil, but are the best educated in the province having built schools and taken a keen interest in such institutions admitting both Hindu and Muslim students. Therefore our claim to be included on such a Board is second to none, if we are to work constitutionally and we are to work in the spirit of nationalism with justice as our goal.

Let us for a moment consider the words of His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Wavell who in his speech on the 17th February, 1944, said that communities and nations in spite of different cultures and religions can live together and he gave us instances of Great Britain, Canada, United States of America and Russia, but reminded us that no man can alter Geography, which means that we must work and live as one nation. Now, Sir, may I ask what is the solution to live in harmony and work as a nation? What is the highest code of a civilized people? Surely it is to recognise the rights and privileges of the minority. In short, it is to administer justice. This Bill aims to destroy the intelligentsia of the province, those who have taken the greatest interests in education, namely, the Caste Hindus and the Anglo-Indians and the Domiciled Europeans. (Hear, hear.)

Let us examine this Bill carefully and see how far justice has been meted out to my community by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, the Minister in charge of this Bill. Is there any man in this House who after perusing clause 4 can honestly assure me that a single seat has been definitely allotted to Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, those who claim as children of the soil to be countrymen of yours? Are we to be penalised for being your countrymen? Will the Hon'ble Minister explain how he, as Tamizuddin Khan who is either of Afghan or Persian descent, became a countryman of Bengal? This clause is not only an insult to our intelligence but a positive aspersion cast on the integrity and honesty of the House. It is a betrayal of certain minorities. If Education is to be controlled by communal majorities, then why not Trade and Commerce? Let the Marwaris, Bhatias, Europeans and Upcountry Muslims who today control the Trade and Commerce of Bengal step aside and allow themselves to be subordinated and controlled by the masses of Bengal who have failed in Trade and Commerce but would like to be in Trade and Commerce and as children of the soil have a far greater right to be in Trade and Commerce.

Everyone applauds a clerver move, when the intention is to frustrate a bully or a tyrant from gaining his object, as Shakespear's Portia outwitted the cruel and revengeful Shylock, but what do we think of the villains who for a consideration agreed to burn out with heated irons the eyes of the two helpless princes in the tower?

Recently the Governor of the Punjab, on Wednesday, the 26th April, 1944, dismissed Capt. Saukat Hyat Khan, a most influential man, from the Cabinet for injustice to a Lady Superintendent Mrs. Durga Prosad, in the Lahore Corporation. Here in Bengal we have a Minister the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan showing gross injustice not to a single person but to an entire community. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: He ought to be dismissed.) (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) Here is a case for our Australian Governor to take cognisance of and I feel sure

he will show us that democracy does not mean hypocrisy in this country and therefore such conduct will not be tolerated here by him. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.)

Let us finally refer to Dr. Sanyal's summary of the first two Boards. Our honourable friend is an authority of no mean order. On the 1st of April, 1942, on the floor of this House, he gave us the following details. Composition of the first Board formed by the Huq Ministry—50 members—20 Muslim, 22 Hindus (17+5 Caste and Scheduled Castes respectively), 8 for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 2nd Board formed by the Huq-Mookerjee Ministry 60 members—25 Muslims, 25 Hindus (18+7 Caste and Scheduled Castes respectively), 1 Scheduled Caste and 1 Buddist and 8 Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Did Dr. Sanyal make members of the House April fools when he stated that 8 seats were given to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians? As the paramount powers played a most important part in education this allotment seemed fair and proper. It gave the devil his due. It put the saddle on the right horse.

Because of the invisible majesty of the law, has the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Bill concluded that law and order are maintained without the paramount power? Surely such reasoning is what we can only expect from a lunatic who has escaped from an asylum. (Laughter.) And yet we find that this Bill does not make definite provision for the permanent power with the result that the European to assert himself must displace the Anglo-Indian and so every thing is kept vague and indefinite as far as my community is concerned. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the safety, honour and welfare of the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans as a community are placed in my hands as one of their representatives in this House. But the safety, honour and welfare of the Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans as countrymen of Bengal are placed in your hands. I therefore appeal to every section of the House not to support this unjust Bill (hear, hear) which blots out the Anglo-Indians and subordinates the Caste Hindus with 17 votes to the Muslim and the Scheduled Caste majority with 27 votes. On this Board of 53 members there are 22 Muslims, 21 Hindus—I do not find 22 Hindus (17 *plus* 4 and not 17 *plus* 5) for Caste Hindus and Scheduled Caste Hindus respectively—one Indian Christian, one Buddhist, 2 for the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, of whom one shall be a woman and the other possibly a European of Mr. Wordsworth's type. (Loud laughter.) The clause does not clearly state Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European. As Indians, Goans, Jews, Chinese and Africans are admitted in our schools according to Mr. Wordsworth's repeated speeches in this House, one can never say who will be selected to let us down. Why this cruel repression where Anglo-Indians are concerned. (Hear, hear.) Surely, the Anglo-Indians have a right to elect their own representatives apart from those nominated by the Government from our Provincial Board. The other 5 seats, viz.—

Clause 4(1)—the President,

Clause 4(4)—the Director of Public Instruction.

Clause 4(9)—the Director of Physical Education,

are for high paid officials and may go to either Muslim, Hindu or European but not by any chance to an Anglo-Indian or Domiciled European. Why do you keep us down as subordinates? Has this war not proved that we make excellent officers?

Clause 4(13)—one from the Senate. and

Clause 4(19)(*e*)—one from the Legislative Council or Assembly,

are reserved for the minorities and may go to a Parsee, Marwari, Jain or Jew or to any one but an Anglo-Indian or Domiciled European. Why this dread of Anglo-India? Is it because Stalin has shown to the world what Eurasia can do.

The British in Canada are Canadians, in Australia Australians, in South Africa Afrikanders. But in India they remain Europeans. Those domiciled in this country are penalised and hence when we are given self-government leading to dominion status we have to get an Australian Governor.

Had the present British like the Anglo-Indians been proud of their traditions, proud of the early settlers, proud of the blackhole, proud of the mutiny and claimed to be Indians, the Holwell Monument would have remained today in its place, and we would have had our own Governor and the bond of friendship between England and India would have been greater. It is by this attitude failure to identify themselves with the country, that the two countries are drifting apart.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Even the Polish Jews have got better rights than Anglo-Indians.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Let me remind my Muslim friends that majority rule on a communal basis has failed. The Muslims could not stand together. If they today with false reasoning make laws in their favour, tomorrow when they are out of office these laws will be turned on them. Remember the man who introduced the guillotine was guillotined. (Loud cheers.)

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to oppose the circulation motion moved by my opposition friends. The first objection is that the Bill seeks to introduce communal electorates. The House fully remembers the tussle that went on when the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill was passed in this House. The Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill sought to introduce communal electorates. It actually introduced communal electorates in the Calcutta Corporation. At that time the Hindus actually threatened that they would boycott the election of the Calcutta Corporation but we have seen that two elections have passed very peacefully and that there has not been any boycott. On the other hand, there has been an amicable settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress Party. The heavens have not fallen because separate electorates have been introduced in the Calcutta Corporation though there has been some heat generated in the House and outside the House when the Bill was in the legislative anvil. Here also I do not think that there will be any difficulty if the Bill is passed with the communal electorates as proposed. I will narrate here the difficulties that the Muslims labour under joint electorate. There is one school in my own subdivision, Kishoreganj, named Azimuddin High School. One Azimuddin Muktear gave Rs. 21,000 and the school was founded in his name. Forty-eight per cent. of the students belong to the Muslim community, but in the last election though there were candidates both from the Muslim community as well as from the Hindu community it will be astounding for the honourable members of the House to know that the generous Hindu community did not allow even one single Muslim member to be elected to the Managing Committee of the Azimuddin High School though 48 per cent. of the boys belong to the Muslim community. That is the bitter experience of ours.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: The Muslims voted for the Hindus.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: There is no proportional representation in the Managing Committee vote. If there was one vote more then all the people would be Hindus. Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri forgets that voting on proportional representation has not been introduced in the Managing Committee.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I know that.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Because 52 per cent. belong to the Hindus and 48 per cent. to the Muslims if they so desire that they will not vote for any candidate belonging to the Muslim community they can defeat all the Muslim candidates. That is the majority voting.

There is another point, Sir. In our municipality there are 12 seats. The total population is 20,000 of which the Muslims form probably 10,000

and the Hindus 9,000. There is no reservation for either community. And what is the result in the polling. Two Muslim Commissioners and ten Hindu Commissioners were returned——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The Muslims are voting for the Hindus.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: But that is the result of joint electorate. Not only that, there is joint electorate—everybody knows—in district boards, district school boards, local boards and municipalities. What is the result. In all cases the Muslims are returned in East Bengal though there is joint electorate, and the Hindus are returned in West Bengal though the electorate is joint. So far as municipalities are concerned, the Hindus predominate there and in almost all municipalities the Hindus are returned. You insist that there should be joint electorate and there is joint electorate in municipalities, district school boards, district boards and local boards, but the result is the same.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Joint electorate elected Mr. Suhrawardy, Mr. Fazlul Huq——

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: I am not going into personal cases whether Mr. Suhrawardy or Mr. Fazlul Huq were returned, but I am giving figures that in district boards, district school boards and local boards though the electorate is joint, in East Bengal the Muslims are returned because they are in a majority and in West Bengal the Hindus are returned because they are in a majority there. Why do you not want to face the realities? If you come to realities, the result is the same. If by joint electorate the mentality of the Hindus or Muslims would have changed, I would have welcomed it either in West Bengal or East Bengal, but neither it has changed the mentality of the Hindus nor of the Muslims, anywhere. So I do not find why our Hindu friends are so much insisting on opposing communal electorate. The communal electorate has a political background. It was in 1916 that at Lucknow the Muslim League and the Congress by a pact agreed to separate electorate because the Muslims had no confidence in joint electorates and they thought that unless separate electorate was acceded to them they could not have their political rights. So the Muslims think that the time has not yet come when the system of separate electorate should be given a go-by by the Muslim community.

There are other things also to which Hindus are raising objection for the purpose of eliciting public opinion. Sir, the Bill has been before the public from the year 1940 and from that year the public individually and institutionally have sent in all their opinions. The Government and the Select Committee had given their fullest consideration to it. In 1940 the Select Committee met; the Hindu members resigned; and then the Select Committee proceeded without the Hindu members. They had finished their labour. They took into consideration the then public opinion and embodied as far as possible all the public opinion that was then expressed.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: On which Bill please?

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: On the 1940 Bill.

Then there was an expert Committee and there was a conference. Then that Bill lapsed. On the experience of the 1940 Bill and also on the agreement that was arrived at the 1942 Bill was drafted and that Bill had the consent of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee as well. The subsequent Select Committee sat on the Bill of 1942, and on that Select Committee there were no less personages than Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. Atul Chandra Sen, and Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal among others. Only the Official Congress had not the intention to get the Bill passed through the Legislature and they raised this point and that point, so that the Bill might not go through the Legislature. Subsequently that Bill was referred to the President of the Central Legislative Assembly at New Delhi. They did this, that and everything to kill the Bill but in the meantime that Ministry fell. We had

to take that task from them. Now it cannot be said that it should either be circulated for eliciting public opinion or it should be referred to a Select Committee. All the points have been examined and re-examined and all sorts of public opinion have been taken into consideration and incorporated. So there is absolutely nothing lacking which should be taken into consideration afresh. Sir, when the 1942 Bill as drafted by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee was published and referred to the Select Committee, the Calcutta University was absolutely silent; neither the Syndicate nor the Senate passed any opinion whatsoever. There was no public meeting in Calcutta or outside Calcutta. Neither the Official Congress nor my friends over there—I mean the party of Mr. Rai Chaudhuri and Mr. Sen—opened their lips. They practically observed a studied silence. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Because there was an agreement then.) And what is the present Bill? Practically there has been no change. If there has been any change, then that can be fought out at the consideration stage of the Bill. There cannot be any motion for eliciting public opinion or for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. If we have made any amendment, that must form a subject at the consideration stage. As I have said, we have not made any substantial change which may necessitate the eliciting of public opinion or reference to a Select Committee. So our friends are taking absolutely long time, not only long but unlimited time, an hour or more than an hour, and repeating the same arguments over and over again, meaning thereby that they will not allow this Bill to be passed probably within a month or it may be a quarter of a year. How these responsible people like Mr. Rai Chaudhuri and Mr. Sen and other people who show so much responsibility in respect of other Bills, in budget and other discussions can be so irresponsible in respect of this particular Bill passes our comprehension. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: You do not understand it.)

With these observations, Sir, I oppose all the motions that have been moved by my Opposition friends.

Miss MIRA DUTTA GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the obstinacy of the Government in attempting to force this Bill through the House in spite of protests from all corners of this province goes only to show how unresponsive the present Ministry is to popular opinion and popular feelings. The Ministry might at this moment well have taken up some other non-controversial and urgent matter affecting the health and well-being of the province, but true to its tradition of playing on the communal jealousy it has chosen to initiate a measure which will spell disaster for the future of our province.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we of the Opposition do not propose to go into the details of the provisions of this Bill at this stage because we are against the whole principle of importing communalism in the sphere of education. We oppose the whole Bill. The Bill nullifies the main object of education which is to overcome the artificial barriers which divide humanity in different races, religions and creeds. At this moment when our nation is striving to attain national unity the Bill proposes to infect the nation with the virus of communalism and this is only to satisfy the political aims of a reactionary party.

The Hon'ble Minister for Education himself admits that the Bill provides only a machinery for administration of secondary education. We are not told what should be the nature of that education. We have not been furnished with any plan regarding reform or expansion of education. We are only to have an apparatus whose function is not known. The Hon'ble Minister has put the cart before the horse. He has devised the machinery but not indicated its purpose. It is apparent that the purpose of this machinery is not so much to promote the development of education on progressive lines as to provide a stranglehold on even what meagre and inadequate education is to be had today. Plans on educational reconstruction in all countries and the Sargent Report on education in this country envisage

accelerated development in education. We look in vain in the text of the Bill or in its aims and objects for any such provision. The provision of communal electorates only extends the evil of communalism which has grievously poisoned our public life to the sphere of education. The communal spirit with which the whole Bill is surcharged would tend to make reactionaries of our young people.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Bill will no doubt satisfy the political aims of a section of the community but it will prejudice for ever the future of secondary education. It will seriously impair the future well-being of our boys and girls. Sir, it is indeed strange that the Ministry should choose to rush this Bill through the House towards the close of a busy and strenuous session. It has no patience to take note of the public opinion on a matter so vital to the future of our province and our country. The Bill should have been circulated widely in this province and in other provinces. Opinions of the universities outside the province, opinions of educationists of repute should have been sought in the matter, but, Sir, the present Ministry appears to be adamant. It chooses to act only according to its own counsel; it refuses to refer the Bill even to a Select Committee of the House, far less circulate it for eliciting public opinion. I say, Sir, with full conviction that the purpose of the Bill is utterly sinister, that the Bill is designed solely to distribute patronage and prizes of office to a number of unworthy people, that its purpose is to devise another instrument of wielding political power at the expense of the future of the province.

Sir, we on this side of the House condemn the Bill as a whole as well as all its provisions. We want that the Bill be circulated before any further progress is made with it on the floor of the House.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak out my mind on the Secondary Education Bill. Widespread opinion has been created among the Muslims of Bengal that this Bill will be a panacea for all Muslim grievances on secondary education. A counter and contrary opinion of still greater volume is also created in the Hindu community of the province. Sir, members of this House belonging to these major communities, share the opinion in these two dividinig lines. As for myself I do not see eye to eye with my Muslim friends opposite or my Hindu friends here. I am no believer in the slogan that Islam will be in danger without this Bill nor am I a believer in the slogan that Hinduism or nationalism will be jeopardised with the passing of this Bill.

Sir, recently I saw Muslim Leaguers joining hands with Hindus of different political affiliations for achievement of small things. Instances are to be found in the formation of this ministry, in the election of the corporation and in the recent election of local bodies in the mofussil districts. The Muslim Leaguers not only joined hands with Hindus of political affiliations but they even joined hands with the renegades from one affiliation or the other. Why should they not join hands to achieve this common good?

Sir, protests and controversies arose and ran very high when the Bengal Primary Education Bill was introduced in the old Legislative Council. It was passed against great protests. It is now on the statute book as the Bengal Free Primary Education Act of 1930. It is a dead letter there. Long 15 years have passed but Government could not shoulder the responsibility imposed on them by that Act. Nothing has been done as yet to place primary education on a better footing. It has done good or harm to none in education. The present Bill, when passed and placed on the statute book, will be a dead letter and it will meet with the same fate.

It will do no good or harm to anybody educationally. I have gone through the provisions of this Bill with attention and care and I make bold to say that this Secondary Education Bill as presented in this House, will have nothing to do with education of Bengal, but will add to the manifold sources of political jobberies and juggleries of a self-seeking coterie. In

the past I was in favour of a Secondary Education Bill and I am in favour of it still now. With the quick-march progress of secondary education in Bengal I do feel that it is high time to set up a strong machinery for effective control, development and reform of such education. I think there can be no two opinions on this point, but the present Bill is not up to my expectation and it will not serve any purpose. The first Secondary Education Bill was introduced in this House in 1940 when Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq was the Chief Minister and the Education Minister of Bengal. Four members of the present Cabinet, namely, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Mr. Suhrawardy, Sir Nazimuddin and Nawab Musharruff Hossain, and a satunch supporter of the present Cabinet, Mr. M. B. Mullick, were members of the then Cabinet. There was a unanimous decision in the Cabinet over the provisions of this Bill and on that the Bill was drafted and it was again placed in the Cabinet meeting and finally it was accepted unanimously in the Cabinet and after that it was published in the Gazette and introduced in this House. What was the principle of election there? It was a joint electorate with reservation of seats for different communities (Cries of "Hear," "hear" from the Opposition Benches and "No", "no" from the Coalition Benches.) The Hon'ble Mr. Shahabuddin, now a Minister, was the Chief Whip of the Government Party at that time. I along with my Muslim friends over there except Mr. Shahedali, Abul Fazl and two or three new faces who have recently come to this House, formed the first Coalition Party behind that Government. We also resolved to support the Bill as presented in 1940 in this House. Thus the joint electorate with reservation of seats for different communities was an accepted and agreed principle not only of the Cabinet, but also of all parties forming the then Government. (Cries of "Question" from the Coalition Benches.) (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Question yourself.) The next Bill was introduced in this House in 1942 with the same principle of joint electorate with reservation of seats. I did not see any stir anywhere in the press or platform of Muslim Bengal. But unfortunately the Bill of 1940 and the Bill of 1942, for reasons best known to this House, could not see the light of the day. Then Sir Nazimuddin's Government have introduced this Bill with communal electorate. This House demands immediately an explanation from the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education for this new position, change of front and shifting of ground. Sir, in his statement, the Hon'ble Minister has said that this Bill is in essence the same as the Bill of 1942. Only there is a little difference in the total number of members in the proposed Board and in the procedure of election. I respectfully differ from him and I submit that his statement is entirely wrong and misconceived. He has advocated the communal electorate and cited the Government of India Act, 1935, as an authority, but he has failed to see the wide gulf of difference between the two. The communal electorate under the Government of India Act, 1935, provides for the return of members to political bodies, whereas the communal electorate under this Bill will return members to an educational body. It is for this provision of communal electorate under this Act of 1935 that so many members of a single Dacca family could come to the Provincial Legislature of Bengal barring the doors against suitable candidates. A formidable candidate like Mr. Rezai Karim could not be elected to this House even in a bye-election. Had it been joint electorate with reservation of seats, his rival would have been altogether out of the picture. I would have no hesitation to go into the same lobby with my friends opposite in support of this Bill even with separate electorate, had I not got this impression from a close study of this Bill that it contains a sinister motive for a coterie control of education. Sir, the last two Bills were introduced in this House at a time when the conditions of this country were quite different from that of the present. Famine did not stalk the country, enemy was not knocking at the eastern gates of India. But now the problem of all problems is food on the one hand, and safety from enemy aggression on the other. The ravage of diseases is not yet over; rehabilitation of the economic life of the province

is yet to be achieved, and this would take time. If there be a recurrence of famine and if this plain of Bengal be a scene of war, then not to speak of secondary education, all education in general will come to a standstill. Any attempt therefore to introduce a change at this critical and uncertain time would be futile and will prove abortive.

There is another stumbling block in the way of putting this Bill into operation and that is the University of Calcutta. Unless there is a settlement with the Calcutta University, the Bill could not be given effect to and if any attempt is made by Government to put this Bill into operation without any settlement with the University of Calcutta, there will be a complete deadlock and chaos in the sphere of education and this task of settlement with the University is not an easy job; it will take time.

Sir, in his statement the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Bill the other day also hinted that there would be delay in putting this Bill into operation as the Government will have to come to an agreement with this University. If that be so, why is this hurry? I, therefore, request Government to pause and see whether it would be wise to proceed with the Bill in this inordinate haste. This Bill is indeed a Bill of momentous importance. Certain provisions of this Bill require close scrutiny and public opinion in general and opinions of eminent Muslim educationists in particular of this province as of outside will be of very much value. I would, therefore, request the Ministry to refer the Bill for opinion to the eminent Muslim educationists like Sir Azizul Haque, an ex-Minister of Bengal and an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sir Hasan Suhrawardy and Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed of Aligarh. Their considered opinion will speak for the people of Bengal in general and Muslims in particular and will throw great light on the Bill itself. I have already told the House that in this Bill provisions have been made more in the interests of a family or coterie than in the interest of Muslim education. I shall place before the House just now some of my conclusions with regard to certain provisions of the Bill. By the very nature of the constitution proposed for the Secondary Education Board and the limitations under which it will have to work I am sure it will lose all its autonomous character and that it will be subservient to the Government and will play only the second fiddle to it. Clause 7 of the Bill provides for the appointment of President of the Board for a term of 5 years and his reappointment for a similar period. That some discontented henchmen of the Muslim League Ministers with the like emolument of a Minister is perhaps in the contemplation. Preponderance of official members in the proposed Board is another aspect of the reactionary bureaucratic control of education. Allocation of seats to the Legislatures and to the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education is another suspicion added to that of coterie domination of secondary education of Bengal. In April, 1943, by Machiavellian manipulation and manœuvre two brothers of the same family got into the Ministry.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is up. How long will you take to finish?

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KONDKER: I would require 5 minutes.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Try to finish your speech quickly. I shall give you two minutes more.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: May I suggest, Sir, that the House should adjourn today, and Mr. Khondker be allowed to continue his speech tomorrow.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, he can speak for 3 or 4 minutes tomorrow.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7-5 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 17th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the Provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The Assembly met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 17th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Nausher Ali) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 181 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Grant of allowance to staff of Assembly Department.

*305. **Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL:** (*a*) With reference to the reply given in respect of the starred question No. 548 on the 11th July, 1939, regarding grant of allowance to the Assembly staff, will Mr. Deputy Speaker be pleased to state whether the Government were addressed to on the subject by Mr. Speaker as promised therein?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will Mr. Deputy Speaker be pleased to state the result thereof?

(*c*) Will Mr. Deputy Speaker be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that the staff of the Assembly Department have to remain in the office during the Assembly Sessions beyond the normal office hours of this Government;

(*ii*) that their duties call for meticulous precision and personal responsibilities;

(*iii*) that during sessions they perform duties which are non-secretarial in nature, e.g., ticket checking, work in visitors' table, work in division lobbies, etc.;

(*iv*) that they incur extra expenditure on each day during sessions towards their tiffin and food, etc., to keep themselves fit for over-time work; and

(*v*) that this affects them adversely on account of the abnormal rise in price of the foodstuffs, etc.?

(*d*) Is Mr. Deputy Speaker aware—

(*i*) that the compensatory allowance granted to the staff in the Governor's Secretariat in this Province is granted on reasons similar to those as mentioned in (*c*)(*i*) to (*iv*);

(*ii*) that such allowances are regularly drawn in Governor's Secretariat in Bengal; and

(*iii*) that in the House of Parliament similar allowances are paid to staff during sessions known as Night Allowance?

(*e*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, is Mr. Deputy Speaker considering the desirability of moving Government again on the subject in order to sanction a compensatory allowance?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr. Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy): (*a*) Yes, on two occasions.

(*b*) Government did not agree to the proposals.

(*c*) Yes.

(*d*) I am not aware.

(*e*) The matter is under consideration.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will Mr. Deputy Speaker be pleased to state how long the staff has to work during recess and during Assembly session?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That I cannot say definitely. They have to work beyond office hours sometimes.

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will Mr. Deputy Speaker please state what reasons Government offered in not agreeing to the proposal?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Government did not agree to the proposal because they relied on the report of the Retrenchment Committee called the Swan Committee.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will Mr. Deputy Speaker please state the substance of the proposal that Mr. Speaker was pleased to send?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The first recommendation of the Speaker was sent to Government on 14th October, 1939, and their reply was received on 2nd January 1941. The recommendation of the Speaker was refused. The second recommendation was sent on 2nd April 1942 and the reply of the Government was received—that Government were not willing to reopen the question—on 3rd September, 1942.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will Mr. Deputy Speaker please state with reference to answer (*b*) whether he thinks it desirable to advise Mr. Speaker to appoint a Committee representing all the parties and groups in the Assembly to enquire into and consider their grievances in regard to working for extra hours and to report all the grievances of the Assembly Department staff for consideration by Mr. Speaker, the Hon'ble Chief Minister and the Hon'ble Finance Minister?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In the meantime does Mr. Deputy Speaker think it desirable to compensate the staff in a manner within the power of Mr. Speaker?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am afraid there is no such provision under the existing rules. If there is any, the matter will be considered.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Are we to take it that even though the staff work extra hours, they are not given any kind of compensation for the present?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I want notice.

Mr. Md. ABUL FAZL: Will Mr. Deputy Speaker please state on what grounds the Government refused to consider the first recommendation of Mr. Speaker?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That I have already said.

Political prisoners.

***312. Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSH:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of political prisoners—

(1) detained,

(2) convicted, and

(3) released

up to 31st May, 1943; and

(*ii*) the number of them that have been sanctioned family allowances?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether they intend to release the political prisoners?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason for the delay in giving effect to it?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a) (i) It is difficult to give information asked for in (i) (1), (2) and (3) in the absence of any definition of the expression "political prisoners".

(ii) 808.

(b) In view of answer to (a) this does not arise.

(c) Does not arise.

Petition for grant of family allowance by security prisoner Babu Ashutosh Kali.

*313. **Babu JNANENDRA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jails) Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that security prisoner Babu Ashutosh Kali, of Bilaskhan, police-station Palong, district Faridpur, at present detained in the Buxa Special Reserve Jail, had sent several petitions to the Government for the grant of family allowance;

(ii) that all the petitions have been rejected by the Government; and

(iii) that no family allowance has been granted to him?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) what were the sources and amount of his income before his arrest stated in his petitions;

(ii) whether the local Sub-Inspector of Police made any enquiry about his circumstances in connection with his petitions; and

(iii) if so, whether he has recommended any grant of family allowance?

(d) Will the Hon'ble Minister be further pleased to state whether the said prisoner prayed to have his case enquired into by the Presidents of the local and adjoining Union Boards or the Head Master of the local High English School?

(e) If the answer to (d) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons why it was done?

(f) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether his family members numbering not less than twenty-three have fallen in great financial difficulty being deprived of the financial help they used to get from him before his arrest?

(g) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of granting him a family allowance?

(h) If the answer to (g) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason thereof?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a) Yes.

(b) The detention of the prisoner has not deprived the family of its legitimate source of income.

(c) (i) He stated that he had a monthly income of Rs. 40 from the newspaper agency.

(ii) and (iii) Enquiry was made by a responsible police officer and no allowance was recommended in his case.

(d) Yes.

(e) Government do not consider that any other enquiry is necessary.

(f) the security prisoner was not earning anything before his arrest and the profits derived from the newspaper agency, now conducted by the prisoner's nephew, are paid to the family and there is no information that the family members have fallen in great financial difficulty.

(g) No.

(h) I invite the honourable member's attention to my replies to (b) and (f) above.

Procedure for making applications by permanent Government servants for posts in departments other than their own.

***314. Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that Government has issued orders recognising the rights and privileges of permanent Government servants to apply for posts in departments other than their own;

(ii) that Government has enunciated a policy that no Government servant should be debarred from bettering his prospects in other departments unless his retention is required in the interest of the public service;

(iii) that in many departments of Government this order is not acted upon nor strictly observed; and

(iv) that sometimes the applications of applicants in Government service for appointments elsewhere are not forwarded by the officers without assigning reasons therefor?

(b) If the answers to (a) (iii) and (iv) are in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of prescribing a return form which may be submitted to the Home Department for their scrutiny?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a) (i) No. A procedure has been prescribed for the making of applications by permanent Government servants for posts in other departments and a copy of the gazette notification in which this procedure was published is laid on the Library Table.

(ii) I invite the attention of the honourable member to sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 2 of that notification. Under war conditions the public interest frequently requires permanent Government officials to remain in posts from which, in peace time, they might, without detriment to that interest have been released.

(iii) No such instances have come to my notice.

(iv) It is not incumbent upon the head of the department to state the reasons why applications are withheld. The presumption is that the application is withheld in the public interest unless otherwise stated.

(b) General instructions in such matters issue from the Home Department and that department are consulted by other departments of Government as and when necessary. It is not considered desirable or necessary to prescribe a form of return to be submitted to the Home Department.

Transfer and deputation of officers of Home Department.

***315. Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state how many officers of the Home Department of this Government—

(i) gazetted; and

(ii) ministerial have been appointed elsewhere either (1) on transfer or (2) on deputation on their posts in the Home Department during 1940, 1941 and 1942?

(b) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the following details in each case of such officers as referred to in (a), viz.,—

(i) names,
(ii) gazetted or non-gazetted in the Home Department;
(iii) grade in the Home Department;
(iv) allowances in the Home Department;
(v) special pay in the Home Department;
(vi) name of the new department where holding present post;
(vii) post gazetted or non-gazetted;
(viii) grade of pay in the new post;
(ix) allowances drawn in the new post; and
(x) special pay drawn in the new post?

(c) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the conditions of—

(i) special pay; and
(ii) allowances of such posts, if any,

(1) in the Home Department, or (2) in the new post?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): Two statements are laid on the Library Table.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to the list of the non-gazetted staff, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the pay of Babu Phani Bhusan Gupta is equivalent to the pay of a Head-assistant in the Bengal Secretariat?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The answer is in the affirmative.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state under what circumstances a special pay of Rs. 85 is admissible to an assistant in the Secretariat and whether it is given to Phani Babu?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The special pay is admissible only when the special assistant is recruited from the cadre of Head assistants of the Secretariat. I would like to ask for notice why the special pay is given to this assistant.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the special pay is given on consideration of seniority of the clerks there?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is his deputation for any definite period or for indefinite period?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: I see that the gazetted staff in the Governor's Secretariat has been increased. Does the increased gazetted staff in the Governor's Secretariat justify the continuance of the deputation even now?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is not a fact that recruitment to the clerical staff in the Governor's Secretariat is made by the Public Service Commission?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice. Presumably it is so.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does not the Home Department examine the question of creation of posts in the Governors' Secretariat?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It concerns the Finance Department.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Was there any proposal to take Muslim Assistants there?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir,——

Mr. SPEAKER: I think you did not finish your speech yesterday. How long will you take?

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: I shall finish in 10 or 15 minutes. I spoke only for 14 or 15 minutes.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Mr. Speaker, his time expired yesterday and he was only given extension. The Deputy Speaker promised to give him two or three minutes today.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Sir, I shall try to finish as quickly as possible.

Sir, I resume my unfinished speech. I was discussing the allotment of seats to the Legislature and to the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education. Two seats have been given to the Muslim members of the Legislative Council whereas only 3 seats have been given to 124 Muslim members of this House. I do not see any logic behind this distribution. Behind this distribution there is a motive, the same motive which I discussed last evening. My honourable friends on the opposite who are still entertaining a ray of hope of their return to this board will be deluded and thrown overboard when that occasion will come.

Sir, last evening I heard my friend Mr. Israil speaking about the constitution of Managing Committee of certain High English schools where Hindus barred the gates against the Muslims. That might be, but in 1940 Muslims barred the door against Muslims when the Muslim members of this House elected Sir B. P. Singh Roy to the Legislative Council, what answer is there from my friend Mr. Israil in this respect? Where was the Muslim interest? Here the Muslim interest was sacrificed by the Muslim members of this House. What did we see last year when the election of the President of the Legislative Council took place? There were two candidates—one the sitting Deputy President Mr. Abdul Hamid Chowdhury and the other Sir B. P. Singh Roy. The nationalist Hindus supported the candidature of Mr. Chowdhury, the Congress gave its members the option of open voting, while the Muslim Leaguers gave a mandate to support *en bloc* Sir B. P. Singh Roy. For this Sir B. P. Singh Roy was successful by a narrow margin. Where was the Muslim interest then? Was not Mr. Chowdhury a Muslim? Was he an accursed Muslim not to get the blessings of the members of the sacred group, I mean, the Muslim League.

Sir, another instance I shall cite just now in the House to vividly clarify my point about the mentality of a certain coterie. In 1940 my son-in-law Khan Sahib Waheduzzaman, now an M.L.C., a well-known young man to this House, was an intending candidate. I had been to the House of the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy——

Mr. SPEAKER: How has that got relevancy with this?

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: How Muslim interests would be safeguarded by communal representation—I was talking about that.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think within that compass you can bring the whole world. How can you bring what happened during an election?

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: We have been hearing an enormous amount of nonsense.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: If it is nonsense it is so on your account and certainly I do not want sense or wisdom from the honourable member from the Goalundo subdivision.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. Last night Mr. Israil was permitted to cite certain instances in which in cases of election Muslims were not returned by Muslims simply because of the fact that there were no communal electorates. In answer to that argument, all these instances will be relevant.

Mr. SPEAKER: If once something is allowed, certainly the other side will claim to say something by way of reply, but there ought to be a limit to this sort of instances. What I mean to say is this that incidentally instances may be cited but if you go on giving illustration after illustration that will certainly not be proper. However, if any instances had been allowed, instances may be given by way of reply, but I think they may be briefly stated. To elaborate stories I will not cetrainly allow.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: I shall certainly give no stories. I had been to the Hon'ble Minister Mr. Suhrawardy who said that he would not take part in the election. He referred us to Mr. Shahabuddin. We had been to him and he enquired of the age of my son-in-law and it was given as 31. At once he jumped up in his chair and said that he was too young for that House because it was the House of Elders. Two days after, one gentleman, a school-fellow of my son-in-law of the same age, of the same education, of the same stature and of the same complexion was a candidate and his case was pushed through by Mr. Shahabuddin and his party.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter. Why are you bringing in all these?

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Why it was, because he was the son-in-law of the Dacca family.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Khondkar, I am sorry to be compelled to interrupt you. If instances like this be allowed to be multiplied, you will cite some instances which will call for a reply from the other side and so on *ad infinitum*. I never expected that you will say that something undesirable was done by some member of this side or that side. That is not in point at all. You could have said about the pernicious effect of communal electorate or this or that and by way of illustration you might have said "here is a case which shows its undesirablity", but do not bring in personalities.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: I was drawing your attention to a distinction. The son-in-law of the Dacca family was thought fit and suitable at that age while my son-in-law was not suitable.

However, I shall deal with allotment of seats for Anglo-Indian and European Board of Education. Two seats have been given to that institution. These gentlemen—the Anglo-Indians and Europeans—have their own Board of Education. They have their own institutions where their children get education. Their children do not get education in our institions. Even in the provincial budget, there is a separate account of grant for their education. I do not see what justification there is for giving them representation. What interest or interests will they represent in the Secondary Education Board. They will represent no one but themselves. This has been given only to strengthen the party of a coterie.

Sir, provision has been made in the Bill to bring in outsiders from Dacca who are not members of the Board into the Executive Council. This is a novel method of constituting an Executive Council. In all political organisations and other bodies, the Executive Council and the committee of management are constituted with members from parent bodies. But here

the Executive Council of the proposed Secondary Education Board is going to be constituted with members dragged in from Dacca who are not members of the proposed Board.

Lastly, by appointment and co-option, a number of satellites and parasites of a coterie would be coming in the name of Muslim interest. The Secondary Education Board instead of being a real and genuine Secondary Education Board would be a stronghold of political activities of a certain party with constant communal bickerings.

Now I shall take up the question of control, regulation and development of secondary education in the light of the provisions of the Bill. There are enough provisions made in the Bill for control and regulation, but what about development? The word "development" is to be found in the Statement of Objects and Reasons in the last page and in clause 18 only. Save and except the mention of "development" there is nothing in the Bill to show that there is any idea behind this development. No plan, no scheme, no programme has been set forth in the Bill itself. The Hon'ble Minister——

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: I want more time, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I was not here yesterday, but I see from the proceedings that Mr. Deputy Speaker allowed you 3 or 4 minutes more today. That is what I find from the record.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: I beg to submit that other speakers are allowed to speak for 50, 65 or 75 minutes, but when members of the Progressive Assembly Party rise to speak they are given limited time. I do not see why on every occasion when I rise on my legs I am given only 5 or 6 minutes while other members are given 50, 65 or 75 minutes. We belong to the Progressive Assembly Party and we have a right to speak——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Khondkar, will you kindly resume your seat? I do not know——

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Before you give your ruling——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order; I am on my legs. (Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: We are afraid.) What are you afraid of? Are you afraid of me? (Laughter).

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: We are afraid of your ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not giving any ruling. It is not a question of ruling. I am just explaining the position. I can quite understand that when one member is given a certain latitude another member can certainly claim to have a similar latitude. But still some discretion has got to be exercised by the members themselves as well as by the Speaker in conducting deliberations. I was not here yesterday, and it appears to me that the time for which Mr. Khondkar was allowed to speak expired and he was asked to finish his speech quickly. Mr. Deputy Speaker then said: "I shall give you 2 minutes more." After that Mr. Basu rose and asked for some concession in his favour and then Mr. Deputy Speaker said: "Yes. He can speak for 3 or 4 minutes tomorrow." That is what I find from the record. Mr. Khondkar, you have already spoken for about 10 minutes when that red signal was given. If you now say that because others have been allowed this time therefore you must have 75 minutes, well I do not know how far that can be entertained, but I would request you to finish your speech as quickly as possible not exceeding five minutes.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Sir, before I resume my speech I submit that yesterday I had no mind to rise up, but on the assurance of the Deputy Speaker that he would give me more time if I could not conclude I had the impression that I would be given a longer time. On that assurance, Sir, I did rise to speak yesterday.

Now, Sir, there is no well thought-out scheme, plan or programme behind the idea of development of secondary education. The Hon'ble Minister in his speech is completely silent about it either due to his ignorance of any plan, scheme or programme or he does not like to make any commitment because the Government do not really intend the development of secondary education. Mere grant of recognition to the existing institutions or mere withdrawal of recognition from the existing institutions or mere distribution of grant here and grant there will not develop secondary education. Improving the existing secondary schools and starting new model secondary schools with good staff, with a change in the syllabus and curriculum will be an essential element of development. That requires money. That is the monetary contribution of Government to the education fund? The Education Fund of the Board starts with a monetary contribution of the Government to the extent of Rs. 25 lakhs. Another Rs. 25 lakhs will come to this fund in an augmentation grant within five years making a total of Rs. 50 lakhs. This would be spent in meeting the items of expenses as enumerated in clause 38 and therefore nothing will be left for the development of secondary education. When the question of development of education, agriculture and other nation-building departments comes up in other countries, Governments of those countries come forward with a long liberal purse, but when demand is made of the Government of this country the Government come forward with a tight Shylock's purse. There is a wish expressed at the close of clause 36 that nothing will preclude the Government to make further grants for purposes other than those mentioned in clause 38. The idea of development is unworkable, will remain there as a pious wish and it will never materialise.

Sir, Mr. Mullick in his speech last evening said that there is a great propaganda against the Bill, because some vested interests somewhere were going to be affected and ousted. I would satisfy him that if vested interest is going to be ousted in one quarter it is going to be established again in another quarter (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition benches). I shall satisfy my friend on these points when I shall express myself more elaborately on the clauses. From the viewpoints I have explained I am of opinion that there is no need for the House to proceed with the Bill in this inordinate haste.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be referred to a committee of the whole House. Sir, it is very difficult for me to speak on this motion and take up the time of the House when we are in the midst of another motion on which the House has not had its final say. Sir, a committee of the whole House is not so unusual as one member has just now said. I would refer the honourable member to rule 54 of the Assembly Procedure Rules. If my motion is accepted, then every member of this House will be able to give his opinion and sit in judgment on all the provisions embodied in the Bill while in a motion of a Select Committee of 17 members discussion will be confined to a picked few. Those who have been members of Select Committees know how it is done. Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in his speech has said that amongst many there is wisdom, so instead of having a packed committee if there is a committee of the whole House there is likely to be greater wisdom from the members of the whole House. Every member will get an opportunity to discuss the provisions in this House and make whatever changes possible bearing in mind the points stressed during the discussion on the circulation motion. Most of the members have put forward their claim that they must have their say in the matter. If my motion is accepted, they would be able to have their say on all these points and to place the view-points of their constituencies before the House.

In moving this motion I have to say this. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Bill, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, has said that it is unnecessary to elicit public opinion. Some members of the Government Party tried yesterday to oppose the motion for circulation but their reasons are not at all

tenable. I will come to their speeches later on and criticise them, particularly those of Mr. Mukunda Behary Mullick and Maulvi Mohammed Israil. Sir, it is usual to have public opinion on any Bill that is taken into consideration. It may be that the present day Government do not want public opinion. That we can understand. In this country of ours, public opinion is not very manifest. The Government of the day always try to trample under their feet whatever public opinion there may be. That is a fact. That is our misfortune. Further, Sir, we on this side of the House always try to point out how public opinion is felt. It cannot be altogether dismissed by saying that Government cannot and do not care for public opinion. I would rather say that this Government do not care for public opinion fortified as they are in their majority. There was a time when even the Government of India had to make truce with Mahatma Gandhi.

Coming to this Bill the Hon'ble Minister has said that public opinion is not necessary. He has also given us an indication that Select Committee is also unnecessary. He takes upon himself the responsibility and wisdom of all educationists in this country. Why, we find that in the countryside there is demonstration all over. That demonstration has been described by some members who never attended those meetings as a got-up demonstration, a demonstration organised by a few interested people.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, you should remember that you have moved a motion referring the Bill to a committee of the whole House. You must say why you want the Bill to be referred to such a committee. You are not speaking now on the circulation motion.

Mr. P. BANERJI: I submit, Sir, that when I began my speech I pointed out that other motions had not been disposed of. Therefore——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter.

Mr. P. BANERJI: May I submit while speaking on my motion I should not be debarred from making any reference to the circulation motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, will you kindly resume your seat? You are now speaking, I understand, on your motion and you please make your submission on that motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. We are really at a loss to understand what exactly you are driving at. The motion is for reference of the Bill to a committee of the whole House. The arguments for such reference will be the arguments that the member is expected to state and in course of such arguments, is he not entitled to traverse the general drawbacks of the Bill or the measure which require the attention of the whole House as such and in a manner that every one can take part in the discussion freely and without limitation of time and without the restriction that one member cannot speak on a motion more than once.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have raised an absolutely irrelevant matter.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is he not entitled to say or point out the drawbacks of the Bill as a whole?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have never said that he is not.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Then what is the difficulty?

Mr. SPEAKER: He was referring to other matters between the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. P. BANERJI: On a point of order, Sir. If it is your ruling that I should only speak on the motion that has just been moved I submit that you are doing an injustice to me. There is a motion for consideration of the Bill and that motion is before the House. There is another motion for circulation of the Bill. Now comes a third motion for reference of the Bill to a committee of the whole House. Am I not entitled to speak, as Dr. Sanyal has suggested, on some points raised and on the motions that

are before the House? If I am restricted to the Select Committee motion may I ask whether I shall be able to speak a second time on the circulation motion? I want you to clear the position.

Mr. SPEAKER: First of all I want you to confine yourself to the point now before the House. I am not called upon to give you a decision on a hypothetical case. You finish your speech now on this motion and when occasion will arise I shall give a decision.

Mr. P. BANERJI: I submit, I have not spoken on any hypothetical question. I do not know whether you have listened to me carefully or not.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am quite so close to you not only by distance of space but also in other matters, and I have understood you thoroughly and well. I hope you will understand my point. I am requesting you to make your submission on the particular motion before the House now. You have moved your motion and you please speak on that motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Should not a member be allowed to speak in his own way?

Mr. SPEAKER: He has moved his motion and I have called upon him to speak on that motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You cannot call upon a particular member to speak in a particular manner. It is his privilege to speak in his own way.

Mr. SPEAKER: A member has got the right to put matters in his own way so long as it is not inconsistent with the rules

Mr. P. BANERJI: Now, Sir, I was dealing with the point that this Government does not care for public opinion As regards the question of reference to Select Committee, the Hon'ble Minister has just stated that instead of referring this matter to the Select Committee it should at once be considered and passed into law by this House. In course of his speech the Hon'ble Minister has said that he has two objects in view in bringing forward this Bill. One of them is unified control and the other is development of education. These are the two matters for which he has brought this Bill before this House. He has also explained that this Bill should not be referred to a Select Committee for the simple reason that the matter has been before this House and before the public for a long time and that it is not really a new Bill, the Bills of 1940 and of 1942 being of an identical nature with the present Bill. The only change, he says, is that this Bill has adopted the system of separate electorate. So far as that is concerned, Sir, we are definitely of opinion that that is a retrograde step so far as educational matters are concerned. It shows that it has not been the intention of Government to work for the development of education under the Jenkins' scheme. Sir, the whole object under that scheme is to control but not to develop education. That has been our experience for some time now. As a matter of fact, during the discussion on the last Secondary Education Bill it was contended that there was a dual control in educational matters. The question that is raised from time to time is that there is a dual control and that our education is not of an ideal character. Under this dual control some part is played by the University of Calcutta and some part is played by the Inspecting staff of Government. Sometimes it so happens that the Inspecting staff make certain recommendations but the University makes counter-recommendations nullifying the recommendations of the Inspecting staff. Sir, we have in Bengal about 1,500 high schools of which some are Government schools, some are aided schools and the rest are unaided schools. Now, Sir, during the last 15 or 20 years Government have thought fit that some at least of these schools must not be allowed to continue, and the Inspecting staff is directed to act in such a way as would virtually compel the authorities of such schools to close them down. It has also been found that in the case of some of the aided schools where the students are found to be politically-minded in the opinion of the inspecting staff, either such

students are turned out of the schools or the grants-in-aid to such schools are stopped. I shall cite an instance how these schools are controlled by the inspecting staff. In my own constituency of Kasinagar there was a school years ago in the extreme outskirts of Diamond Harbour the students of which were mostly sons of agriculturists and this school had not even 75 boys in the upper four classes, and on that ground it was recommended that the grant-in-aid should be stopped. But that was only an excuse, the real idea behind it being that some schools must not be given grants-in-aid. There were two other schools near by and Dr. Jenkins who is over there ordered that the grant to that particular school should be withdrawn and divided equally amongst the other two schools.

Now, Sir, I shall cite another instance as to how the inspecting staff do their work. Sir, it is now known to everybody that the departments of Government are not honest but the Education Department at least was considered to be honest so long. But only recently this department by following the examples of other departments has begun to be dishonest. Here is a case of the reconstitution of the Managing Committee of a school. Order was given for the reconstitution of the Managing Committee. Sir, the Subdivisional Officer of the place was an ex-officio member of the Committee and as it was thought that being a high Government servant he could not work as an ordinary member of the Committee he was made the President of the school by Government patronage. Now this august President did not like some of the members of that Committee and without listening to them turned them out of the Committee. Then that question was brought before this House and before the Education Minister. At that time nomination was hanging in the air and therefore there was no reaction. But after the nomination was made, the Committee began to function. Then, Sir, the Inspector of Schools at the instance of certain Government officials decided that there must be another Committee. The school authorities referred the matter to the Registrar of the Calcutta University. The Registrar in his letter, dated the 30th October, 1943, stated that the term of the Committee would expire on the 18th September, 1945. In spite of this the Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, had the audacity to write to the Registrar in his letter No 898 of 12th February, 1944, saying many things and at last threatened, "under the circumstances I request you to reconsider your decision". Mind you, an Inspector of Schools writing to the Registrar of the Calcutta University threatening him "under the circumstances I request you to reconsider your decision in the matter and direct the school authorities to have the reconstitution effected immediately. The continuance of the old Committee may mean the final withdrawal of the grant-in-aid which may not mean much to the present management but it is vital to the teaching staff in the present emergency. An early decision in the matter is solicited." Mind you, Sir, this is a sample of how education in this country is conducted. This is the position. I can multiply instances where the inspecting staff are nowadays trying to get rid of the University control so that they may have a full play of their evil propensities and this inspecting staff in order to secure grant-in-aid are taking bribes. I can give proof of thousands of cases. The Hon'ble Minister should take note of it. I will ask Mr. Tamizuddin Khan to note that this is the way in which things are being done.

Then, Sir, take the other matter into consideration. The Primary Education Bill was passed during Sir Nazimuddin's time. He was then Mr. Nazimuddin and as a reward for passing the Primary Education Bill he was knighted. Now, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, while he was in the Opposition, used to cry day in and day out in every session that the Primary Education Bill should be passed. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan was then the Secretary of the Proja Party in the old House. He used to cry why the Education Bill has not been passed but that did not carry any effect.

Now, Sir, when the Government are not doing anything and when their purpose is not served their usual complaint is paucity of funds, that crores

of rupees are wanted and that other urgent matters are to be taken into consideration. Sir, we in the old House cried that the primary duty of every Government is to introduce primary education and that primary education in a poor country of ours must be free and compulsory. Sir, nothing was done. If the intention of the Government was genuine and honest it was in the fitness of the things that Government should have accepted our motion of free and compulsory education. But nothing was done. Subsequently pretending paucity of funds they levied a tax both on the tenants and the zemindars. As a result of that still it has not been universally introduced. Only those districts where the district boards took up the cause of education had it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, time is short. Will you come to secondary education and leave aside primary education?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: How can we jump to secondary unless we go through the stage of primary?

Mr. P. BANERJI: Dr. Sanyal should know that our Hon'ble Speaker was a brilliant student and he used to get promotions and double promotions. Many times he got scholarships and he was a Sanskrit scholar also. But that is not possible for all boys and girls of average merit like ourselves.

You know, Sir, that cess has been paid and schools have been started and many schools have been abolished. I know in my constituency the Inspector of Schools is going about and if in any place you want to start a school, then a building will have to be found, then the furniture and then other equipments and everything else must be found and then Government will give you the salary of three teachers. You can imagine, Sir, how today it is possible, when people cannot have two meals and are starving, to find such things for Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, I regret to be compelled to interrupt you, but what has that got to do with the principle underlying the Secondary Education Bill?

Mr. P. BANERJI: If you say so, Sir, I will at once sit down in deference to your wishes.

Maulvi MD. ISRAIL: How long this blue light is allowed and when the red light will be lit?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, I cannot allow you for more than half an hour. That is the maximum time.

Mr. P. BANERJI: But I was interrupted on account of points of order.

Now, Sir, we know what is the position in the country after primary education has been introduced. My point in saying this is to substantiate my argument that although Government promise to do certain thing it is a futile promise and they cannot carry that into action. In spite of introduction of the Act, the way in which the Act is being worked in the country today proves that instead of having more education in the country, instead of education being expanded, education has deteriorated. That is my argument.

Now, Sir, as regards the Secondary Education Bill, the main point of the Bill is to take out the control and to officialise it and the whole object is very clear. You will find, Sir, not only in secondary education but in upper primary education there are many students who are given notice and there are teachers who are not allowed to teach and you know, Sir, how at present orders have been given in the case of B. M. College.

After the introduction of the Secondary Education Bill in 1835, the object of the Government in those days was to give artificial education. I will quote some of the sentences of Macaulay's Despatch when the Secondary Education Bill was passed.

"We are at present", Macaulay said, "a Board for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank and for giving an artifiicial encouragement to absurd History, absurd Metaphysics, absurd Physics and absurd Theology".

That was the intention and that was the purpose in those days of men of Macaulay's thinking. The whole object was to give us sham education and at the same time make us illiterate. In those days, according to history, we find that in every village every adult could read, write and decipher. This is what English history tells us. What is the position today? Today after 200 years of British rule in this country the Britishers hang their heads in shame when they talk of education and advancement of education to the people. They have reduced us from cent. per cent. literacy to 7 per cent. and now in a few years it has been raised to 13 to 15 per cent. That is the position. If this Bill is introduced, the whole object of education will be frustrated. The Bill will not advance the cause of education, but on the contrary it will retard its growth.

There is another point on which I should like to say a few words. It is said that those schools that are going on independently are imparting political education. We find it always said "in England our boys have nothing to do with politics". But we find every day on streets and in railway compartments students from different parts of the countries like England, Scotland, America, New Zealand, Canada. They have given up their studies altogether. What for they have come here? They have come here for fighting. They are fighting for the freedom of the country; and that is politics. Sometimes we have seen pro-Government officials sermonising "we have nothing to do with politics in this school or that school", but I find that there is nothing but politics. It is admitted on all hands that every step that is taken by Government and particularly by our foreign masters in the field of education goes to serve their political purpose. This is their main object of education, but on account of these independent schools, they could not do what the Romans did to the Britishers. As I have already stated, Macaulay in his speech said that the whole object of education was that if education was given to these people, then they would forget everything of their own and become Christians in 30 years. But they did not succeed in achieving their object. Neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans became Christians. Their attempt was a total failure. Sometime ago when a movement was afoot to introduce this Secondary Education Bill, it had not the desired effect, because the European officials and the European members of the service could not get their own men. Now that there is a Communal Ministry, they have got an opportunity to introduce this Bill. And as a matter of fact this Bill has been introduced with a modification by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan who was once a Congress leader. I can understand Sir Nazimuddin, because he is a bureaucrat and he is taught in that school of thought, but I cannot understand Mr. Tamizuddin Khan I pity him for the simple reason that he has forgotten so soon that he was at one time a Congress leader, that he went to jail and that he sufferred imprisonment for two years. He sufferred so much for the country and of all persons for a mere pittance of Rs. 2,500, he has submitted to these bureaucrats. Sir, history is repeating itself. We now realise that Serajuddaula was wrong. We now realise that the conspiracy against him by Mirzafar and Umichand was wrong. We now realise after so many years that the greatest blunder was made. I would tell Mr. Tamizuddin Khan that he will not understand today what he is going to do. He is in evil company and the victim of circumstances and so he is doing even this thing to keep this Ministry in power; otherwise we would not have seen this Bill emanating from a Minister who at one time was a leader of the Projas. He has now changed his colour——

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, I have given you 35 minutes. I can't allow you any more time.

Mr. P. BANERJI: Sir, before I sit down I must say again that this Bill should be considered in a Select Committee and if this is done, I do not think there will be any delay. Even if there be some delay, say a fortnight or a month, that does not matter, because Government cannot put this Bill into operation immediately. Nobody knows what will happen after the war. Even if this Bill is passed I can prophesy the Hon'ble Minister will say that it is not possible to translate this into action, because in order to give effect to this Bill a large amount of money will be needed. The Government of India cannot give any money, we have also no money and a small pittance of Rs. 25 lakhs or Rs. 50 lakhs in five years is nothing. Therefore I request the Hon'ble Minister to accept this very modest motion for sending this Bill to a Committee of the whole House, and as all the members will be there, I do not think they will have any hesitation in accepting this motion.

Sir, with these words I move my motion.

(Mr. Haripada Chattopadhyay rose to speak.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry I cannot allow you to speak. Yes, Mr. Roy.

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINGHA: Sir, I have got a motion in my name for reference of the Bill to a Committee of the whole House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly resume your seat? What are you going to refer to?

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINGHA: Rule 40 runs thus: "Where substantially identical motions stand in the names of two or more members, the Speaker shall decide whose motions shall be moved". The word "motions" is in plural number. So you cannot restrict two members from moving this motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: My interpretation of the rule is clear. It is this: that only one of the movers can move and when one of the gentlemen in whose name the motion stands has moved the motion, the same motion cannot be moved by another member.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I am afraid, you have not looked into the rule carefully before you gave your ruling. The rule, unfortunately for you, really uses the plural number. There may be identical motions, but the arguments for coming to the same conclusion may be quite different. It is only fair that in a Bill like this where the members hold strong views, they will be permitted to speak in their own way.

Mr. SPEAKER: Though I did not carefully look into the rule before I gave my ruling—and I gave my decision from my impression—I am now convinced that my decision was perfectly right. Here in the rule it is said "substantially identical motions" and that is why the plural number has been used. In this case it is the very same identical motion. Therefore no such question arises.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: In that case your interpretation of this rule does not cover this case.

Mr. SPEAKER: My interpretation is simply this. When the same motion stands in the names of more than one honourable member, only one honourable member can move it and no question of moving that identical motion by any other member can possibly arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We shall speak on this motion, then.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a different matter altogether. I have decided that all these motions referring the Bill to Select Committee will be moved first and then the matter will be thrown open to discussion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will you, in your wisdom, guarantee that members who desire to speak will be given their due quota of time to speak whatever be the attempt on the part of Government to stultify discussion?

Mr. SPEAKER: I will never stultify discussion. I would allow fair and reasonable discussion as allowed under the rules. The Opposition may rest assured that I will never try to curtail their rights but I would at the same time expect that members will be reasonable in their speeches.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department,
(2) Mr. Syed Badrudduja,
(3) Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar,
(4) Mr. Syed Hasan Ali Chaudhury,
(5) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(6) Mr. Dhirendra Nath Datta,
(7) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(8) Mr. Upendra Nath Edbar,
(9) Mr. Upendra Nath Barman,
(10) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(11) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,
(12) Miss Mira Dutta Gupta, and
(13) Mr. Charu Chandra Roy (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st December, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee to be fixed at seven.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, সেদিন এই প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শিক্ষা বিল জনমত সংগ্রহের জন্য যে প্রস্তাব আমি আনয়ন কোরেছি—

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: On a point of order, Sir. The motion that Mr. Roy has moved does not contain his name or the words "and the mover", and as such he cannot move it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do you mean to say that the motion is defective?

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Yes, Sir.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: In that case I shall withdraw my name.

সেদিন এই প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল বিলটা জনমত সংগ্রহের জন্য প্রেরণ করতে আমি যে প্রস্তাব এনেছি তাতে এই বিলটা যে কতখানি প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল তা আমি ব'লে গিয়েছি। আজ একটু-খানি শুধু বল্‌তে চাই—শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে,—যদি জনমত সংগ্রহের সাহস না থাকে তা'হলে বিলটা নিজেদের মধ্যে একত্র বসে আলোচনা করে' যাতে সংশোধিত হতে পারে সেই চেষ্টা করুন। যাতে বাংলার শিক্ষা, বাংলার কৃষ্টি বজায় থাকে সেই দিকে দৃষ্টি দিতে মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করি। সেদিন মন্ত্রী মহোদয় তাঁর বক্তৃতায় বিল সম্বন্ধে যে ব্যাখ্যাটা দিয়েছেন সেই সম্বন্ধে আমি দু'একটা কথা বলতে চাই। তিনি বলেছেন যে ১৯৪২ সনে যে বিলটা আনা হয়েছিল সেই বিলটা তথাকথিত Select Committee যেভাবে পরিবর্তন করেছেন সেই ভাবেই বিলটা এখানে আনা হয়েছে। Mr. Speaker, Sir, এত বড় সত্যের অপলাপ এ পর্য্যন্ত House of Parliamentএ হয় নাই,—বিশেষত: কোন শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রীর মুখ থেকে। যিনি বাংলা দেশের শিশুর মন গঠিত করবেন, যিনি বাঙ্গালীকে শিক্ষাদানের যে রাজতক্ত সেই তক্তে অধিষ্ঠিত সেই শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী আমাদের সাম্নে যে ভাওতাটা দিয়েছেন সে ভাওতাটা আদৌ সত্য নয়। ১৯৪২ সালের বিলটা যখন তথাকথিত Select Committeeর সাম্নে আসে, তখন, Mr. Speaker আপনার through দিয়ে আমি বলতে চাই—আমাদের oppositionএর যে কয়জন সভ্য তাতে member ছিলেন, তাঁরা তা থেকে বেরিয়ে যান। কতকগুলি বেআইনী কাজ, rule বিগর্হিত কাজ যা শিক্ষা মন্ত্রী মহোদয় করতে গিয়েছিলেন সেই সুযোগ নিয়ে বিলটাকে তাঁরা তাদের মনোমতভাবে communal এবং officialised করার জন্য যে অপচেষ্টা করেছিলেন আজ বিলটা সেই অপচেষ্টা নিয়ে আমাদের সাম্নে উপস্থিত।

Mr. Speaker, আজ তাই আমরা বলছি যে বিলটা যদিও তাঁরা সাহস না পান জনমত সংগ্রহের জন্য,—অর্থাৎ বাংলার হিন্দু-মুসলমান, বৌদ্ধ, খৃষ্টান সকলে এটাকে কি রূপ মনে করে সেই মতটা সংগ্রহের জন্য বিলটাকে circulate করতে ওঁদের সাহস না থাকে, তাহলে এই অন্ধকার ঘরের মধ্যে ব'সে অন্ধকারের জীবদের নিয়ে কমিটি গঠন করুন এবং এই বিলের সারবত্তা নির্দ্ধারণ করুন। Sir, বিলটা অতি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ, এ বিষয় ধীর স্থিরভাবে বিবেচনা না করে যা তা কোরে সবাসরিভাবে বাংলার শিক্ষাকে ধ্বংস করবার চেষ্টায়, বাংলার শিশু মনগুলিকে ভবিষ্যতে অন্ধকারের পথে টেনে নিয়ে, ভবিষ্যৎ শিশুদের মন বিষাক্ত করে দিয়ে, বাংলার আকাশ বাতাস সেই বিষাক্ত ধোঁয়ায় আচ্ছন্ন করে দিলে হিন্দু বা মুসলমান কোন সমাজের পক্ষেই সেটা মঙ্গলজনক হবে না। তাই, Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমি আপনার throughতে শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করি,—এখনো সময় আছে, বিবেচনা করে দেখার এই বিলটাকে কি করে সকলের গ্রহণযোগ্য করা যেতে পারে।

বিলটা সম্বন্ধে বহু কথা এখানে আলোচনা হয়েছে। বিলটা খুলেই প্রথমে চোখে পড়ে—to provide for the regulation control and development of Secondary Education of Bengal এই কথা কয়টি। কিন্তু প্রথম থেকে শেষ পর্য্যন্ত পড়েও এর মধ্যে শিক্ষার development সম্বন্ধে কিছুই দেখা যায় না। কেবল আছে—control এবং regulationএর বিধান। (Moulvi Md. Israil: বিলটার আপনি সব কিছু পড়েছেন কি?) Mr. Speaker, আপনার through দিয়ে আমি বলবো—আমার বন্ধুদের যদি তাঁরা পড়েও না বুঝে থাকেন তাহলে intelligence ওঁদের মনের মধ্যে inject করে দিতে আমরা পারবো না। আমার বন্ধুরা সব (Pointing to the members of the Government party) সাম্প্রদায়িকতার মধ্যে গড়ে উঠেছেন। যাঁরা নাকি বিদেশীর পায়ের তলায় বাংলার শিক্ষা দীক্ষা কৃষ্টি বিকিয়ে দিতে চান তাঁদের চোখ দিয়ে আমরা দেখ্‌ছি না—আমরা দেখ্‌ছি এতে development সম্বন্ধে কিছু নাই, আছে কেবল কতকগুলি পুলিশের কাজ, কি করে বিদ্যালয়গুলিকে শাসন করতে হবে, সেই কথা খুব ভাল রকম আছে। বিদ্যালয়ের ভিতর কি করে ১৪৪ ধারা জারি করা যায়, কেমন কোরে rules apply করা যায়, কেমন করে শাসন ও নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা যায়—এই সব বিধানই বিস্তারিতভাবে বিলের মধ্যে রয়েছে। কেমন শিক্ষাকে Secondary Education বলা হবে,—কোন শিক্ষা তা নয়, এরকম ভাবের আলোচনা বিলের ভিতর নাই। Mr. Speaker, তাই আপনার through দিয়ে আমি মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করি,—তিনি যদি development জিনিষটা মনে প্রাণে অনুভব করে থাকেন তাহলে যাতে সেই জিনিষটা এর ভিতর আসে সেই দিকে চিন্তা করুন। জাতীয় জীবন গঠনের পক্ষে development of educationএ বাংলার কৃষ্টি, বাঙ্গালী এত কাল পর্য্যন্ত যে সাধনা করেছে—পরাধীনতার অন্ধকারের মধ্যে বাঙ্গালী শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে যতটুকু আলো জ্বালতে পেরেছে তাদের সেই সাধনা কিসে এই শিক্ষার মধ্যে আরো বেশী করে উদ্ভাসিত হবে সেইটা শিক্ষার একটা মস্ত বড় দিক। মন্ত্রী মহোদয় যেন সাম্প্রদায়িকতার মোহে বাঙ্গালীর কৃষ্টির বৈশিষ্ট্য ও স্বাধীনতার স্বপ্নকে ধ্বংস না করেন (hear, hear) এবং এই বিষয়টাই আমরা হিন্দু মুসলমান select committeeতে বসে বিবেচনা করে দেখ্‌তে চাই।

Mr. Speaker আমার আর একটা বক্তব্য এই যে স্যাড্‌লার কমিশনের বিষয় যে মন্ত্রী মহোদয় উল্লেখ করেছেন তাঁর বক্তৃতায়,—স্যাড্‌লার কমিশন কি চেয়েছেন? আমরা তো সকলেই চোখ বুজে উক্ত কমিশনের নাম যখন তখন ব্যবহার করে যাচ্ছি। কিন্তু স্যাড্‌লার কমিশন কি recommend করেছেন? তাঁরা একটা Secondary Education Board গঠন করতে বলেছেন সত্য; কিন্তু আমরা মাত্র ঐ বোর্ড গঠন করাটুকু বজায় রাখ্‌তে উদ্যত হয়েছি তার বেশী আর কিছু নাই। আমাদের মধ্যে যে একটা প্রবাদ আছে—শিব গড়তে বাঁদর গড়া, এ বিলেও

ঠিক সেই রকম শিব গড়তে বাঁদর গড়া হয়েছে।। (laughter) কারণ Sadlar Commission যেখানে বলেছেন—বোর্ডকে সরকারী ক্ষমতার অপপ্রয়োগের হাত থেকে রক্ষা করতে হবে, সেখানে এই বিলে আয়োজন চলেছে বাংলার শিক্ষা, দীক্ষা ও কৃষ্টিকে আমলাতন্ত্রের পায়ের তলায় টেনে আনার অপচেষ্টা। তাই বলছি এখনো সময় আছে, যদি জনমত গ্রহণের সাহস আমাদের মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের না থাকে, অন্ধকার ঘরে বসে তিনি যে কাজটা কোরে ফেলেছেন, সেটা বাইরে বের করার লজ্জা অতিক্রম করার সাহস যদি তিনি না পান অন্ধকার ঘরে বসেই তাঁরা এটার সংশোধন করে বাংলার ভাবী মানুষ স্বপ্নটাকে রূপায়িত করুন।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমি আর বেশী সময় নেব না। আমার শেষ নিবেদন এই যে এই বড় একটা controvertial এবং প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল বিল, জনমত সংগ্রহ না পাঠিয়ে, select committeeতে না দিয়ে এত তাড়াহুড়ো করে শেষ করার যে কি প্রয়োজন আছে তা আমাদের বোধের অগম্য। যখন নাকি বাংলার প্রান্তে বাংলার প্রতিবেশী আসামের ভিতর জাপানী শত্রুরা ঢুকে পড়েছে যখন নাকি অন্ন সমস্যায় বাংলা দেশ জর্জরিত, এবং তার ফলে দরিদ্র শিক্ষকেরা না খেয়ে মারা যাচ্ছে,—এবং সেই জন্য Secondary schoolএর শিক্ষকদের সাহায্য করার আবেদনে যৎকিঞ্চিৎ সাড়া দিতে অবকাশও পান নাই, তখন হঠাৎ রাতারাতি Secondary Education এর জন্য এতটা মমতা কিসের জন্য? শিক্ষা মন্ত্রী যদি একথার উত্তর দিতে চান তাহলে তার উত্তর এই একটি মাত্র আছে যে—বাংলার হিন্দু মুসলমানে সহসা যেমন দ্বন্দ্ব চোলেছে রাজনীতি ক্ষেত্রে, তেমনি শিক্ষা বিষয়েও বিভেদ না আনলে বাংলার স্বাধীনতার স্বপ্নটাকে মুছে দেবার যে ষড়যন্ত্র সেটা সফল হবে না। এবং সেই ষড়যন্ত্র অনুসারেই এ বিলটা তিনি এনেছেন। তবু আমি পুনরায় তাঁকে অনুরোধ করছি—বিলটা তিনি select committeeতে দেন।

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department,
(2) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(3) Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee,
(4) Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy,
(5) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(6) Mr. Hem Chandra Naskar, and
(7) Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st December, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five.

Sir, before I give my reasons why I want a Select Committee for this Secondary Education Bill, I must say that we are not against having a Board of Secondary Education now but we want such a Board of Secondary Education which can mould and evolve secondary education in Bengal in a way so that all the communities might be fused into a nation and such education as can help us to mould in future a nation so that we can work for having a common nationality with free India as our goal. Unfortunately, Sir, the Bill, as it is conceived, does not help us in that way. The Bill has had a chequered career no doubt, but on previous occasions there were possibilities and in some points there was an agreed formula, but in this Bill there is no formula and at the same time it has been conceived in a way where all the sections of the people of our country cannot agree. Already there is divergence of opinion, there is agitation, there are meetings in public parks and resolutions passed all over Bengal against this Bill. I, therefore, submit that it is a fit occasion to consider the Bill in a cooler atmosphere in a Select Committee so that we can come to a common formula in this very important matter.

I submit, Sir, that education of the country is a most important matter and especially at a time like this when communal spirit is running high.

(The House was then adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first objection that strikes me in my mind is that the Bill is conceived in a spirit which is not intelligible to us. I think, Sir, that an opportune moment has been selected by this Ministry to introduce this Bill to serve the purpose of propaganda literature. After taking power this Ministry has mismanaged the finances of the country. They could not save the people from the famine. In spite of their repeated assurances, they could not tackle the food problem and under their very nose some millions of people died and they could not help them.

Then again, Sir, even after the passing away of that famine, Ministers are not in a position to look into the bare necessities of the people. Salt is scarce, sugar is not available and even *gur* is not to be had in the market and for kerosene the black market is the only market prevailing in Bengal. In spite of repeated assurances, in spite of their passing Ordinances, in spite of issuing orders under the Defence of India Rules and this and that, the broad fact is that people are living a very miserable life. So, with a view to save their skin, the Ministry have now launched this Bill at least to have some sort of propaganda among the people that they are doing something for the country. Again, a very serious legislation has very recently been passed by this Ministry—I mean the Agricultural Income-tax Act—which will ruin the middle class people of Bengal and a very serious repercussion is expected when the tax will be collected. Also, the Sales Tax has been doubled. If these things are seriously taken by the people, I think no member of the Ministry, not to speak of the supporters of the Ministry, will be able to go to the country and have his say there. I can very seriously challenge any of the gentlemen of the ministerial benches to go to the locality and address public meetings and convince the public that in these difficult days they were right in passing legislation like the Agricultural Income-tax Act or in doubling the Sales Tax. So, in order to save their skins, to save their party and to save their lives from the repercussions of these serious legislations and to have some sort of propaganda at least among the Muslim public, they have now introduced this kind of legislation and I very seriously say that it is nothing but a propaganda literature.

Sir, another feature that strikes me very much is this that even in the educational sphere this Bill is trying to have communal electorate. It is 20 years that we are working with communal electorates. Whether any community is fully represented or not is not my question now. I am now thinking of the practical effect of communal electorates prevailing in our country. Take for instance the Ministry. What is this now? This is a Ministry brought into existence by the communal electorates. This Ministry is composed now of disqualified proprietors, decrepit old men, deserters from different parties and there are some persons who narrowly escaped from being sent to the lunatic asylum. In spite of that, they are adorning the ministerial benches.

Take again the position of the Legislature. How is it composed? It has been divided into several compartments and so very serious it is that no decent Government is possible now. We have seen the Ministry under the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq when the Muslim League was outside and we are seeing now the Ministry being conducted by the Muslim League when we people are outside, but in both cases we have found that a decent Government is not possible so long as the British people are here. So long as you can work according to their dictation, they will follow you, but if you go against their interests, at once they will go into the Opposition

and will try to break the Ministry. So, they are practically playing the proverbial monkey. When anybody will comply with their wishes, when they will look to their Imperial interests and commercial interests, they are with that body. If not, they will go out and break the Ministry. This is the direct result of the communal electorate, as I say.

Sir, another gang has been formed in our Assembly, the number will not be above 30 who will always follow the power.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Sarkar, I think it will be better not to use that expression 'gang''. Better say, quite a number of people.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, I submit another group has been formed that always follows the power. I am sorry that my friend of Malda the other day compared Mussalmans with hares. I think he would have done better had he compared that group with goats, because this is the animal which is sold now and then and very often in the market——

Mr. SPEAKER: It is only desirable that we should not condemn ourselves.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Exactly so, but unfortunately he has done so.

Mr. P. BANERJI: The truth must be faced.

Mr. SPEAKER: The rules prohibit the use of disparaging expressions with regard to this House.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: I submit, Sir, that the lobbies at present have become something like a living stock exchange. Some members are always there—of course there will be honourable exceptions—and under our very nose they can buy votes, they can sell votes, they can do what they like with votes, they can play with votes. This is the blessing of the so-called communal electorate. This is pure business and nothing else. Take the case of the Hon'ble Minister of Education. What is he? He was a member of the Congress Party; he jumped into the Proja Party and again he went over to the Muslim League Party and even after being elected in the Muslim League Party he dared to stand against the mandate of that party for the Speakership. He failed there. Subsequently he came out of that party and formed an Independent Proja Party and under that cover he secured a Ministership and merged into the Muslim League again. (Mr. P. BANERJI: He is enterprising!) Sir, one of my friends says that he is an enterprising Minister. This kind of change of party, crossing of floors, joining this party and another according to self-interest would not have been possible if there had not been separate electorates in this country. Practically, Sir, political life in this country has become vitiated due to this communal electorate. If this communal electorate is pushed too far in the educational sphere, I apprehend serious danger. Not only communal electorates but compartmental electorates have been proposed. Head mistresses will send their representatives; so also the head masters. Teachers will send their representatives and the Legislature will send theirs. In this way different compartmental communal electorates will be pushed. If our educational life is disturbed in this way I very seriously contend that civil war is the only result. We have already gone too far. (Mr. A. M. ABDUL HAMID: Just as in the Corporation.) Now, Sir, who wanted this? The Europeans wanted it and we get the result. After this communal electorate is introduced in the country and election held we find riots, bloodshed in several places of this country, and as I said if this is pushed in the educational sphere the serious result and repercussion will be civil war and nothing else. There will not be Pakistan; there will not be Hindustan, but I think this province of Bengal will be converted into a *gorostan* or graveyard when civil war will begin. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) Who will be responsible for that? The responsibility will lie with those persons who are now supporting communal electorate and nobody else.

Sir, Mr. Mullick was telling us the other day that some people were crying against this Bill because some vested interests would be touched. Of course there may be some vested interests, but in spite of his vehement protest, vested interests are being created. Even after separate electorate was created we found one gentleman to be a Minister; after retirement he was installed into a convenient post and again another brother from that family was installed in the *gadi* and another brother from the graveyard or retirement had been given a descent administrative post. This kind of vested interest is always being created and I think the question of vested interest does not arise here. We must seriously see whether the Education Bill is passed in a way so that we can have a common nationality and common trend of education.

Now, Sir, one question may loom large in the mind of the party in power. They may say that the Ministry must get some power in the educational sphere, but we have seen that mere granting power does not help any interest or any community. This Ministry was in power in Bengal but in spite of that the famine came and several millions of people died. They could not help that. I have seen very serious repercussions of this communal feeling durng the time of the famine. I have seen that the Muslim Chamber of Commerce sent some money to Nilphamari to relieve the famine-distressed people but with a view to secure uncontested election in the Primary School Board of a partisan member that money was given to the rival candidate, so that he may not contest the seat. Take for instance how is salt being distributed now? Everyone knows that there is dearth of salt, but I can assure the members that in my district salt is being supplied to places where Muslim League parties had been formed. In order to satisfy the gentlemen who voted for the Government salt is being sent, and it is very distressing to see that from Rangpur Government lorries and bullock carts are going to Saidpur, a distance of 30 miles, in order to bring salt. It is because salt is being sold to a particular agent who seems to be a supporter of Government, and without salt being deposited in his godown he will not get one anna per maund. Take the case of hiring of godowns. At Badarganj godowns belonging to Muslim League members have been hired.

Mr. SPEAKER: Please come to the Bill. It is not desirable that you should dilate too much upon instances.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, I am giving some instances about the baneful effect of the communal electorate. At Badarganj godowns have been hired for a long time. Those godowns belong to Muslim League members, but neither rice, nor salt nor anything else has been deposited there. Such instances are not rare. Rather they are numerous. As you have ruled, Sir, I shall not cite any more instances. I stop here, but throughout the district and in most parts of the province I find that the communal feeling has gone so high that even at the sacrifice of human life and human comfort communally minded people are taking money and acquiring wealth.

So, Sir, the question of acquiring power does not help us.

Only a few years back the Primary Education Act was passed and the Primary Education Boards were formed. Persons who desired to enter into the Education Board entered. But what is the result? In my district, before the Primary Education Act was introduced, there were 2,500 primary schools. The Board decided that they would take only 1,500 primary schools and that also by degrees. They have been taking some 200 schools a year and the result is that more than 1,000 primary schools are now abolished and the 1,500 primary schools which were taken into the list are not yet fully equipped. If you go into a primary school, you will find that there is no teacher, no book, no bench and even there is no house. We have got the Act, we have got the Board and we have got the power. Yet schools are being abolished for want of money and for want of teachers. If this

Board is pushed through and the Secondary Education Act is passed, I don't think that the Muslim community will be a gainer in any way. Government are now spending about Rs. 50 lakhs per per year over secondary schools. But this Bill provides only for Rs. 25 lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs every year up to the year 1949. When Government is spending near about Rs. 50 lakhs a year, they give only some nominal help to each secondary school, but if that amount is again curtailed, what will be the effect? If this Board is formed with insufficient money as I fear it will be, then half the secondary schools of our province will die out as is the case now with primary schools.

Another aspect of the thing must be considered. In our province not more than 10 per cent. of the secondary schools belong to Muslims. Most of the Muslim boys and girls read in schools established by the Hindus. Even in the 10 per cent. of the schools belonging to Muslims, you will not find many Muslim Head Masters. Most of the teachers are Hindus, most of the Mathematics teachers are Hindus and most of the Head Masters are Hindus. Even in Muslim schools, the majority of the students are Hindus in some cases. Without agreement with the Hindus, if you push this Bill and if you disagree with the Hindus, time may come, as I see there is a moment, that most of the Muslim schools will have to close down for want of teachers. In our district, there are 25 schools, I think. In some cases schools are managed by Muslims. At present we cannot find any Muslim graduates to man these schools. If Hindu teachers are withdrawn and if Hindu help is withdrawn, I do not think that Muslims can conduct secondary education for the benefit of Muslim boys. Of course, I don't say that Muslims will not be able to do anything for developing secondary education. I am not fearful about that, but without agreement with other communities, without help from other communities, I think, Muslims alone in spite of creating this Board, in spite of getting the Ministry conducted by the Muslim League on the ministerial benches, we won't be able to proceed very far in the line of education.

If this communal feeling goes very high, and if as a result of compartmental electorate, Hindus separated themselves, I think this will be the third great crisis which will fall on the Mussalmans so far as education is concerned. The first crisis fell on the Mussalmans when they boycotted western education and the second crisis came on them when Persian was withdrawn as a court language in the middle of the last century and if this Bill is forced through without any agreement with other communities, I feel that a third and a greater crisis will fall on the Mussalmans so far as secondary education is concerned. (A VOICE: Question.) You may question, but it is a broad fact. Can you tell me, can any honourable gentleman supporting this Ministry tell me, whether they are in a position to conduct any secondary school now with Muslim teachers, with Muslim money and with Muslim boys? (A VOICE: Certainly we can.) It is very doutbful. Gentlemen who have no connection with education and who do not help any educational institutions can say "yes". Those who have not established any educational institutions can say "yes". But persons who have experienced the practical difficulties felt by Muslims, who are connected with educational institutions and who had given their life-blood in establishing educational institutions and who have seen their own boys and girls read in educational institutions in our country will say that it will not be possible.

Leaving aside that question, I submit that we are living in very difficult days. Everybody is crying for Swaraj. It is our duty to see and it should be the look-out of every Ministry, that all communities may be fused into one nationality so that we may proceed in the line of freedom, in the line of liberty. But if separate electorate is insisted upon and if it is pushed to our hearth and homes, we will be doing the greatest disservice to our country. As I submitted, the third party is there. The Imperialistic Government is there. Unless and until we can combine together in order to

do away with foreign interference from our politics our case will be a hopeless one.

With these words, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. HARENDRA KUMAR SUR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of:—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of Education,
(2) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(3) Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq,
(4) Dr. Sanaullah,
(5) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(6) Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar,
(7) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,
(8) Mr. Atul Chandra Sen,
(9) Mr. Harendra Kumar Sur, and
(10) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st December, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at seven.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. We proposed to move the names of certain Government party members as well. May we know, Sir, that in case at a later stage, Government see their way to accept the suggestion of a Select Committee, would you permit amendments being moved? At present the obstinacy of the Government is so great that some of their adherents have not even cared to give their consent. Even a formal consent is not forthcoming. So, it is not our fault. Let not people think that we refused to take in this Select Committee reasonable members of the Government party. So, we would like to know whether at a later stage you would, in case Government see better light and become more wise, accept short notice amendments.

Mr. SPEAKER: If at all that time comes, I would consider your request.

Mr. HARENDRA KUMAR SUR: Sir, a Bill of such a controversial character and far-reaching implications to the future well-being of the people of this province, in the natural course of things, would have been circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion on the Bill at the first stage and then would have been referred to a select committee of the House for examining the provisions of the Bill in the light of public opinion thus elicited and submitting report with necessary modificatons or alterations as the case may be at the second stage and then the Bill would have been taken into consideration and passed into law.

But, Sir, that procedure has not been followed with respect to this particular Bill. The grounds are that there has been enough circulation of the 1940 Bill and the 1942 Bill, and the present Bill is the Bill that has emerged out of the Select Committee on the Bill of 1942. The changes effected are not material and therefore the Bill does not call for further circulation or reference to Select Committee. The Bill must be taken into consideration at once. The Bill must be passed into law, here and now. The Ministry in power cannot wait any longer and has grown almost impatient. Their attitude seeks to create an impression that if there is further delay in taking up the Bill for consideration by the House, great mischief will be done to the cause of secondary education in Bengal.

The 1940 and 1942 Bills accepted the principle of joint electorates with reservation of seats for representation of the different communities. But the present Bill seeks to introduce communal representation through separate electorates and has even gone so far as to introduce separate electorates as between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus. The changes introduced in the present Bill are fundamental in character.

The system of representation through separate electorates was introduced in this country with the inauguration of the Minto-Morley Reforms, when the right of franchise was extremely limited. The most reactionary and communally-minded section of the people of this country who on the basis of communal electorates came into power and acquired position and influence in the country are unwilling to give a go-by to the system of representation through communal electorates, although the right of franchise has been enlarged to a considerable extent to-day. On the other hand, the nationally-minded people of this country who want political independence of India, who want the liberation of the Indian people from the yoke of foreign domination, with their best efforts could not come to an agreed settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims on the basis of joint electorates and on every occasion their efforts have been thwarted by interested parties. During the second Round Table Conference Mahatma Gandhi as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress made a serious attempt to come to an agreed formula on the basis of joint electorates. The reactionary Hindu element would not agree to any formula which sought to give statutory majority to the Muslim majorities in Bengal and the Punjab on the basis of joint electorate. Taking advantage of this attitude of the reactionary Hindu delegates, the Europeans, the Muslims and the Scheduled Caste delegates to the Round Table Conference entered into a pact known as the Minorities Pact and Mahatma Gandhi's attempt in this direction was frustrated by the reactionary elements, both Hindus and Mussalmans. What part the European Association played during the Second Round Table Conference in effecting an unholy alliance with the reactionary Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference to serve their own interests and thus frustrating all attempts made by Mahatma Gandhi was revealed in a secret circular addressed to the members of the European Association which was published in one of the issues of a Calcutta nationalist paper at the time. When Mahamta Gandhi returned to India, everybody knows how he was arrested and put into prison immediately. He was prevented from continuing his efforts in India in this direction. Mahatma Gandhi was opposed to refer the matter to arbitration by the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and he was in favour of referring the matter to an impartial international tribunal. But here also Mahatma Gandhi's opinion was not heeded to by the Indian delegates. MacDonald's award gave only ten seats to the Scheduled Castes in the Bengal Legislative Assembly through separate electorates. Everybody in the House and outside is aware of the historic fast of Mahatma Gandhi unto death while he was in prison to prevent further vivisection of the Indian body-politic, to prevent the statutory division sought to be created by the Award as between the Caste Hindus and Scheduled Caste Hindus although they belong to the same community. Then the Poona Pact came into existence and the Scheduled Castes got thirty seats in the Bengal Legislative Assembly and to-day they are in a position to make their influence felt in the Legislative Assembly in all matters. Imagine now the very same pernicious principle of driving a wedge between one class of Hindus and the other, to prevent which Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast unto death, has been introduced in this Bill and the Scheduled Caste members supporting the Government are a party to it. In the opinion of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education, the introduction of communal representation through separate electorates in place of representation on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats for the different communities is not a fundamental change. Whether democratic institutions should grow in this country on the basis of representation through joint electorates or on the basis of communal representation through separate electorates is a problem which has baffled all genuine efforts for solution hitherto made by the best intellects and particularly the nationalist leaders of India.

Sir, the Dacca University Act is an instance where communal representation through separate electorates has been introduced. The statement

of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University, and the report of Mr. Larkin, the Divisional Commissioner, and the communal riots that took place at Dacca one after another have unfolded the baneful effects of communal representation. Why is it that the Muslims want communal representation through separate electorate? The Muslims and none else will be elected if representation on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims is accepted as a principle. Do they not desire that the Muslim representatives on the Board of Secondary Education should have confidence of all the communities, Hindus and Muslims, alike? What is the psychology behind this attitude? As between a Mahomedan who has got confidence of both Hindus and Mussalmans and a Mahomedan who has got confidence of the Mahomedans only, whom they will prefer to be on the Board? If they prefer the Mahomedan who has confidence of the Mahomedans only and not of the Hindus, their attitude is clear. In that case, as a logical consequence they should have a separate Board of Mahomedans only regulating, controlling and developing Mahomedan education for the Mahomedans only. But the Government should remember that there is a considerable section of people in this province who are opposed to import communalism into the educational sphere. They feel that a national system of education purely on the basis of nationalism is a paramount necessity of the country to-day. The Government should concede the right of self-determination in the matter of education to this section of the people of Bengal. You cannot neglect the opinion of this section of the people. There are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Anglo-Indians who subscribe to this view. I believe they will be in the majority.

Sir, the Congress feels that a national system of education is a paramount necessity of the country to-day. Education should be universal, compulsory and free. Equality of opportunity should be guaranteed by the State to all children irrespective of caste, creed or community to which they belong. The system of education must satisfy impartially the needs of everybody. Every child should get sufficient education to prepare himself to earn a decent living as well as to fulfil his duties as an individual and at the same time as a good citizen. There is no justification for providing facilities for some of the nation's children and not for others. Education should cater equally for all irrespective of the community or caste to which they may belong.

As regards religious education, we are opposed to place it in the same category with secular education. The State ought not to interfere in matters of religion or religious education. As to whether facilities should be provided to children in secondary schools whose parents desire them to receive religious education we are prepared to go so far only for the sake of mutual understanding that the authorities of any particular institution or institutions, if they so desire, may provide facilities for relgious education provided so far as secular education is concerned the conditions imposed and the standards prescribed must be fulfilled as in the case of all other institutions.

The expansion and devolpment of Secondary Education is of primary importance and the question of control is secondary. What is the plan and programme for expansion and improvement of Secondary Education in Bengal? Have the Government any plan or programme? If so, what is it? There is no indication in the Bill itself to that effect. The Government must tell us in clear and unequivocal language what they actually want to do in this matter to prove their *bona fides*.

There is the necessity of a machinery to carry out the objects of the Bill, to regulate and control Secondary Education in Bengal. We are not prepared to set up a machinery of control on the basis of communalism and through separate electorates. We are not prepared to play into the hands of the bureaucracy to play their game to perpetuate foreign domination, to forge new fetters of bondage. The Board of Control must be wholly autonomous and independent. The Board should be dominated by expert

educationists and men of academic standing who have devoted their life and energy to the cause of education in this country. Party politics should not be allowed under any circumstances to interfere in any way with the administration of the Board. The Board should be so devised as to serve the purpose of the Bill, viz., expansion and improvement of Secondary Education in Bengal and not to prove a hindrance to the carrying out of the very objects. We are not opposed to representation of all educational interests but not on the basis of communal or separate electorates. We cannot conceive of any national system of education except on the basis of nationalism.

The Indian National Congress has for its object the complete independence of India. The Congress for achieving independence of India has paid the penalty and is still prepared to pay the price of independence. This organisation has to-day grown to its present status on the sum total of sacrifice and sufferings of millions of people of this country belonging to all communities, caste or creed. The Congress people aspire to see India liberated from the yoke of foreign domination, to see India as a free country, the Indian people as a self-respecting nation in the comity of the nations of the world. They have got a right to be heard. Do they not deserve a hearing from their own people who are now in power? Are they not entitled to demand that their viewpoints should be given due consideration and weight?

Consider for a moment, without independence has Pakisthan or Hindusthan got any meaning? Those who believe in Pakisthan, let me put a straight question to them? Who will draft the constitution of Pakisthan? The Mussalmans of India or the representatives of British people in the British Parliament?

Has not the bitter experience of this devastating world war unfolded to us that without independence we are helpless and cannot proceed a step forward? Is any planning of educational or industrial development or any other development of the country possible without a National Government functioning in this country free from intereference from outside? Independence is the first necessity even to those of our Muslim brothers who aspire to establish independent Muslim Estates. Independence cannot be won except on the joint efforts of the communities inhabiting this vast country. We must stand on a common platform to create a united front if we really want liberation of the people of India from the yoke of foreign domination.

The Secondary Education Bill now under consideration, if judged from this angle of vision, I mean from the viewpoint of nationalism, it is anti-national and most reactionary. All elements of discord, disharmony and disunion have been inserted in the provisions of this Bill.

With these words, Sir, I commend my motion for the acceptance of the House.

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department,
(2) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(3) Mr. P. N. Banerjee,
(4) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(5) Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy,
(6) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,
(7) Maulvi Waliur Rahman, and
(8) Maulvi Abdul Wahed,

with instructions to submit their report by the 30th November, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five.

Mr. SPEAKER: Have you got the consent of Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri? We have not received yet in office.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Yes, Sir, I give my consent.

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED : মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল যাহা এই পরিষদে পাশ হবার জন্য উপস্থিত হয়েছে, সেটাকে আমি একটা সিলেক্ট কমিটিতে দেবার জন্য প্রস্তাব করিতেছি। আমার উদ্দেশ্য—এবং সে বিষয়ে বলবার কথা এই যে বাংলার বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রী-সভা যখন কোন কাজ খুব তাড়াতাড়ি করবার আয়োজন করেন তখন একটা স্বাভাবিক সন্দেহ এই আসে যে এর ভিতর এমন একটা গোপন ষড়যন্ত্র বা গুপ্ত রহস্য রয়েছে, যার দ্বারা বাংলার বিশেষ ক'রে পল্লী বাংলার কৃষক জনসাধারণের স্বার্থের হানি হবে এবং যখনই তারা কোন আইন পাশ করার আয়োজন করেন তাতে বোঝা যায় তাঁদের পূর্ব্ব পূর্ব্ব কার্য্যপ্রণালী দেখে যে তাঁরা পল্লী বাংলার হিতকর যে জিনিষ সেই জিনিষটাকে খামা চাপা দেওয়ার জনাই চেষ্টা করছেন। এই যে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল খুব তাড়াতাড়ি পাশ করার আগ্রহ প্রকাশ করছেন এর ভিতর এমন একটা উদ্দেশ্য রয়েছে যে অপর যেসব আইনের দ্বারা পল্লী বাংলার কৃষক জনসাধারণের, বিশেষ কোরে মুসলমান কৃষক জনসাধারণের যে সর্ব্বনাশ সাধিত হয়েছে, সেগুলিকে ঢাকবার জন্যই ইহা হচ্ছে। তারা যদি মুক না হতো, অন্ধ না হতো, অজ্ঞ, মূর্খ না হতো তাহলে বাংলার কৃষক জনসাধারণ ঐ আইনের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম ঘোষণা করতো, তাদের দৃষ্টিকে অন্যদিকে ফিরিয়ে দেবার জন্য বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রী-সভা এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল এত তাড়াতাড়ি পাশ করতে চেষ্টা করছেন। (MR. CHARU CHANDRA ROY : সবই ধাপ্পাবাজী।) আমাদের একটা সাধারণ কথায় আছে—চুণ খেয়ে মুখ পুড়েছে—দই দেখে ভয় হয়। আমরা দেখেছি Sir, বহু বৎসর ধরে বিনা করে অবৈতনিক বাধ্যতামূলক প্রাইমেরী শিক্ষার জন্য আন্দোলনের ফলে যে প্রাইমারী শিক্ষার আইন গভর্ণমেণ্ট পাশ করেছেন, তাতে শিক্ষা ত বাধ্যতামূলক হয়ই নাই বরঞ্চ শিক্ষা করটাকে জনসাধারণের ঘাড়ে বাধ্যতামূলকভাবে চাপান হয়েছে। এখন প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার এমন অবস্থা করেছেন ওঁরা যে যতগুলি পাঠশালা ও মক্তব ছিল তার অধিকাংশ লুপ্ত করে এমন অবস্থা করেছেন যে চাষী, প্রজা, জনসাধারণের ছেলে-পিলে যতটী আগে পড়ত তার অর্দ্ধেক এখন পড়ে কিনা সন্দেহ। তার অর্দ্ধেক ঘরে বসতে বাধ্য হয়েছে। তার কারণ প্রত্যেক ইউনিয়নে যেখানে আগে ১০টা কি ২০টা মক্তব বা পাঠশালা ছিল অপেক্ষাকৃত অবস্থাপন্ন লোকদের বৈঠকখানা ঘরে ঘরে শিক্ষা দেওয়া হত সেগুলিকে ভেঙ্গে দিয়ে যেখানে যেখানে মাত্র ডিষ্ট্রীক্ট বোর্ডের স্কুল ছিল সেখানে স্কুল করা হয়েছে। প্রতি ইউনিয়নে মাত্র ৪।৫টী করে পাঠশালা স্কুল বোর্ড মঞ্জুর করে ডিষ্ট্রীক্ট বোর্ডের ঘর ছাড়া বাকী ঘরের জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট স্থানীয় লোকদের এখন বলে বেড়াচ্ছেন—তোমরা যদি ঘর দিতে পার, সরঞ্জাম দিতে পার তাহলে তোমাদের জন্য স্কুল দেওয়া হবে। স্থানীয় কৃষকসাধারণ এই দুর্দ্দিনে ঘর পাবে কোথায়? যে ঘর আগে ৩০০৲ টাকায় হতো, সেই ঘর করতে বর্ত্তমানে তিন হাজার টাকা লাগে। কাজেই তারা ঘরও দিতে পারছে না স্কুলও পাচ্ছে না। এই অবস্থায় তারা আগে যে শিক্ষাটা পাচ্ছিল এখন আর তাও পাচ্ছে না, এই ত অবস্থা, এর উপর এখন আবার এঁরা মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাকে কণ্ট্রোল করতে যাচ্ছেন। কণ্ট্রোলের কথা শুনলেই আজ সারা বাংলা জুড়ে লোকের হৃৎকম্প উপস্থিত হয়। এই কণ্ট্রোলের ফলে এবং মন্ত্রী মহোদয়দের কর্ম্ম নীতিতে বাংলার ৫০ লক্ষ নরনারী শ্মশানে ও কবরে তাদের শেষ শয্যা নিয়েছে। এই প্রসঙ্গে আমার একটা গল্প মনে পড়ে। এক সময় ব্যাংএর দলে আন্দোলন সুরু হলো—এবং তারা নেতা খুঁজতে আরম্ভ করলো। (laughter) একটা বক এসে তাদের নেতা হতে চাইল। সে তাদের বল্লো—তোমরা যে যখন ইচ্ছা আমার কাছে স্বাধীনভাবে কথা বলতে পার। এই ভাবে সে বক নেতা হওয়ার পর একটী দু'টী করে ব্যাং তার কাছে আসে আর সে ধ'রে ধ'রে খায়, এম্নি করে সে ব্যাংএর দফা শেষ করলে। তেম্নিভাবে বক সদৃশ আমাদের এই মন্ত্রী-সভা গদিতে ব'সে বাংলার ৫০ লক্ষ নরনারীকে (laughter and interruption) তাঁদের পেটে পুরেছেন অর্থাৎ ৫০ লক্ষ হিন্দু মুসলমান নরনারীকে তাঁরা কবরে ও শ্মশানে পাঠাইয়েছেন।

আমার জেলখানার বন্ধু শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মাননীয় তমিজুদ্দিন খাঁ। সাহেবের দিকে যখনই নজর দিই তখনই মনে পড়ে ১৯২০ সালের খিলাফৎ আন্দোলনের কথা। আর মনে পড়ে তাঁর তখনকার দিনের কার্য্যকলাপের আর বর্ত্তমানে মন্ত্রী হয়ে বসবার পরের কার্য্যকলাপের মধ্যে—আকাশ পাতাল যে তফাৎ দেখ্‌তে পাচ্ছি—সেই কথা। তখন তিনি ছিলেন পুরা ইংরেজ বিদ্বেষী সাম্রাজ্য-বাদ বিদ্বেষী। আর আজকাল হয়েছেন তাদেরই একজন ভক্ত অর্থাৎ লাউ পেকে বাওয়াস হয়েছেন। (hear, hear) অনেকেই তাঁকে এই বিলটা আনার জন্য গাল দিচ্ছেন, যদিও এই বিল এনেছেন,—সম্যকভাবে তিনি নন, তাঁর পিছনে যে বসে রয়েছে সেক্রেটারী সাদা মূর্ত্তিটা, যার কেরাণীগিরি মন্ত্রী সাহেব করছেন, তিনি। ঐযে কথায় বলে—

তোমার হাতে প্রেমের ডুরি
যেভাবে ঘোরাও সেইভাবে ঘুরি।

আমাদের মন্ত্রী সাহেবরাও ঠিক তাই, সাদা চামড়া সেক্রেটারীদের কথা মতনই উঠেন বসেন। আসলে তাদের কোন ক্ষমতাই নাই। তাই আজ আমরা দেখ্‌তে পাচ্ছি—দেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনকে ধ্বংস করার উদ্দেশ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িক ভিত্তির উপর রচিত এই আইনটাকে এই পরিষদে পাশ করতে চাচ্ছেন। মন্ত্রী মহোদয় তাঁর বক্তৃতায় বলেছেন যে আমরা নাকি পাকাপাকিভাবে সাম্প্রদায়িক ইলেকশনকে মেনেই নিয়েছি। এর চেয়ে একটা গুরুতর অন্যায় কথা আর হতে পারে না। ১৯৩৫ সনের ভারত শাসন আইন বহু গলদপূর্ণ; উক্ত ভারত শাসন আইনটাকে বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেণ্ট তথা সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরেজগণ চক্রান্ত কোরে আমাদের ঘাড়ে জোর করে চাপিয়ে দিয়েছে। সাম্প্রদায়িক বাটোয়ারার বিরুদ্ধে যথেষ্ট সংগ্রাম তখন ভারতবর্ষের পক্ষ থেকে আমরা করেছি এবং ভারত শাসন আইনকে ধ্বংস কোরে পুনর্গঠন করবার সংকল্প নিয়েছি। অথচ ওঁর কথা শুনে অবাক হতে হয়—যে আমরা নাকি পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনটাকে পাকাপাকি মেনে নিয়েছি। এই প্রসঙ্গে একটা কথা ওঁকে স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই—বন্ধু, আপনার কি মনে আছে—এই ভারত শাসন আইনেই আপনারাও মিশ্র নির্ব্বাচন মেনে নিয়েছেন? ৫টা সিট্ যে এখানে জমিদারদের জন্য সংরক্ষিত আছে সেখানে ত সাম্প্রদায়িক ভাগাভাগি দেখ্‌ছি না। সেই ৫টা সিটে হিন্দু মুসলমান জমিদারদের ভোটে এতকাল ৫ জন হিন্দুই নির্ব্বাচিত হয়ে এসেছিলেন। আবার ভাগ্যচক্রের প্রবর্ত্তনে তার একটাতে হিন্দু মুসলমানের মিশ্র ভোটে হাজি বদি আমেদ চৌধুরী সাহেব এখানে এসে পড়েছেন। সেখানে ত কোন গোলমাল দেখ্‌ছি না। সেখানে সাম্প্রদায়িক বাটোয়ারার কোন বালাই নাই। সেখানে এত মিতালি কেন? (laughter) এই হাউসের ভিতর আসা যাক্, করপোরেশনে যাওয়া যাক্ যে যে জায়গায়ই যাওয়া যাক না কেন উপরের শ্রেণীরা হিন্দু মুসলমানে মিতালি কোরে M.L.A. হবেন, মন্ত্রী হবেন—আর বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের বা করপোরেশনের ধনভাণ্ডার, ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ডের ধনভাণ্ডার কি করে পকেটস্থ করা যায়—মিলেমিশে সেই চেষ্টা করবেন!! কেবল গরীবের বেলায়ই—তোমরা সব আলাদা, আলাদা থাক!! সমস্ত জমিদার যদি এক হতে পারে তাহ'লে খাজনাদেনেওয়ালা চাষী প্রজারা কেন এক হতে পারবে না? সেখানে হিন্দু মুসলমানে ভাগাভাগি কেন? তাই আমি বলতে চাই—এই যে ভেদনীতি এটা ঠিক ওঁর কৃত নয়—ঐযে আমি বলেছি—তোমার হাতে প্রেমের ডুরি, যেভাবে ঘোরাও সেইভাবে ঘুরি! এই ভেদনীতির ভিতর দিয়েই ভারতবর্ষে তারা রাজত্ব স্থাপন করেছে এবং সর্ব্বদা চেষ্টা করছে—মিরজাফর, উমিচাঁদের চেলা চামুণ্ডা যারা যেখানে আছে তাদের হাতে কিছু কিছু অধিকার দিয়ে কিসে তাদের নিজেদের সাম্রাজ্য কায়েম রাখা যায়—সর্ব্বদা সেই আয়োজন, এবং সেই ভিত্তির উপরই এই শিক্ষা আইনটাকে প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছে। তাই দেখি, এতকাল ছিল অন্যান্য জায়গায় সাম্প্রদায়িক নির্ব্বাচন কিন্তু তাতে কুলোচ্ছে না এখন দেখ্‌ছে—আসল জায়গায় একদম গোড়ায় কুড়াল না মারলে আর তো' এদের গোলাম করে

রাখা যাচ্ছে না। তাই যেখানে মানুষের স্বাধীন মনোবৃত্তি গড়ে উঠে, যেখানে তার ন্যায় বুদ্ধির স্ফুরণ হয়; সেই শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে গিয়ে শিক্ষার মূলে কুঠারাঘাত করতে হবে এবং সেখানে সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধির প্ররোচনায় মারামারি কাটাকাটি করাটাকেই শিক্ষা লাভের চেয়েও বড় করে তুলতে হবে। কাজেই সাম্প্রদায়িক নীতিতে বোর্ডে পার্টি form করার ব্যবস্থা চাই।

আমাকে দুঃখের সঙ্গে বলতে হচ্ছে ইংরেজরা আমাদিগকে বর্ণ হিন্দু, নিম্ন হিন্দু ও মুসলমান এই তিন ভাগে বিভক্ত করে তিনটা ইটা করে তিন ইটের চুলার মাথায় ডেগ বসিয়ে চিরকাল ভাত পাক করে খাবার ব্যবস্থা করছে। স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন যখন Home Minister ছিলেন, প্রথম মন্ত্রীর আমলে তখন ঢাকাতে সাম্প্রদায়িক গণ্ডগোল বাধিয়ে দিয়ে তিনি ঘুমিয়ে রইলেন গিয়ে দার্জিলিং। তাঁরা নিজেরা ৫ তলা দালানের উপর বসে সুখ ঐশ্বর্য্য ভোগ করবেন—আর পাড়াগাঁয়ের জনসাধারণের ভিতর মুসলমান ও হিন্দু বিদ্বেষ ঢুকিয়ে দিয়ে তাদের পরস্পরের মধ্যে মারামারি করতে দেবেন, তার ফলে কত গরীবের জান গিয়েছে, কত নিঃস্ব লোকের ঘর বাড়ী ধ্বংস হয়েছে, পুড়ে ছাই হয়ে গিয়েছে, তা দেখবার পর্য্যন্ত তাঁর অবসর মিলে নাই, আর তিনি আরামে ঘুমিয়ে রইলেন দার্জিলিংএ। এই রকমভাবে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা বৃদ্ধির ফলে মারা যায় কেবল গরীবের দল।

কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ডাঃ শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জির একচেটে অধিকারে রয়েছে এই কথা ওঁরা বলতে চান। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই—কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে ডাঃ শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জির পিতার আমল থেকেই অনেক দান রয়েছে, সাধনা রয়েছে; তারই একটা অংশ তিনি না হয় ভোগ করছেন। কিন্তু বাংলার বিদ্যালয়গুলির কর্তৃত্বের উপর ঢাকার খাজা পরিবার যে রাজপাট করতে চাচ্ছেন তার জন্য তাঁরা কি ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন? তাই আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই—সাম্প্রদায়িক দলদের ভিতর দিয়ে এই রকমভাবে যে একটা আগুন জ্বালাবার চেষ্টা যা নাকি আজ তাঁরা করছেন তাঁর একটা মহা উদ্দেশ্য এই যে তাঁরা চাইছেন সর্ব্বদা এদেশকে অধীন করে রাখবার জন্য। এবং তাঁরা কাজ করছেন বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরেজদের দালালরূপে সেই সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের এই দেশে চিরতরে রাখবার জন্য। এবং সেই দালালি নিয়ে কণ্ট্রাক্ট নিয়ে ওঁরা কাজ করে চলেছেন। তথাকথিত লীগ-নেতা জিন্নার লোক সেই কণ্ট্রাক্ট নিয়েছে। জিন্নার সঙ্গে তাই কংগ্রেসী নেতাদের সকল মিটমাটের চেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। আমার বন্ধু অতুল ঘোষ বলেছেন—মহাত্মা গান্ধি নাকি আবার মিঃ জিন্নার সঙ্গে বোঝাপড়ার চেষ্টা করছেন, যদি তাই হয় তাহলে এর চেয়ে বড় ভুল আর হতে পারে না।

Mr. SPEAKER: মৌলবী সাহেব, এ সব কথা তোলবার দরকার করে না। বিলের বিষয় বলুন।

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: Sir, এ কথা বলার আমার উদ্দেশ্য হচ্চে এই যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতাকে জীয়ায়ে রাখার জন্য, মুসলমানদের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন থেকে সরিয়ে রাখবার জন্যই এই লীগের জন্ম ১৯০৬ সাল থেকে হয়েছে। সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের পদসেবীর দল আগে এটাকে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের স্বার্থে কণ্ট্রাক্ট করেছেন, আজকেও সেই স্বার্থ বজায় রাখার জন্যই জিন্না এর কর্তৃত্ব করছেন, এবং স্বাধীনতার আন্দোলন থেকে মুসলমানদের সরিয়ে রেখে হিন্দু ও মুসলমানদের ঝগড়া বিবাদের মধ্যে ঠেলে দিয়ে নিজের স্বার্থ হাসিল করছেন, তাই হিন্দু মুসলমান আপোষ হতে পারছে না।

Mr. SPEAKER: এসব অবান্তর কথা এখানে কেন?

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: Sir, আমাকে আপনি দয়া করে বাধা দেবেন না, এই শিক্ষা আইনটা হতে চলেছে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার ভিত্তির উপর; সেই জন্য একথা এখানে ওঠে, ইংরেজদের স্বার্থরক্ষার জন্যই লীগের জন্ম। সেই জন্যই লীগের ইতিহাস বলার প্রয়োজন হয়েছে। মিঃ

জিন্নার সঙ্গে যতই আপোষ করতে চান না কেন আমাদের নেতারা, ততই জিন্না সাহেব পিছিয়ে যাবেন। যখন নেহেরু রিপোর্ট বেরুলো মিঃ জিন্না তখন করলেন ১৪ দফার দাবি, যখন মহাত্মা গান্ধি বল্লেন যে আমি সাদা কাগজে দস্তখৎ দেব, তখন জিন্না তুলেছেন পাকিস্থানের ধূয়া। কিন্তু এখন যদি কংগ্রেস নেতারা পাকিস্থান মেনে নেন, তখন তিনি বলবেন যে হিন্দুরা তো পাকিস্থান মেনে নিলে, কিন্তু তোমাদের সঙ্গে তার পরে যদি গৃহ বিবাদ উপস্থিত হয় তখন আমরা কি করব? কাজেই তোমরা মেনে নাও—সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইংরেজদিগকে থাকতে দাও। আমরা উভয় দলে যাতে ঝগড়া বিবাদ না করতে পারি, সেই জন্য আমাদের মধ্যে তাদের থাকতে দাও। যেন উভয় দলকে পিটাইয়ে সোজা করে রাখে। আগাগোড়া একমাত্র সাম্রাজ্যবাদ বজায় রাখার জন্যই জিন্না এবং তাঁর দলের লোকদের কাজ চলে এসেছে। নিউজ ক্রনিকেল পত্রিকার সম্পাদকের প্রশ্নের জবাবে মিঃ জিন্না যাহা বলেছেন তাহাতে পরিষ্কার ইংরেজকে রাখার কথাই বলেছেন এবং পাকিস্থান মেনে নেওয়ার পরের দাবিটা বেরিয়ে পড়েছে। এখন সেই সাম্প্রদায়িকতাকে আরো পাকা করার জন্য মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলটা সাম্প্রদায়িক নির্ব্বাচনের ভিত্তিতে প্রণয়ন করা হয়েছে; এর দ্বারা শিক্ষার সর্ব্বনাশ তো করা হবেই, ততোধিক সর্ব্বনাশ করা হবে—পাড়াগাঁয়ের জনসাধারণের। সহরে, বন্দরে অনেক স্কুল থাকবে কাজেই সহরের লোকের কোন অসুবিধা হবে না। যেমন সহরে, বন্দরে প্রাইমারী স্কুলগুলি কণ্ট্রোল করা হয় নাই কণ্ট্রোল করা হয়েছে পাড়াগাঁয়ে। যেসব হাই স্কুলগুলি বিশিষ্ট হিন্দুরা পাড়াগাঁয়ে করেছেন সেগুলি যদি ছাঁটাই করা হয় তাহলে পাড়াগাঁয়ের চাষী, মজুর, জনসাধারণের লেখা পড়ার দরজা একেবারেই বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে, আর সাম্প্রদায়িকতা আরো উগ্ররূপে দেশময় ছড়াবে। এখন সাম্প্রদায়িকতা হতে চলেছে বোর্ড গঠন সম্বন্ধে, তার পরে চলবে পাঠ্য পুস্তক-রচনা ও নির্ব্বাচনে; তারপর পাঠ্য বই কমিটির মেম্বর যারা তারা তার উপর ব্যবসা আরম্ভ করবে। যেসব লোক বই লিখে পাঠ্য তালিকাভুক্ত করতে চাইবে তাদের এক একজন মেম্বর বলে বসবেন আমাকে এত দিতে হবে, তাহলে পরে তোমার বই পাঠ্য তালিকাভুক্ত করবো। একেই তো কাগজ কালীর দাম বেড়ে গেছে তার উপর যদি আবার ঘুষ দিয়ে বই পাঠ্য তালিকাভুক্ত করাতে হয় তাহলে ১৲ টাকার বই দশ টাকা দিয়ে লোককে কিনতে হবে। তার ফলে গরীব লোকের ছেলেদের শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করা আরো কঠিন হবে। ইহা ছাড়া প্রতি বৎসর পাঠ্য পুস্তক পরিবর্ত্তনের ফলে গরীব লোকের ছেলেরা অল্প দামে পুরাণ বই কিনে যে ছেলেদের লেখাপড়া শেখাবে সে সুযোগ পর্য্যন্ত নাই। কাজেই এই বিল select committeeতে যাবার প্রস্তাব এই জন্য করছি যাতে বিশিষ্ট সভ্যগণ একত্র বসে বিলটার এমন উন্নতি সাধন করতে পারেন যেন শিক্ষা দ্বারা আমাদের বালকগণ প্রকৃত মানুষ হয়ে উঠতে পারে। এতে আমাদের ইসলাম বিপন্ন হওয়ার কিছুই নাই ইস্‌লাম একটা অকূল সমুদ্রের ন্যায়। সমুদ্র যেমন দুনিয়ার পচা গলা যা কিছু সমস্ত বুকে ধারণ করে পবিত্র করে দেয়, ইসলাম সেই রকম তার ভিতর যে জাতিই আসুক, সমস্তকে বুকের ভিতর টেনে নেয়, এই হলো ইস্‌লামের নীতি, কৃষ্টি ও সভ্যতা। তাকে ধ্বংস করবার জন্যই বাংলার বর্ত্তমান পাকিস্থানী মন্ত্রী-সভা যা করছেন তাতে মুসলমানদেরই বেশী ক্ষতি হবে, তাদেরই সভ্যতার সর্ব্বনাশ করা হবে। (hear hear) কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়েরও সংস্কার সাধন করতে হবে। আমাদের দেশে বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদ যে শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করে এসেছেন এত কাল, তাতে আমলা তৈরী হয়েছে, কেরাণী তৈরী হয়েছে কিন্তু প্রকৃত মানুষ তৈরী হয় নাই!! সেই জনাই দেখতে পাই বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় হতে M.A. পাশ করে যে বেরিয়ে আসে, সে একটা ছুচ্ তৈরী করতে পারে না, একটা নিব্ তৈরী করতে পারে না, চাকরী দিলে ভাত পায়, নৈলে পরের গলগ্রহ হয়ে দোরে দোরে ঘুরতে আরম্ভ করে। তারপরে সেই চাকরীতেও সাম্প্রদায়িক ভাগাভাগির ফলে হিন্দুদের চাকুরীগুলি কারা পায় তাদের মধ্যে কি বন্দোবস্ত করে জানি না

কিন্তু আমাদের মুসলমানদের চাকরীর ব্যাপারে যখনই লক্ষ্য করি, দেখতে পাই—খাজা গজাদের শালা, ভগিনীপতি, ভাগিনার দল ছাড়া, সাধারণ কৃষক প্রজার ছেলেদের ভাগে একটাও পড়ে না। বাংলার মুসলমান জনসাধারণ এই অবিচার অত্যাচার আর সহ্য করতে রাজি নয়। খাজা গজারা গরম পোলাও খাবে আর ঢেকুর ছাড়বে—আর বাংলার জনসাধারণ খালি পেটে "হাই" তুলবে শুতে আমরা রাজি নই।

Mr. SPEAKER : Your time is up.

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED : স্যার, আমাকে আরো সময় দিতে হবে। আমার আর একটা বক্তব্য এই যে ১৯৩৫এর ভারত-শাসন আইনটা আমরা এরকমভাবে সংশোধন করব যে জমিদারদের জন্য নির্দ্দিষ্ট ৫টা সিটে যেমন সাধারণের নির্ব্বাচিত হওয়ার অধিকার নাই তেমি প্রজাসাধারণের সিটেও সাধারণ প্রজা লোক ছাড়া আর কারও অধিকার থাকবে না। তা হলে আজ কৃষকদের সমস্ত দুরবস্থার ব্যাপার এমনভাবে ধামা চাপা দেওয়া চলতো না (A voice . কি ধামা চাপা দিচেছন?) বাংলার লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক যে না খেয়ে মরেছে, পাটের দর ১৭৲ টাকা বেঁধে দিয়ে মুসলমান চাষী প্রজার যে সর্ব্বনাশ করা হয়েছে, তাদের উপর যে কৃষি আয়কর বসিয়ে দেওয়া হচেছ বিক্রয় কর ডবল করা হয়েছে,—এই সব ধামা চাপা দিবার জন্য মন্ত্রী-সভা আর তাদের সমর্থক দল এই আইনটা পরিষদে পাশ করতে এত ব্যস্ত হয়েছেন,—ধোকা দিয়ে মুসলমান প্রজা সাধারণকে বলতে পারবেন—দেখ দেখ, তোমাদের জন্য কি সুবিধা করেছি!!! (laughter) কৃষক প্রজার সর্ব্বনাশকে ধামা চাপা দিতে এই লীগ মন্ত্রী-দল সিদ্ধ হস্ত। যুদ্ধ আরম্ভ হওয়ার প্রাক্কালে পাটের দর যখন প্রায় ৫০।৬০৲ টাকার উঠার সম্ভাবনা হয়েছিল তখন মন্ত্রী সুরাবর্দ্দী য়ুরোপীয়ান বণিকদের সঙ্গে ষড়যন্ত্র কোরে যখন দর বেঁধে দিয়েছিলেন ১৮৲ টাকা হিসাবে সর্ব্বোচচ দর, তখন নিখিল বঙ্গ প্রজা পার্টি থেকে তার ঘোরতর প্রতিবাদ করেছিলাম এবং নিখিল বঙ্গ পাট দিবস ঘোষণা করা হয়েছিল। সেটা ধামাচাপা দেবার জন্য তারা চাল করে মাথা গুণতির ব্যাপারে এমন একটা আন্দোলন সুরু করেছিলেন যার ফলে কৃষক প্রজাদের দৃষ্টি সেদিক থেকে ফিরিয়ে দিয়ে তাদের সর্ব্বনাশ সাধনটা সহজ হয়েছিল। ঠিক তাদের এবারেও সর্ব্বনাশকে ধামাচাপা দেবার জন্য এই আইনটা এনেছেন।

উপসংহারে আমি বলতে চাই যে এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা আমরা অবশ্যই চাই। কিন্তু এমনভাবে চাই যে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা যেন অবৈতনিক ও বাধ্যতামূলক হয়। জমিদারী প্রথা তুলে দিয়ে কোটি কোটি টাকা যে বাংলা সরকারের তহবিলে জমবে সেই টাকায় বাংলা দেশে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বাধ্যতামূলক ও অবৈতনিক করে বাংলার জনসাধারণকে শিক্ষিত করে তুলতে হবে। বিগত মন্ত্রী-সভা জমিদারী প্রথা তুলে দেবার সম্বন্ধে যে ঘোষণা করেছিলেন সেটাকে ধামাচাপা দিয়ে বাংলার প্রজাসাধারণের প্রতি যে অত্যাচার করেছেন কৃষি আয়কর বসিয়ে প্রজার যে সর্ব্বনাশ সাধন করেছেন, তার ফলে এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল পাশ করিয়ে যে লুকোচুরি খেলছেন সেটা লোক চক্ষে আর ঢাকা থাকবে না। বাংলার জনসাধারণ জেগেছে। তাই, আমি বিলটা select committeeতে দেবার জন্য প্রস্তাব করছি;—এবং মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে অনুরোধ করছি,—যদিও জানি তিনি আমাদের বিরোধী দলের হিতবাক্য শুনবেন না, তবু বলছি বাংলার জনসাধারণকে উন্নত ধরণের শিক্ষা দিয়ে বাঙ্গালী জাতিকে এমন একটা উন্নত জাতিতে পরিণত করার ব্যবস্থা করা হোক—যাদের প্রচেষ্টা হবে, হিন্দু মুসলমানের ভেদাভেদ ভুলে স্বাধীন বাংলায় স্বাধীন মানুষ হয়ে বাস করা। আমি আশা করি মন্ত্রী-মহোদয় এই কাজটা করবেন।

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 7 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 18th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 18th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 179 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Applications for grant of study allowance by security prisoners Srijut Nanichand Mitter and others.

***316. Mr. SATYAPRIYA BANERJEE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that security prisoners Srijut Nanichand Mitter and three others of Dum Dum Central Jail applied for the grant of study allowance to enable them to prosecute their studies while in detention;

(*ii*) that Government communicated to them their inability to provide for study allowance, as the Bengal Security Prisoners' Rules did not contain any provision to that effect; and

(*iii*) that similar petitions were made from different jails?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he contemplates making any provision for study allowance in the Bengal Security Prisoners' Rules?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons therefor?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*c*) The matter is under the consideration of Government.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how long this matter is under the consideration of the Government?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when did they receive the application for study allowance from Nanichand Mitter and three other prisoners of the Dum Dum Central Jail?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, the petition is dated the 2nd July, 1943, and was received by Government on the 6th July, 1943.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Since they got their application so long ago, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps did Government take in this matter?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI The whole question of grant of study allowance is under the examination of Government.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state since when this matter has been receiving the consideration of the Government?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Since the receipt of the petition.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when a final decision on the matter is expected?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That is very difficult to say, but as soon as the examination of the whole question is completed, Government will arrive at a decision.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state which department of Government is engaged in examining the matter?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The Home Department and the Chief Minister is examining the matter.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the security prisoners who are likely to appear next year will get the benefit of the consideration of their application?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Some security prisoners already enjoy other facilities, but now the question of granting study allowance is under the examination of the Government.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: That is my point—whether they will get the benefit of study allowance next year.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: As soon as Government arrives at a decision, it will be communicated to the petitioners.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: What are the serious objections in granting them study allowance?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That I cannot say now.

Health of Srijut Radharaman Mitra, security prisoner.

***317 Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state the present condition of the health of Srijut Radharaman Mitra, a security prisoner in the Rajshahi Central Jail?

(*b*) Is it a fact that he is laid down with paralysis?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, are the Government considering the desirability of releasing him?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) The security prisoner is suffering from weakness and tremor in his extremities. On examination of his blood W.R. was found to be "doubtful".

(*b*) No.

(*c*) Does not arise.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: In view of reply (*a*) that the security prisoner is suffering from weakness and tremor in his extremities, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the present state of his health?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already stated that he is suffering from weakness and tremor in his extremities.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if his present state of health is such as may endanger his life?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether W. R. was the only method applied to diagnose the disease?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, blood test was also taken. W. R. was not the only method to find out whether the reaction was positive or negative.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: What are the other methods applied?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the present state of health, will the Government consider the desirability of releasing him forthwith?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir.

Srijut MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the nature of the disease he is suffering from—I mean the diagnosis of the medical man who examined him?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the objection of the Government in releasing him in his present state of health?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It is not expedient in the public interest to disclose the reasons why Government cannot release him now.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Who is the medical man who examined this gentleman?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government is ready to allow any private practitioner who is an authority on the subject to examine that gentleman?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, he is getting good expert medical attention.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state under whose treatment this prisoner is at present?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Agricultural loans for Faridpur district.

***318. Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what were the amounts provided for agricultural loan for the district of Faridpur in each of the years 1942-43 and 1943-44;

(*b*) how much of the same were allotted to the different subdivisions in each of the above years;

(*c*) how much of the same were spent in each of the years for each of the subdivisions; and

(*d*) what were the staff provided for distribution of the loans?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea):

		Rs.
(*a*)	1942-43	7,40,000
	1943-44	34,70,000

		1942-43.	1943-44.
		Rs.	Rs.
(*b*)	Sadar	2,45,000	7,19,000
	Goalundo	4,90,000	15,57,000
	Madaripur	5,000	7,95,500
	Gopalganj	..	3,98,500
	Total	7,40,000	34,70,000
(*c*)	Sadar	2,45,000	6,35,000
	Goalundo	4,90,000	15,57,000
	Madaripur	5,000	3,19,400
	Gopalganj	..	3,73,500
	Total	7,40,000	28,84,900

(*d*) Certificate Officers, Debt Settlement Officers, Kanungoes and other officers engaged on Relief operations.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that Certificate Officers or Debt Settlement Officers rely generally on the recommendations of Presidents of Union Boards in the matter of distribution of loans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The Presidents are generally consulted.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the procedure laid down for distribution of agricultural loans to these agriculturists?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Loans are given to those who are really needy.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the procedure adopted by the officers for distributing loans to the agriculturists?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The usual procedure.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state before this House what was the usual procedure adopted in this case?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I refer the honourable member to the Agricultural Loans Act.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether these officers personally inspected the rural areas and made a list of the needy agriculturists?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Certainly.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if these officers ever consulted relief organisations in those areas where distribution of loans were made?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: That was not considered necessary.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the rate per head of these agriculturists to whom loans were distributed?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: There is no definite rate. Different agriculturists are given different rates.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please give us an idea about the maximum and minimum rates at which loans were distributed to each agriculturist?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Generally Rs. 5 to Rs. 100

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the loans were given not to any individuals but to people collectively?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The answer is in the negative.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether these loans include loans to small artisans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: No.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the conditions for giving loans?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The Agricultural Loans Act.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the demands made by the collectors and to what extent those demands were granted?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: Loans were given according to the collectors' demands.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: I want the Hon'ble Minister to tell us what were the amounts demanded by the collectors for the different subdivisions?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Can the Hon'ble Minister tell us the terms of these loans?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think he has already answered that question.

Cattle epidemic in Dinajpur district.

***319. Maulvi ABDUL JABBAR:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture (Veterinary) Department be pleased to state whether he is aware of the outbreak of cattle epidemic since January, 1944, in the district of Dinajpur?

(*b*) If so, what steps, if any, Government have taken to cope with the epidemic?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of cattle that died since January, 1944, on account of the epidemic in the different affected areas of the district;

(*ii*) the present number of Veterinary Assistant Surgeons (Itinerant) in the district of—

(1) Dinajpur,

(2) Jalpaiguri,

(3) Rangpur,

(4) Bogra,

(5) Pabna,

(6) Rajshahi, and

(7) Malda;

(*iii*) who is the controlling officer of the Itinerant Veterinary Assistant Surgeons in the district; and

(*iv*) the administrative relationship, if any, between the District Board and the Veterinary Staff of a district?

(*d*) Do the Government contemplate to utilise the services of the Veterinary Assistant Surgeons in charge of hospitals in the town in the rural areas during the outbreak of cattle epidemic?

(*e*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability—

(*i*) of increasing the Veterinary staff in the district of Dinajpur to cope with the situation; and

(*ii*) of dividing the whole district into as many circles as there are Veterinary Surgeons both itinerant and in charge of hospitals in the town by placing one Surgeon in charge of each circle?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain): (*a*) A report of an outbreak of rinderpest among buffaloes in the Setabganj Farm was received in January, 1944.

(*b*) Steps were taken immediately and the disease was brought under control.

(c) (i) The information is not immediately available, but it can be procured if the honourable member insists on it.

(ii)

(1) Dinajpur	...	4
(2) Jalpaiguri	...	4
(3) Rangpur	...	7
(4) Bogra	...	2
(5) Pabna	...	6
(6) Rajshahi	...	5
(7) Malda	...	2

(iii) The Director of Veterinary Services is the controlling officer in respect of the Itinerant Veterinary Assistant Surgeons. They are under the immediate supervision of the Inspector in charge of the circle.

(iv) In each district there are two classes of Veterinary Officers—Itinerant and stationary. The latter are attached to hospitals maintained by the District Boards who make two-thirds contribution towards their pay, leave and pension charges. All Veterinary Assistant Surgeons are under the control of the Director of Veterinary Services but the transfer and control of those attached to hospitals are made in consultation with the Chairman of the District Board.

(d) The proposal of utilising the services of such Veterinary Assistant Surgeons within a radius of 5 miles from their headquarters was considered some time ago but had to be abandoned owing to objections by District Boards.

(e) (i) Government are aware that according to the usual standard the district of Dinajpur is entitled to two more Itinerant Veterinary Assistant Surgeons but owing to paucity of funds and lack of qualified graduates the full complement cannot be provided immediately.

(ii) The main duty of the stationary Veterinary Assistant Surgeon is to look after diseased cattle in hospitals and this work would be interferred with if he were placed in charge of control of epidemics in rural areas. As already stated, local bodies would also object to such an arrangement.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that epidemic was also rampant among cows in those areas?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I am not aware of it

Babu MADHUSUDAN SARKER: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have got any agency for the collection of death figures of cattle?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: They get all the information from the union boards.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the death rate among cows was also very large in those areas?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I am not aware.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware of the difficulties felt due to the duel control of the Veterinary Surgeons, namely, local bodies as well as the Government?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: So far we have not found any difficulty.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the veterinary hospitals and the itinerant surgeons' offices are very seldom inspected by superior authorities?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: When necessary they are inspected.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the steps which were taken to bring the disease under control?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Segregation and inoculation.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is ready to engage more Veterinary Surgeons in those areas?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: As soon as we have got more funds, certainly it will be considered..

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the prevalence of widespread cattle disease in north Bengal now?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Just now I am not aware of that.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to take some pains to inform himself about the matter?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I expected that the members would inform me about this. It is not for me to find it out myself.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Does the Hon'ble Minister consider it to be the duty of the honourable members only and not of the Hon'ble Minister himself?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: The Minister is not expected to know it by intuition. He must get this information from somebody else.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: On a point of order, Sir. The question relates to cattle epidemic in Dinajpur district. But the honourable member is putting his question about the Government policy regarding cattle epidemic in north Bengal. I submit, Sir, that this is not permissible.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that is permissible. Next question.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Sir, I only want to put one question. Will you kindly permit me to do that?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Biswas, I have already called the next question.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: Only one question I want to ask.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Mr. SURENDRA NATH BISWAS: With reference to answer (*e*)(*i*) where the Hon'ble Minister has stated that owing to paucity of funds the full complement cannot be provided, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he submitted his demand for engaging many more veterinary surgeons before the Cabinet for sanction of funds?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: We are just considering it.

UNSTARRED QUESTION

(answer to which was laid on the table)

Syllabus of primary schools.

157. Khan Bahadur JASIMUDDIN AHMED: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department aware of the fact that the syllabus of classes I—IV of junior madrasahs are different from those contained in the primary section?

(*b*) If so, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of taking steps to synchronise the syllabuses to give facilities to students seeking admission to class V of junior madrasahs?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The question of co-ordinating the syllabuses of studies in madrasahs and general schools will be taken up in connection with the reorganisation of Madrasah Education which is under consideration.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the syllabuses of the madrasahs are not of a religious character?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question I do not think arises. I disallow that question.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how do they propose to tackle the problem of co-ordinating the syllabuses of both these studies?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The question is under consideration before a committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: Questions over.

Adjournment motion.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I gave notice of an adjournment motion regarding the Dacca situation and you have been pleased to give your consent to place it before the House. May I now formally beg leave of the House to move it?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I beg leave of the House to move that the business of the Assembly do stand adjourned to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the failure of the Government to prevent the recrudescence of communal disturbances in the city of Dacca Sir, the statement that I have appended to the motion runs thus:

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot read the statement at this stage.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Then I move my motion.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN The only thing I would suggest is this: I do not think that discussion at the present time would help the situation in Dacca and I would appeal to the members Opposite not to discuss this matter. If that is not accepted then I oppose the motion.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: On the contrary I do very strongly feel as belonging to Dacca and as knowing the Dacca situation that if the attention of the House is focussed on the Dacca situation it will immensely help in alleviating distress there.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: May I submit, Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: No question of submission arises now. First of all I have got to say something about leave being granted.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Then you should ask the permission of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is what I am going to do. I think I should read the statement first. The statement appended to the motion runs thus: "On the 10th of this month there was a quarrel between some boys who were playing football in the field in the western part of the city and some outsiders. On the 16th there was a recurrence of the trouble on the same spot. On the same day in the evening two persons were stabbed to death in the Muslim

quarters of the city, where similar incidents had occurred in course of communal disturbances in the past. After a temporary lull——

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, one line has been omitted.

Mr. SPEAKER: Let me see. I must read from the statement before me.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: There are two statements.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am reading it please.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: On a point of order, Sir. Is there any remedy if there is a deliberate misstatement of facts?

Mr. SPEAKER: The remedy lies here. You will speak out during the debate and say that the statements are incorrect. The statement proceeds thus:—

"Next day the District Magistrate called some prominent citizens to his office and assured them that the situation was under control, and that there would be no recrudescence of trouble. After a temporary lull with minor incidents here and there rioting broke out again yesterday when so far as has been known 24 injured persons were removed to the hospital of whom 6 have died since. Trouble continues."

As objection has been raised to leave being given to the motion, I would request those honourable members who are in favour of the motion to kindly rise in their seats.

(More than 50 members rose in their seats.)

As the requisite number of members have risen in their seats, the member has got the leave of the House. I fix 5-45 p.m. tomorrow for discussion of this matter.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why tomorrow, Sir? The matter is very urgent and we cannot agree to its being taken up tomorrow which is a non-official day. Under the rules you have no power to fix a different date. We cannot understand why you should fix the time on a non-official day.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have stated on previous occasions that the very essence of an adjournment motion is that it should be taken up for discussion on the very day. I think I have said that more than once. If I remember aright even after that I fixed the next day in connection with one motion and that (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That was at the request of Government and by mutual agreement.) was in deference to the practice that had been followed in the past.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, Sir, there was no practice like that. Recently with regard to two motions you fixed the time on the same day.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no practice which prevents an adjournment motion being taken up on the next day.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, when two motions were moved for leave you objected on the ground that the spirit of the motion would be lost if it was not moved on the same day. By that you took away the important privilege of a member to move for leave more than one motion. Now, Sir, you are yourself infringing the rule which you yourself declared the other day in the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I remember I had to rule out one of your motions and that was because the rules specifically enjoined that only one adjournment motion could be allowed on one and the same day. There were two motions which I held to be in order for which consent was given on one and the same day and when I allowed one I could not allow the other because under the rules that must fall through automatically. That was why I could not allow your motion.

But the question is quite otherwise here. The question here is whether an adjournment motion for which leave has been granted by the House can be fixed for discussion on a date subsequent to the date on which leave of the House has been obtained. My personal view, as I have given it on previous occasions, is that it is of the very essence of an adjournment motion that it should be discussed on the same date but there has been a practice——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That practice has been overruled, Sir, by your own ruling, and after that so many adjournment motions have been moved on the same day. In this connection I invite your attention to rule 100 according to which you cannot go beyond your power.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I have no intention to go beyond my power and I think I have not gone beyond my power. I want that I should always be within the rules and I say emphatically that my own personal opinion is that the rules require that the matter should be discussed on the very day on which the leave is granted to the adjournment motion. I have made that repeatedly clear but, as you all know, and as some of you perhaps insisted on previous occasions—and here I speak subject to correction—that there is a practice——

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: No, no.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Kundu's case was there.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir. If the rule is definite that the adjournment motion has got to be taken up on the day on which leave is asked for, then no convention or practice can stand in the way of the rule. My first question therefore is, can a rule be overridden by any such practice? My second question is, you have referred to certain practice, Sir, but what is that practice? The practice in such cases at best was that on certain occasions discussion was postponed but it was postponed at the request of Government to enable them to get sufficient time for preparation. It was done only at the request of Government to have sufficient time. But, Sir, there is no such practice that an adjournment motion must or may be taken up *ipso facto* on the next day. Again, when a postponement was granted it was granted rather as a matter of agreement between the Government and the Opposition. It never developed into a practice that discussion on adjournment motion must be fixed on the next day or any day thereafter. So truly speaking there is no practice. If you consult previous instances, Sir, you will find that there has been no practice that discussion on an adjournment motion, as a rule, has been taken up on a subsequent date. If there has been no practice, if only in certain cases by agreement adjournment motions were taken up on a later date, can that stand in the way of our following the rules? Such an alleged practice cannot override the rule. The rule is quite clear, namely, that you, Sir, have only to intimate the hour, and not the date at all.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: The interpretation of rule 100 has never been accepted by this House to be that the adjournment motion should be taken on the very day. Even now when Mr. Rai Chaudhuri says that at the request of the Government in order to give the Government time it was taken up on the day following, or two days following or three days following——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It was by agreement.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Agreement or no agreement, the rule is definite there. I entirely agree with Mr. Rai Chaudhuri that if a rule is definite, the practice cannot override that rule. If that is so, even an agreement cannot override the rule. Therefore, this rule was never accepted by this House to be interpreted as that the adjournment motion should be taken up on that very day. The idea was always and this rule was always understood to mean that the hour means the hour of the same day or of any day following that day on which the leave for the adjournment motion was moved. It has not said, "the hour of the same day". That has not been said in this rule, and it is not correct to say that the rule is definite

that the adjournment motion must be taken up on that day. Sir, not only that, but even after leave of the House you yourself took up a motion on the day following. That shows that you have also accepted the interpretation which was accepted by the House so long. In the circumstance I would say that when you have fixed tomorrow for the adjournment motion you were in order and nobody can question your ruling.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: All the arguments of the Chief Whip of the Government Party amount to this. Since you have given your opinion that the adjournment motion can be taken up tomorrow, that is the sole argument of the Chief Whip to say that it can be taken up tomorrow with or without the rule, whether the rule is functioning or not. But in that case we can quote that you from the very Chair expressed the opinion that an adjournment motion should be taken up on the very day, as otherwise the essence of the urgency of that motion lapses. So by quoting you we cannot improve the situation either way. The only position that we can take sensibly is to refer to the rule. Now, if the Chief Whip says that this rule is there but it is not obligatory, then throw away all the rules and do anything you please from time to time. That is no argument. We will have to abide by the rules and rules alone.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Considering the seriousness of the subject, considering the fact that the Hindus shed the blood of Muslims and the Muslims shed the blood of the Hindus and considering the last action of the late Government of Sir Nazimuddin when the first riot broke out in Dacca which made the people homeless—hundreds of families homeless—Mr. Speaker, Sir, I submit to you that the seriousness of the subject demands that this must be discussed today and not a minute later.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Mr. Speaker, may I make this submission in support of the contention made by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri? You will be pleased to see that the fixing of the date is not within your jurisdiction at all. The language is absolutely clear "the Speaker shall intimate the hour"—not the date—"at which the motion will be taken". Then, Sir, you will also be pleased to observe the language of an adjournment motion. The language of an adjournment motion is that the business of the day do now adjourn. Therefore, I submit that the matter should be taken up on the day on which it is proposed. Sir, I know there have been some cases in which discussion took place on a subsequent day but that was always by agreement.

Secondly, Sir, I want to submit to you that tomorrow is non-official day, a day which is really a preserve of the Opposition. Therefore, if you put off the discussion till tomorrow it will mean taking away our privilege. It will mean not adjournment of today's business but adjournment of the non-official business to which we can never agree.

On these considerations, Sir, I hope you will allow the adjournment motion to be discussed today.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have heard the arguments and I can only say in reply that these arguments are the very things that I myself stated on a previous occasion and ultimately the matter was postponed for consideration the next day—the adjournment motion of Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That was by agreement. Much water has flown after the two adjournment motions were moved on the same day.) Therefore the question that the rules are infringed by not taking up the matter on that very day does not exactly apply. (Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: It does.) It has been said that if the House agrees it may be taken on any day; if the House does not agree, then the rules have got to be complied with. I am at a loss to understand this sort of reasoning. I think my friend Mr. Banerjee himself will realise the implication of this. The rule is there. Where there is a rule the Speaker has got to follow the rule. Agreement may be by majority or unanimity. It may be that for the time being the majority may agree and say that they are not going to follow the rule.

That is one thing. Then you come to the point of unanimity. If you are unanimous, then anything can be done, this may be another view. These are matters into which I do not propose to enter for the present and it is not necessary to come to any decision on that point. But the real point is this, whether the discussion of an adjournment motion can be postponed and the other thing is whether the discussion of an adjournment motion should be postponed. Now, if the contention is that it cannot be postponed, then it cannot be postponed under any circumstances. If the question is whether it should be postponed or not, the point arises who is to be the judge—whether the persons objecting or whether the Speaker should be the judge. As far as I can see that is the point that arises. If it is the discretion of the Speaker in a matter like this, I have exercised the discretion. If it is the discretion of the House as a whole unanimously that is another matter; or if it is the question of the discretion of the majority, that is also another matter. If it is a question of the majority, then I think nothing can be done against the wishes of the Government for the time being and that will make the rules infructuous. If it is a question of the unanimity of the House, some point of consideration may arise. But there is the other matter—whether it is the discretion of the Speaker or not. If the Speaker gives a definite decision on a particular point, I think the Speaker will not exercise his discretion in a manner contrary to his own decision. That is what is expected, but what I was going to say is this. I should explain my position to the House. There was a practice, there are precedents. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: By agreement.) It is claimed now that the precedents were by agreement but my impression has always been otherwise. It is not a question that in every case the House did agree and thereafter the motion was fixed for discussion on some subsequent day. I remember in this very House I said that this practice has to be settled after discussion with the leaders and I have not since discussed the matter with the leaders and I am following that practice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Again and again you are repeating "the practice". There was no practice.

Mr. SPEAKER: This is as I understood it. I am telling you frankly. It may be that my interpretation is wrong.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Even last week two motions were moved and discussed on the same day.

Mr. SPEAKER: That does not militate against previous precedents.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: There were one or two cases. It is not a practice.

Mr. SPEAKER: You will give me credit for understanding this thing.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Excuse me, Sir, but you are repeating that there is a practice all along of having a postponement. We say on one or two occasions there has been postponement by agreement. Even after that you gave your ruling and after you did give your verdict on the question on the last occasion there has been no occasion for postponement of discussion. That was the last word given by you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I never gave a ruling. I have seen this thing. The matter is not before me just now, but if I remember aright the view I held was that if my view was different from the view that has been held previously I wanted to settle the matter after a discussion with the leaders. If I remember aright that was the decision but what I said perhaps on a previous occasion was that until that is done I will allow things on the same day and I will allow the discussion on the next day. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: By agreement.) I never thought by agreement. I hope you will not raise objections.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We will have the motion straightaway now.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: On a point of order. Mr. Speaker, you were good enough to have kindly addressed me twice. In response to your weighty request may I place the position before you? I was a member of the Committee which framed the rules along with Sir Nazimuddin, Dr. Sanyal and others and we had a discusison on this point and also discussion on the question of reserving one day a week on the lines of the House of Commons in England for non-official business. My friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman, who is now the Government Chief Whip, will, I hope, confirm me in the discussion which I mentioned. Sir, the residuary powers have under the rules been lodged in the Chair. You will be good enough to look at page 28, rule 116. Rule 116 gives you the residuary power. We then visualised that it will not be possible for any body of men to legislate for all possibilities or eventualities. Sir, rule 116 is specific—"The Speaker may, by orders not inconsistent with these rules, provide for matters for which no provision is made, and may give such directions as may be necessary for giving effect to these rules and such orders.

Subject to the provisions of these rules, the Speaker may by orders provide for the procedure and conduct of business (including quorum) at all committees constituted under these rules."

Therefore, Sir, analysing rule 116 residuary power has been lodged in the Speaker, but subject to express rules which adorn this Statute Book; and rule 100, Sir, is quite specific, I am very sorry to say. It says, "If no objection is taken, the Speaker shall intimate the hour at which the motion will be taken". In this instance, objection was taken by the Hon'ble Prime Minister. Then it goes on to say, "if objection is taken, he shall request those members who support the motion to rise in their places" (That has been done) "and, if not less than fifty members rise accordingly, he shall similarly intimate the hour." My honourable friend the Chief Whip of the Government Party has argued that the Statute does not say "shall similarly intimate the hour on the same day". I submit, Sir, that is not necessary. The only power which is left in the Chair in this matter is that you have the right to intimate the hour of the day the motion for adjournment is moved. Otherwise if there was any other interpretation of rule 100 then the expression "the hour and the date" would have occurred in the Statute. The expression "the date" does not occur in the Statute.

Then, Sir, about the practice. This is a rule framed by the House and if the practice is such as you mention, and if the practice is not convenient to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister and the members of his party, then it is perfectly simple and easy for them to bring forward an amendment to these rules. Unless these rules are amended, I submit, with utmost humility, that the rules do bind the Chair just as under the rules the orders of the Chair bind us. So the rules are binding upon the Chair and may I submit, Sir, that you, in your wisdom, have no discretion whatever to override the rules. You have mentioned certain instances where adjournment motions have been debated not on the same day that they have been moved, but on subsequent days. I have no recollection about the facts of each case. Facts are available to you in the records of your office, but I have a general impression that in all these cases which led to the convenience of both Government and Opposition, both Government and Opposition must have come to a sort of tacit agreement that the discussion would fruitfully take place on a day other than one which is obligatory upon you. In this matter apparently the Opposition is not agreeing. You put a question to us—a very pertinent question—whether by agreement you can change the operation of a particular rule. This method is known in law, as you are aware, as contracting out of statute. You can contract out of statute provided there is a contract and in the contract, you are aware, there must be two parties

The second thing that I want to mention is this: As the custodian of this House you are not interested in the political tactics either of the Government or of the Opposition. Any individual member of this House,

however humble he may be, is entitled to the protection of the Chair in the same manner as Leaders or members of big parties in the House are. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Mighty Government.) I do not say mighty Government, but it is a Government and the Government is entitled to protection certainly from the Chair, but the Opposition, Sir, is equally entitled to that protection. Therefore, Sir, I appeal to you that you do first of all follow the rules and save an unfortunate situation. Secondly, Sir, tomorrow is obviously not possible, because the essence of an adjournment motion is—it is some amount of waste of time—that it cuts the entire Government business of the day. It is not proper to absorb the private members' day. I see the Hon'ble Finance Minister who is a great constitutional lawyer is smiling, and I hope even while on the Treasury Benches he will be able to support my views.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have had the benefit of hearing the honourable members about the interpretation of the rules and also the effect, if I may use that expression, of the precedents. Now, so far as the interpretation of the rule is concerned, I think I have already said what I have got to say, but it will be better if I read out what I said on a previous occasion. As I have said, "my own interpretation of the rule is that an adjournment motion must be taken up on that very day and the rule seems to me to require that. It does not say that the Speaker will fix a day. It says that the Speaker shall intimate the hour at which the motion will be taken. Necessarily apart from the sense of an adjournment motion, the very essence of the rule is that that particular matter should have precedence over every other matter to be discussed. The rule, I am afraid, does not admit of any other interpretation, but there have been precedents". This is what I said. Now, I do not know under what interpretation or under what circumstances the precedents that were there took place. In other words, if I am to say on what basis those motions were allowed to be discussed on some other days, it requires a close examination of the cases concerned. Without a close and thorough examination of the cases concerned, I do not think it can be definitely stated on what basis, whether on the basis of an agreement or on the basis of convenience of the members of both sides, or on the basis of an interpretation, it is within the competence of the Speaker to fix it at a subsequent date. These motions were allowed to be moved on subsequent dates, but if I remember aright, I repeat what I said, namely, that there was that practice, if I may use that expression. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Not practice.) There was that precedent. I think that will satisfy you. I thought that I would not go against the precedents so long as I did not come to my own decision after consultation with the Leaders of Parties

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: How do you go against the precedents by allowing this motion to be discussed today?

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: We do not understand why should you not take this adjournment motion up this very day.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Chattopadhyay, will you kindly resume your seat for the time being? Have patience, and I will tell you why, *i.e.*, with regard to the point as to why it should or should not be allowed on this very day. As regards the question put to me now as to why it should not be discussed today and why it should be discussed on some other day—it is certainly a pertinent question—that is a matter, I say most respectfully to every member, not for the members themselves. That is a matter for the Speaker to decide. I am of opinion that on an interpretation of the rules the Speaker is entitled not to allow consent even when a motion is otherwise admissible, and if there is no bar to a motion being allowed to be discussed on any other day, certainly the Speaker may, in view of the circumstances of each particular case, say that he would like this motion to be discussed today or he would like it to be discussed on any subsequent date. That is the real position.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: You yourself say that you have no option and in the same breath you say that you have——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. That is another question altogther.

If you say I have got no power, that is one point. If you say that I have got the power, then the question arises as to whether I should allow this motion to be discussed on the very day or whether I should allow it to be discussed on a subsequent day. Here I thought it to be an urgent matter and I did give my consent.

But at the same time that was a discretionary matter for me and I exercised my discretion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The discretion is not absolute. May I draw your attention to the rule: "If the Speaker is of opinion that the matter proposed to be discussed is in order and it has not been disallowed under these rules" giving your consent or not giving your consent is also governed by the rules. You cannot simply refuse to give your consent. You cannot rule out arbitrarily.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly read the first rule? That gives a discretion to the Speaker. That is my interpretation of the rules. Rule 96 says that a motion for an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance may be made with the consent of the Speaker, and here the Speaker has got his discretion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Consent is not discretion.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of interpretation.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Sir, before you give your final interpretation, may I make one submision most humbly? It is perfectly true that the rules state——(Interruption.) If members opposite are prepared to interrupt we shall do the same. (Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: And more effectively.) I may say I have never interrupted anybody in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Banerji, please go on.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the two words "consent and discretion" are there, I do submit that the expression "discretion" would have meant judicial discretion and not your arbitrary discretion. The Speaker of a legislature is the custodian of the dignity of the House. He symbolises the privileges of the House. He is not the Czar of all Russias.

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot go on discussing the matter for the entire day like this. There was a point of order and I gave my ruling. I think that will be accepted.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If it is contrary to the rules, it will not be accepted.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: If you do not follow the rules, we shall not also obey the rules.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If you do not obey the rules, how can you expect us to obey the rules? (Interruption.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I am prepared to vacate the Chair.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAYA: That is your busines whether you vacate the Chair or not.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why vacate the Chair!

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: It is intelluctual dishonesty.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. If you insinuate that there is dishonesty, that word must be withdrawn. (Cries of "withdraw, withdraw" from the Government benches.)

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: I withdraw.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I would like to know from you, Sir, what are the circumstances in which you exercised your discretion to fix the time tomorrow and not today.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Ghose, you need not deliver a speech.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: This is my argument. Behind the question that I asked you lie the following facts. The Government party have not requested you to fix the time in any way. They have not explained their difficulty They have not said that there are such and such difficulties. The Opposition also has not requested you to fix the time like that. Then, may I ask what are the special circumstances that have cropped up all on a sudden although normally, naturally and from your conviction you say that an adjournment motion should be taken on the very same day on which leave has been given. What are the peculiar circumstances that have cropped up at this stage to make you suggest 5-45 p.m. tomorrow?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, please sit down. I should like to say one thing. After the Speaker has given his decision again you raise the same thing. That is not desirable. I do not think that it is fair that you should make your submision after a ruling has been given. Even if you are displeased with it, I hope you will abide by the decision.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Yes, if it is within the rules.

Mr. SPEAKER: Of all people Dr. Sanyal knows very well that even——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Even the Speaker is governed by the rules.

Khan Bahadur SHAH ABDUR RAUF: On a point of order, Sir. After a decision has been given on a certain point by the Speaker, is it permissible to allow a debate to go on regarding it? If not, why are you allowing this discussion to go on?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: Sir——

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, please sit down. I will allow you to speak afterwards. I think that this discussion has taken a turn which was not expected, at least, by me.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Then you are thoroughly mistaken. If you sow the wind, you must be prepared to reap the whirlwind.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope members will kindly allow me to say what I have got to say. If after I have given my decision members feel displeased even then I hope they will behave as the rules require them to behave.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Including the Speaker.

Mr. SPEAKER: The first thing that I want to impress upon the House is that the rules, as I understand them, require that when a ruling is given by the Chair, it has got to be obeyed even if it is wrong. That is my impression. None can discuss it except with the permission of the Speaker.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If it is your ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER: Whether it is a ruling or not if you take upon yourself to judge then there will be nothing but chaos. I can only give a ruling according to my light. I cannot borrow light from elsewhere and give a ruling. Therefore I must give my ruling according to my own light.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Not according to the convenience of Government.

Mr. SPEAKER : If you suggest that, then I would ask you——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I do not suggest it. I hope you will not do it.

Mr SPEAKER: I will do what I consider best under the circumstances and under the rules.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAYA: We are bound by your ruling but not by your whims and caprices. If you use your discretion use it judicially and not arbitrarily.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: We have allowed you to speak so long. Please allow me some minutes now to speak also. I speak very seldom.

Here I am very sorry to hear you say that the House is bound to hear your ruling. I fail to understand why the question of ruling does arise in this particular case. When the leave for the adjournment motion was moved before the House and when you asked the members to rise in their seats, more than fifty members so rose and asked for the leave of the House; it was a question of announcement and not of ruling on your part. Therefore, when we rose in our seats, you said that the requisite number was present and therefore you accepted it; the motion was allowed and the day mentioned was tomorrow. So the objection arose. Where is the question of ruling? Why should you assume that members are disobeying your ruling? I disagree with you that a question of ruling was involved. Why does it arise? Therefore, so far as your statement is concerned that the House is disobeying your ruling, it does not stand at all.

The next point is about the privileges of the House. These adjournment motions are primarily the privileges of the Opposition because the misdeeds of the Government can only be discussed by means of adjournment motions. If there is any way out, it is the adjournment motion, and the House is the forum where the action of the Government can be criticised when Government do anything wrong. Here this is a matter of very urgent importance. Nobody knows what is happening today at Dacca; nobody knows what is going to happen there tomorrow. I left Dacca at 10 o'clock yesterday and I heard at Narayanganj——

Mr. SPEAKER: You cannot discuss that adjournment motion now.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: I am suggesting some way out. You have already accepted the position that the adjournment motion should be debated on the very day on which leave to move the motion is allowed. So the matter stands according to your ruling, and the rules also say that it should be discussed on the very same day. Now may I request you to do this, that before you ask the leaders of different parties and the Leader of the House to be present in your chamber to come to some settlement, I would beseech you not to violate the rules of procedure. We are in the Opposition today and Sir Nazimuddin may be out of office and in the Opposition tomorrow. Therefore, it concerns the members of the whole House. Privileges are privileges. I submit most respectfully that here if you say that I fix tomorrow, it would be a clear violation of the rules that are incorporated in the rules of procedure. The House made these rules and through you these rules are looked after. Therefore, I would ask you to meet the different leaders of the House today or tomorrow in your Chamber, but before doing that please allow the adjournment motion to be discussed today.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope it is the final speech on the subject——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Provided it is——

Mr. SPEAKER: Provided I agree with what you demand?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Provided it is according to the rule.

Mr. SPEAKER: Who will decide what the rule means?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The rule is there.

Mr. SPEAKER: Who can finally interpret the rule?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: It will be your own interpretation.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you kindly resume your seat? I would appeal to the Leader of the Opposition to help me.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: I would have been very glad to have made my humble contribution to the debate, but I regret, Sir, to find that you have become somewhat touchy and impatient and I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by my saying anything.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is painful for me to say anything with regard to the remarks that have fallen from the Leader of the Opposition. I have said, "I appeal to the leaders". The point is to my mind absolutely clear. I have fixed a certain time for the discussion of the adjournment motion to which leave has been granted by this House. Now, that did not satisfy the Opposition and they raised a certain point of order that my order fixing the time and the date is not in accordance with the provisions of the rule. I have said more than once what I had to say on the point: in fact I think I have got very little or practically nothing to add except stating that I do not known how to interpret the word "ruling" in reply to what has fallen from my friend Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed. He has stated that it is no ruling. When a point is raised as to whether a certain thing is in order or not, the Speaker has got to say something. He has either to say that it is in order or that it is not in order.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Nobody raised any question.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD: When the number was counted, you announced the result and no question of ruling arose at all.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think that it is the function of the Speaker to give reasons for what he directs. He can simply say without assigning any reason whatever that it should be done and that is his ruling as I interpret it. If my interpretation is not accepted and it is stated that you are not going to obey it because it is not a ruling, every member can rise and say that it is not a ruling and "I am not going to obey it" and that it is not according to the rules. Who is going to decide whether it is according to the rules or not? If that is the attitude of every member, no business can be carried on and there will be chaos and nothing else. I have tried to explain the position as thoroughly as possible, and it is beyond my power to explain it further. I have said that according to my interpretation of the rules the adjournment motion should be taken up on the same day. I have repeated that times without number and that is the interpretation which I have given to it. I gave that interpretation on a previous occasion and even after that I allowed an adjournment motion to be discussed on a subsequent day.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: No objection was taken to it because it was by agreement.

Mr. SPEAKER: That has been discussed threadbare, whether there was objection or no objection, whether there was agreement or no agreement, whether there was a contract or no contract. I could quite understand if honourable members in Opposition said, "Well, Sir, we want this to be discussed today". That is one point, and to say we are not going to——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Most humbly we beseech you. We have made our submission. Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, Mr. P. N. Banerjee, our leader Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed have all gone on their knees to request you to be so gracious as to revise your previous utterance. We submitted that you had probably through some misunderstanding said that tomorrow would be convenient. We probably made it clear that we on this side of the House very clearly submitted to you that we want it to be discussed today and we beseech you to

revise your first utterance to that extent so that there may be no trouble. You can do that. There is no question of resiling from it.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: My last submission to you, Sir, is that it is no use becoming sensitive in the field of politics.. You are the custodian of the privileges of the House, and if you say that your ruling is not going to be obeyed, that is far from the fact.

Sir, I would like to draw your kind attention to the fact that there is no final ruling of the Speaker in this sense that there have been instances in which although you have given one ruling, after hearing both the sides, you have revised your own ruling. That does not change the situation in any way. Sir, my last submission to you is this. You just ask all the Leaders of the different sections to your chamber immediately, consult them for ten minutes and then give us a fresh decision or ruling, whatever you may call it and we think that will improve the position here. I expect from you that you will explain the special circumstances which, as I said a few minutes back, led you without any request from the Government side or from our side to fix up the time for tomorrow. So, I would requset you kindly to invite the Leaders of different parties to your chamber immediately, adjourning the House for 10 or 15 minutes as you think proper and after consulting and taking all the viewpoints, you just give your ruling.

Mr. C. GRIFFITHS: Sir, you must be firm in your decision. Whatever the different parties may say, you must satisfy yourself and if you think so and that is your opinion, the matter ends there. But if you think otherwise, then Dr. Sanyal has every right to say that you have given a wrong decision.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Instead of allowing them to waste time since you have given your ruling and your decision, you should call for the business of the day.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Sir, you have stated categorically that the precedents to which you referred were against the rules, but you have got it from us that the precedents violated the rules by agreement. Now, even your ruling is going against the precedents which violated the rules. Thus by your ruling you are violating the rules in a twofold manner.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: As a mover of the motion and as one most vitally interested in the matter, may I make an appeal to you, Sir. The question is not whether you have as Speaker any discretion in the matter of fixing the date and the hour. Whether you have discretion or not, the question is whether this occasion is an occasion that brooks delay. It is not an ordinary situation. The situation to which my motion relates is an extraordinary situation where things are moving apace, incidents are occurring of a terrible nature and therefore the attention of the House and through the House of the country should be focussed immediately. It does not brook a moment's delay and therefore I request you to fix today for discussion.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned for prayer till quarter to six.

(At this stage the House was adjourned till 5-45 p.m.)

(*After adjournment.*)

Mr. SPEAKER: I have consulted the Leaders of the Opposition and they have agreed that the adjournment motion may be taken up tomorrow. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Without creating precedents.) That I have already stated. But I think that if we are to rise at 7 p.m. as we generally do it will require two hours' time and it would be better therefore if we fix it at 5 p.m. Has the Hon'ble the Leader of the House any objection?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: No.

Mr. SPEAKER: Therefore my previous order with regard to the time is changed. Discussion of the adjournment motion will begin at 5 p.m. tomorrow.

Let us now proceed with today's business.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Babu ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Sir, I beg to move that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister-in-charge of the Education Department,
(2) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(3) Dr. H. C. Mookerjee,
(4) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(5) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(6) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,
(7) Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal,
(8) Mr. Promatha Ranjan Thakur,
(9) Mr. Patiram Roy,
(10) Dr. Sanaullah, and
(11) Babu Ashutosh Lahiri (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st October, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at seven.

Sir, we have been wondering why Government should have thought fit to bring forward this Bill at this juncture while the country is passing through great internal crisis and the enemy is battering at the doors of Bengal and Assam. Sir, it has been stated by the Hon'ble Minister of Education that Government is determined to go forward with nation-building activities and that educational progress can no longer be delayed. But may I ask: is there anything in the Bill to justify the hope that there will be any expansion or progress of secondary education, or is there any indication to show that the Ministry proposes to execute any bold plan for educational expansion in the province. Sir, in Europe and America secondary education is free and compulsory. Every young man up to the age of 16 or 18 is compelled to have education up to the secondary stage. In Bengal we have not been able to do so even with respect to primary education. Government have passed the Primary Education Act, but hitherto it has not met with success and many members of this House have spoken about the failure of primary education. Government have not yet been able to make primary education free and compulsory.

Now what is the reform that is proposed today with regard to secondary education? Do they want to make it free and compulsory? It would mean crores of rupees. So, Government have not come forward with any proposal for educational reform. In the Bill itself the only change that is contemplated is the change of machinery, change of authority. The existing authority for secondary education in the province is the Calcutta University. It is now proposed to replace that authority by a new Board, a Board which will be constituted on communal principle, a Board which will be dominated by a communally-minded political coterie. Sir, the plea that the Government is anxious for educational reform is baseless. At least, the Bill itself does not give any indication of that. The Hon'ble Minister has stated that after the war there will be great educational expansion and in order to be prepared for that purpose he wants a new machinery constituted for secondary education. I want to know what is the object of this Bill at the present juncture. This question has been a highly controversial one and it has been agitating the country for so many years and Hindu opinion is

absolutely united in opposing it. If the Board that is proposed is to be constituted on non-communal principle then the Government have some justification to pass this legislation at the present juncture. Then, it would have been a non-controversial measure. But while this measure is so highly controversial, what right has the present Ministry to take up this Bill now? The Hon'ble Minister has said that if this Bill is not passed into law, there will be a disastrous shipwreck of education. I do not know what is meant by that. Does he mean that if this Bill is not passed into law, the ship of secondary education will be disastrously wrecked? But the Bill itself does not indicate how it proposes to rescue the ship from being wrecked.

Sir, I find that the only object in bringing forward this Bill at this juncture is to establish the domination of Muslim League over the entire machinery of secondary education. There is no programme for educational expansion. The only thing that is aimed at is that the machinery is proposed to be changed. There are two questions involved in the matter. First of all, we need a programme and then we need money to execute it. The Hon'ble Minister has quoted the example of England. In England the Government has come forward with a Bill of educational reform. Here the Ministry has not given any indication of its own ideas as to the reforms it proposes to carry out. Sir, I think the plea that this Bill has been brought at this juncture solely with the object of educational reform cannot be sustained. The real intention is to bring about the domination of a coterie of the Muslim League over the machinery of secondary education. The object is to capture the machinery of secondary education for the League organisation.

Sir, we are told that the Muslims have been insistent about this Bill. I do not know whether it is correct or not. So far as I have seen even amongst Muslim members of this House there is a division of opinion. There is a considerable section of Muslim members who do not think that the Bill should be brought forward at this juncture. I wonder why the Muslim opinion has been insistent about a Bill, which does not hold out any hope of progress and which does not give any indication of any educational reform. Why should the Muslim opinion be insistent about such a measure? The fact is that it is really a political measure. Its real object is to establish domination of a coterie of Muslim League. It is not correct to say that secondary education in this province will receive any very great encouragement simply by a change of machinery, simply by a change of authority, by vesting the authority in a Board constituted on communal principles. The Hindu opinion also wants a Board to be constituted. It also wants that secondary education should be placed on a secure foundation, on an authority independent of the Calcutta University. I am not an apologist for the Calcutta University. What I feel is that the proposed Board should ensure educational progress detached from communal consideration. It should be on principles which have nothing to do with communalism.

Supposing Muallim opinion is united in demanding the Secondary Education Bill, is the Hon'ble Minister justified in pushing it forward in such haste when the Hindu opinion is equally insistent on its withdrawal? That is the crux of the question. There is no doubt about the Hindu opinion. There is no mistake about it because Hindu opinion has expressed itself in the last two or three years throughout the length and breadth of the country. Th Secondary Education Bill was placed before the House in the first place in 1940, and Hindu opinion has been expressed not only from public platforms but also on the floor of this House.

Sir, it has been stated by Mr. Israil that separate electorate has been accepted by Hindus in the Lucknow Pact, that there is no need to go back and that there is no reason now why they should object to it. Objection to separate electorate has been the basis of our national movement. There was some compromise between Hindus and Muslims at Lucknow for a certain object. That object has failed. So, the Hindu opinion has always been against separate electorate and they have been demanding joint electorate.

It is absurd now after our experience about the operation of communal electorate to ask for the extension of that pernicious principle to the educational sphere.

Sir, the Muslims, especially the Muslim Leaguers, by their past conduct have not inspired the confidence of the Hindus that separate electorate will operate to the best interests of both the communities. So far as separate electorate in educational matters is concerned, we have the example of the Dacca University before us. That University has been the scene of ugly incidents during the last two or three years and it has been stated by some gentlemen that these ugly scenes were due to political factors. Political factors have been in existence in Dacca as well as in Calcutta but there has been no such ugly scenes in the Calcutta University, and why? It is because in Calcutta there is joint electorate; in Dacca there is separate electorate. Sir, in Bengal during the last few years the evils of separate electorate have been manifest in many directions. Sir, we are determined to prevent separate electorate being introduced in educational spheres whatever the consequences. Sir. if the Muslims claim that separate electorate is good for them it is up to them to prove to the Hndus that separate electorate is good for the Hindus also. If the Hindus think that they are not satisfied with separate electorate, the Muslims cannot force their opinion on the Hindus. The Muslims claim that they are in a majority and that the opinion of the majority must prevail. There would have been some justification for that provided the interest of the minority could be adequately safeguarded. We are not going to submit to the opinion of the majority community which is inspired solely by communal motive. So far as the Hindu opinion is concerned, Sir, it has been stated that there are the Hindu Ministers who are supporting the Bill. Sir, they have not uttered a single word on this Bill either in this House or outside. We are waiting to see what the three Hindu Ministers have got to say. Leaving aside the three Hindu Ministers and two Parliamentary Secretaries there is only one Caste Hindu member in this Assembly who is supporting the Bill. Outside the House this Bill has got no supporter amongst Caste Hindus. These three Hindu Ministers may support this Bill but I ask, have they got any Hindu support behind them? These Hindu Ministers are deserters from their parties and unfortunately, Sir, they are today virtually the paid servants of the Muslim League.

As regards the Scheduled Caste Ministers they are also Hindus. A section of Scheduled Caste people are supporting this Bill, but we know that their attitude has been that they must support whatever Ministry is in power and that at any cost. They think that to remain outside the ministerial party would be detrimental to their interest. So their support to the Secondary Education Bill is not of much importance or of much value because, in any case, they are bound to support anything that the Ministry will bring forward. They think that whoever steps into the Ministry must be supported—(Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: You are only speaking out your own mind!) (At this stage the red light was lit.) Sir, I want ten minutes more to finish my speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: I can allow you five minutes more; try to conclude within that time.

Babu ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Sir, Mr. Israil has stated that the fury of Hindu opposition will evaporate as soon as the Bill is passed into law. That is a very important question. In this connection Mr. Israil has referred to the Hindu opposition to the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Bill which died down as soon as that Bill became law. May I remind him that the Secondary Education Bill is not the Calcutta Municipal Bill. It does not affect the Hindus of a particular town only, but it affects the Hindus in general throughout the province. It is a fundamental question affecting the most vital interest of the Hindus. Sir, the real agitation will not start until the Bill is passed into law. They will realise how the Hindus will react: how the Hindus will organize themselves to fight against that law. It is an utter folly on your part to think that the present objection to the

Bill will die out as soon as it becomes law. If we, the Hindus of Bengal, could have succeeded in our anti-partition agitation, we have full confidence that we will succeed this time also. And as the Government of those days had had to annul the Bengal partition, the present Muslim League Government will have to remove the present obnoxious piece of legislation at no distant future. I hope the Muslim members supporting the Government will realise that before it is too late.

Now, Sir, as I have stated before, the only solution is that there should be a separate Board for the Hindus. If there is to be any real agreement, that can only be done if Government promises a separate Hindu Secondary Education Board to be constituted and run by the Hindus according to their own tradition and ideals of education. There is already an example of that in the separate Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education. Well, if they can have a separate Board, why should we not have a separate Board for us?

Now, Sir, coming to the actual provisions of the Bill the most important provision has been that the Bill provides for no representation of the Managing Committees of Schools. It has been stated that it is not in the academic interest to give them representation.

The Hon'ble Education Minister does not give any reason for stating that. His actual words are these, "The introduction of this element would in no way have been in academic interest. The omission of this element is considered a decided improvement and not a retrograde step." Sir, these members of the Managing Committees have been responsible for initiating, for organising, for financing 95 per cent. of high schools in Bengal. If they are denied representation, who else can have a claim to representation? They have the greatest interest in educational progress; by their life-blood they have built up education in Bengal.

(At this stage the member's time was up.)

Sir, I want five minutes' more time.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, your time is up.

Mr. ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Give me two minutes' time.

Mr. SPEAKER: All right.

Babu ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Right has been given to the legislature to elect members to the Board. Well, Sir, this House, I think, is elected on the basis of political programmes and members come here with political objectives. If the right is given to the legislature for representation on the Board, is it not actuated by a political motive? Sir, this House should not be allowed to elect any member to the Board. Either the Speaker of the Assembly or the President of the Council should go there as representatives of the House. Representation from the legislatures will bring in political motives in the working of the Secondary Education Board. I think, Sir, the Board should be free from any political influence and there should be no right of representation to the legislatures.

Sir, I feel that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee with a view to make various improvements that ought to be effected if the Bill is to be acceptable to the Hindus of the province.

Rai Bahadur JOGESH CHANDRA SEN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department,
(2) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(3) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(4) Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq,
(5) Mr. Syed Badrudduja,
(6) Mr. Atul Chandra Sen,
(7) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,

(8) Maulvi Abu Hossain Sarkar,
(9) Mr. Upendra Nath Barman, and
(10) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st October, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at five.

Sir, you will find that I proposed 17 names, but I am sorry I have to drop 7 names and I propose only 10 names. Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the Chief Whip, informed me that members supporting the Government would not serve in the committee and, as such, they refused their consent. Sir, this is how a party acts when it is mad with power. I expected that they would signify their consent and make us fools thereafter by voting down our proposals. May they thrive in their ignorance. I can only pity them.

Sir, I am proposing this Select Committee with a high hope that all parties may come to a settlement and present before this House a Bill which will be acceptable to the members and, for the matter of that, to the people of this province. There are some sound educationists in this House who can really deliver the goods. The Select Committee even without those 7 members who refused consent are competent enough to shape the Bill in a proper form. Mr. Wordsworth cannot be called a partisan and he is a well-known educationist and he will be able to present a reasonable view. Everyone of these 10 members is either a great scholar or an educationist and these members do not need any certificate from me. The Hon'ble Education Minister himself is not satisfied with the Bill. This is what the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan said while concluding his speech the other day: "I appeal to all sections of the House, I appeal to every honourable member to consider the provisions of the Bill dispassionately without prejudice and with an open mind. In case they do so, I have no doubt that the Bill will emerge out of our deliberations in a much improved form." So, he is sure that the desired improvements are not now in the Bill and he expects that after deliberations the Bill will come out in a much improved form and we shall be able to place on the statute book a measure fraught with immense possibilities for the educational regeneration of Bengal.

Sir, it is not the time to go into the merits of the Bill. So, I would very briefly touch only on some broad points. From the Statement of Objects and Reasons I find that Government intend to develop the secondary education according to a planned scheme whereas this Bill speaks of control, control and control only. You search the Bill, you scratch the Bill, you analyse the Bill, but you won't find any plan or scheme. A Board consisting of 53 members has been proposed but you will find that persons or officials whose help is needed most are not in it, such as the Director of Industries, Director of Agriculture, Head of the Engineering Department or heads of the various departments of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. The framer of the Bill had his eyes only on the ratio of communal representation. The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan has forgotten his brilliant past, says one of my friends here. He is now a pigmy by hobnobbing with the Lilliputians.

He had a broad vision, but it is now narrowed down. (Dr. ABDUL MOTALEB MALEK: Just like Mohammed Ali the Great.) Otherwise he would not have overlooked (Mr. A. M. ABDUL HAMID: Because of your narrow-minded policy.) the simple fact: one who pays the piper has a right to call for the tune. Sir, 70 to 75 per cent. of the secondary education expenses are borne by the members of one particular community. It is with their money that secondary education has gone on in the past and will also go on in the future. You want their money but you won't consult them or tell them about your scheme or plan. Is it not, Sir, extremely ridiculous and unbusinesslike? In all civilised countries the Universities have the inherent right to decide as to who should enter their portals. Is

there any provision for that? No. Government has got control over the primary education and the result, as everyone knows, is almost disastrous. Next comes the secondary education. Here too Government want control, not for efficiency but for communal supremacy. I would request my honourable colleagues in this House to visualise for a moment the result of all these. It is the duty of our University or an education system to turn out pupils who will be able to serve their motherland in all respects, who will lead and guide the future nation. Can you, I ask very seriously, Sir, expect this from a lot who will start life with hatred and distrust and with mind full of communal virus from the very primary classes? The Select Committee which I have proposed should see that such a scheme or plan is laid down by which students of all the communities in the province may grow and live like brothers and live in peace and be good citizens and will not dream of "Pakisthan" or "Hindusthan" but one "Akhanda Bangla". They should be taught to sing in chorus every morning—

হিন্দু-মুসলমান মিলিয়া দোঁহে
ঘুচাব মার লজ্জা দৈন্য।

Make them fully conscious of their glorious past and the present and unhappy lot. Let them resolve to make their motherland beautiful, noble and sublime. Let their song be concluded by singing—

লহ হাতিয়ার হও আগুয়ান
ভারত মাতার বীর সৈন্য।

Let the Board of Secondary Education arrange for such teachings by which the students can visualise a new life full of glory, let them be taught to say—

ওরে বেঁচে থাকা হবে মিছে
জগৎ সভার মাঝে যদি
পড়ে থাকতে হবে পিছে।

But this Secondary Education Bill aims at nothing like those I have just mentioned. The framer dreams of Muslim League control but not of development. Some of the Hindu Ministers, who are adorning the Treasury Benches today, as in the Court of King Ram Chandra in the olden days some of his allies did,—these gentlemen had spoken against this Bill on previous occasions. I would, Sir, present this House with extracts from the speech of one of my friends—a lamented friend—Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea. He was really honourable when he delivered that speech, but now under hypnotic influence and an "Uzir" of মন্ত্রি রাজের রাজার দল on the 3rd of September, 1941, he delivered a speech in this Assembly, while the Bengal Secondary Education Bill was under consideration. I quote from the proceedings:—

"Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I rise to support the motion for recommitting the Bill to the Select Committee.

It is a matter which most seriously affects the education of the youths of Bengal now and hereafter. The contemplated changes embodied in the Bill have exercised the minds of the whole nation—Hindus and Mussalmans—and have created a general feeling of the gravest alarm. Probably for the first time in the history of education in Bengal this Act has been set up to strengthen the powers and control of the Executive Government over the body corporate of the University in the matter of secondary education both in the external relation and internal constitution." (At this stage the blue light was lit.) Sir, I am afraid of this blue light.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can go on. If more time is necessary, I shall see if I can accommodate you.

Rai Bahadur JOGESH CHANDRA SEN: The Bill intends to snatch away from the University all its power and control over the secondary schools. It is hard to make out what the University has done to deserve this treatment and referring to the University he again said "......the very nature of the corporate and truly representative character enables it to maintain a continuity of policy and high standard of perfection, which I am sure will be quite impossible and hardly ever attainable under the administration of an ever-changing official ridden proposed Secondary Education Board".

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up. How long more do you want?

Rai Bahadur JOGESH CHANDRA SEN: I would take at least 10 or 20 minutes more.

Mr. SPEAKER: You may speak for five minutes more.

Rai Bahadur JOGESH CHANDRA SEN: "The wrong and injustice which the contemplated changes in the Bill will inflict on the community is so conspicuous. Sir, we are now facing attack from three sides. While the great war is fast approaching our door, we, in Bengal, are also facing the economic attack in the shape of Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Bill and intellectually by the Secondary Education Bill.

We have every reasonable ground therefore for taking it upon ourselves to enter our emphatic and unqualified protest against the unwisdom and injustice which is sought to be perpetrated in this Bill."

With these words he supported the motion for recommittal of the Bill to a Select Committee. The Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mookerjea is no longer the same outspoken and honourable man as he was in 1941. He was apprehending three-cornered attacks, viz., (1) War, (2) Agricultural Income-tax Bill, and (3) the Secondary Education Bill. War is still raging with all its ferocity and need I remind this House that it was this Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mookerjea who supported the Agricultural Income-tax Bill *in toto* in the Cabinet and in this House, and it is he who is now supporting the Bengal Secondary Education Bill with all the energy of a new convert along with four other Hindu Ministers who are equally hopeless. I would, also, crave your permission to place before this House two very important extracts: (1) from the bulletin of the Nizam's Government, and (2) from the speech of Nawab of Chattari. I would draw special attention of the Hon'ble Minister of Education to these and I expect he would try to meet the points mentioned here and refer to the preamble initiated therein. Politics of Bengal has gone down to a very low level but fortunately it has not degenerated so much in other parts of India as yet.

Regarding the education policy of Nizam's State the Hyderabad State bulletin said as follows:—

"It has been the consistent policy of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government to set its face sternly against any attempt at "communalising" education. Every effort has been made and is being made by the Hyderabad Government to discourage the import of communalism into educational matters as in other spheres of public activity. What is aimed at is to develop through right type of education a broad common outlook on matters which affect all people alike irrespective of caste, creed and religion."

Sir, next is the extract of a speech delivered by Nawab Saheb of Chattari at the Anjuman at Nagpur:—

"In educating the younger generation it must be borne in mind that it (education) should not tend to make youngsters communal-minded because in the joint effort of the two communities lies our prosperity."

The present Cabinet is in utter darkness and if they care for light here it is and let them be benefited by it. I am here with the hurricane lantern in my hand. It was with this idea I adopted hurricane lantern as my symbol in my election fight. One can look at this question from three different angles, viz: (1) by reasons and arguments, (2) by appeal and persuasion, (3) by drawing a naked picture of the disastrous result that might follow. I have advanced some arguments and with those arguments in favour of

my proposal I appeal to the Government and the members supporting them and the members of the European group who hold the balance to be reasonable to make an end of this fratricidal quarrel. I shudder to draw the picture of what may follow if there be no amicable settlement. The Cabinet should remember that Lord Curzon's settled fact was unsettled and this down-trodden Bengalee nation did it. Whatever the authorities might think the Bengalees are not yet politically dead but they are now in deep slumber, under hypnotic influence. Don't please disturb the sleeping lion.

This Bill is not for raising any new taxation but for increasing the expenditure side: as such, this is not the opportune time to take it up. If Government persists I would charge the Government as fifth columnists for bringing chaos and disorder and hampering war effort by their zeal to push through this highly controversial Bill which has already created a tense situation in the country.

I would remind those who hold uncompromising attitude that the Bengalees will never forget the inspiring song of that great national poet, Rabindranath, which was meant for the aggressors:—

ওরে তোদের আঁখি যত রক্ত হবে
মোদের আঁখি ততই খুলবে।
ওরে তোদের বাঁধন যত শক্ত হবে
মোদের বাঁধন ততই টুটবে।

With these words I commend my amendment for acceptance of this House. I would ask Government to accept my or any other amendment for referring this Bill to a Select Committee and shape it in such a manner by friendly talks and deliberations that it might be acceptable to all. The Cabinet is now intoxicated with power and dreaming of a new heaven but a bolt from the blue might one day crush their hopes and dreams. Let me caution them by saying—

নেশার ঘোরে ওগো তুমি
দুলছ সোনার দোলাতে
(জেনে রেখ) সোনার স্বপন ভাঙ্গবে যখন
তখন মিলিয়ে যাবে ধূলোতে।
(ওরে) ধূলোতে জন্ম যার
সে মিশে যাবে ধূলোতে।
উদ্ভিদের পোষাক তখন
স্থান পাবে তার প্যাটরাতে,
ফুস মন্তরে উড়ে যাবে
খাবে গড়াগড়ি মাটিতে।
(তাই) বলি বন্ধু হও নরম
অতটা হ'ও না গরম।
চালাও যদি আস্তে কদম
সময় পাবে ফেলতে কদম।

সাবধান

হার্বার্ট আর নাই জগতে
বুঝবে কে আর এ সঙ্কটে
কার দোহাই দেবে বাপু
কেসি যদি দড়ি কাটে
ঐ পাঞ্জাবী নাটের ঠাটে।

Long live your electorate system.

With these words I commend my motion to the acceptance of the House.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: Might I make an appeal to you, Sir? Will you kindly allow Mr. Manmatha Nath Roy to move his motion? I shall go on next day.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. MANMATHA NATH ROY: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education,
(2) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(3) Mr. Syed Badrudduja,
(4) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(5) Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu,
(6) Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee,
(7) Mr. Hemchandra Naskar,
(8) Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy,
(9) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, and
(10) Dr. Sanaullah,

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st July, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at seven.

With Bengal not yet recovered from the famine, and with the enemy at the door, the present time is most inappropriate for a Bill which has raised a serious controversy, that may further embitter the relations between the two principal communities in the Province.

The whole object of the Bill is to make education a tool of a political party and not the advancement of education.

In the Bill before us, the improvement of education is secondary, and the governing consideration is the securing of control by a separate communal electorate; without any regard for its effect on the education system; but control cannot be a panacea for the improvement or development of education which requires absolute freedom of thought.

The principle of separate communal electorate in the field of education is totally new and entirely unacceptable. In no other Province of India, except at Dacca, has the principle of communal electorate in education been accepted, and even in Dacca, the experiment has proved its unpopularity. We cannot forget what communal fire broke out in a virulent form at Dacca and has recurred recently there. The Nizam's Government has very recently set its face against any attempt at "communalising" education. The present Bill is aimed at inflecting communal virus into young minds full to the brim with disastrous consequences to the whole nation. The principle of communal electorate did not find any place in either the 1940 or the 1942 Bill, and yet the Hon'ble Minister says that there is no change in the 1942 Bill. This is a vital change, and I cannot think that the Minister lacks in common intelligence so as not to see the distinction between persons who may enjoy the confidence of both the communities and those who enjoy the confidence of only one of them.

We can understand the efforts to secure the best of educationists and teachers, but we cannot appreciate how this can be done by choosing them according to their religious persuasion and not on their merits. What is best must be accepted irrespective of communal considerations. They should come in because they are scholars, they are scientists and because of their experience of educational management. They do not come in because they are Hindus, Moslems or Christians.

To introduce communalism in these matters would be to strike at the root of real education and a death-blow to national existence, and the purposes of education will be lost to the detriment of the growth of free thought and independent judgment. It will be preposterous to suggest that the educational needs of any community cannot be served without separate electorate. It is to the interest of both Hindus and Moslems to have the best of books, the best of teachers and the best of educationists irrespective of communal considerations. Any other angle of vision would be suicidal.

It is suggested that the communal standpoint has been engendered by a neglect of Muslim culture and Muslim interest in the past. This is not correct. The Muslims had not shown any desire to pursue and profit by their own culture because of the lack of their education in the past. On the other hand, it is the Hindu historians who had revealed to the public some of the glories of Muslim history.

In the present Bill, in the constitution of the Board, educational interests have been reduced and political elements have been enlarged. The number of University representatives has been reduced from 16 to 8, the representation of Managing Committees of schools has been wholly dropped, the number of representatives of the Bengal Legislature has been increased from 7 to 10.

In the present Bill, changes have been effected to extend official control and impair the autonomy of the Board. The Bill of 1942 laid down that the President would be chosen by the Government out of a panel of three names to be selected by a Selection Committee. But the present Bill provides for the appointment of the President by the Government. In the present Bill, the provision for a Vice-President has been left out, in order not to allow a nominee of the Board to function, even though temporarily.

Another pernicious aspect is an attempt to "Divide and Rule" by dividing the Hindu community into Scheduled and Caste Hindus.

The safeguard against sudden withdrawal of recognition of permanently-recognised schools has been left out in the Bill.

The Sadler Commission pointed out that the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce, medicine, etc., should be represented on the Board, but the Bill only expresses a pious wish that these interests may be represented as far as possible.

The Bill proposes that the University will in future have practically no voice in the framing of syllabus and curriculum or prescribing the test for those who wish to avail themselves of University education.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think we should adjourn now in view of the inclement weather.

Adjournment.

The House was accordingly adjourned at 6-55 p.m. till 4-30 p.m. on Friday, the 19th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Friday, the 19th May, 1944, at 4-30 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 9 Hon'ble Ministers and 173 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Bengal Government nomination of two stenographers for post of a Reporter in Central Assembly.

***320. Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether a letter was received from the Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission, recently inviting the Government of Bengal to send the names of two stenographers for a competitive test to be held in Simla in connection with a vacancy in the post of a Reporter in the Central Assembly;

(*ii*) whether the Finance Department asked both the Council and the Assembly Departments to send the names of two of their reporters who in their opinion were eligible for the post; and

(*iii*) whether pursuant to the Finance Department requisition mentioned above the Council Department sent one name and the Assembly Department sent two names?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what are their respective qualifications;

(*ii*) whether the Finance Department has sent up any of the names mentioned above to the Federal Public Service Commission; and

(*iii*) whether it is a fact that Government of Bengal have nominated two stenographers other than those who were recommended by the Assembly and Council Departments?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) the names of such persons so recommended and the reasons for nominating them in preference to those who were recommended by the Council and Assembly Departments; and

(*ii*) whether in making these nominations the claims of other stenographers in the employment of the Government including those at the Secretariat were also considered?

MINISTER in charge of the FINANCE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) (*i*) The three reporters have attained a minimum reporters' speed of 140 words per minute, and they are considered capable of attaining a speed of 200 words per minute.

(*ii*) No.

(*iii*) Yes.

(*c*) (*i*) The two nominees of this Government, Mr. T. R. Srinivasan, a Secretariat stenographer, and Babu Saktidas Mukherji, stenographer to the Secretary of the Bengal Legislative Assembly Department, have both passed

the Government Commercial Institute Shorthand Examination at 200 words per minute. The reporters recommended by the Council and Assembly Departments have not this qualification.

(*ii*) Yes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*a*) "yes", will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the three persons referred to under (*a*) (*iii*), that is to say, those who were recommended by the Assembly and the Council Departments respectively?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: The Bengal Legislative Assembly Department forwarded the names of two reporters, Babu Shib Nath Bagchi and Babu Anil Kumar Chatterji.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state, of the two names recommended by the Assembly Department and the Council Department, how is it that a third name of Babu Saktidas Mukherji, who is stenographer to the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly Department and who was not recommended, was taken in?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: The Bengal Legislative Assembly Department forwarded a copy of a note from Babu Saktidas Mukherji, stenographer to the Secretary.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: But he was not recommended by the department. How is it that his name came in?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: He was one of the people who appeared in the competition and his qualifications were higher.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what competition was this as referred to and when was this competition held?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: I cannot answer that question off-hand.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that this competition, referred to in (*c*) (*i*), was in connection with——

Mr. SPEAKER: Why are you giving information?

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a fact that the competition referred to was with a view to recruit Assembly and Council reporters and the question of Assembly and Council reporters, who were already in the list, appearing in that competition never arose?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: I want notice of that question because I would have to enquire into the matter.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state on what ground have the Government come to the conclusion that the reporters of the Council and Assembly Departments who were recommended have not got the qualification?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: The gentlemen recommended by Government have better qualifications.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what are the respective educational and other qualificfiations of the persons who were chosen by the Government and the persons who were recommended by the Assembly and the Council Departments?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA COSWAMI: I require notice of that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there was any third name apart from the names of these two gentlemen, Mr. T. R. Srinivasan and Babu Saktidas Mukherji, whose name was also forwarded to the Government of India?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I find that the name of one Mr. Mani was considered.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether after consideration that name was sent or not?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: No, Sir.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a fact that Mr. Mani's name was placed first in the letter sent to the Government of India? Will you kindly look up your papers?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I find no record of that.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state where Mr. Mani has been employed for the last one or two years?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I do not know.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that he is not under the employ of the Government of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I want notice.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state for what reasons the recommendations made by the Assembly and Council Departments were turned down?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Because two other gentlemen seemed to possess better qualifications.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the persons recommended by the Assembly and the Council Departments held very high positions in the competitive examination for recruitment of reporters and one of them, in fact, occupied the first position in that competitive examination?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: That question, I submit, does not arise.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, you are going too much into details.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Government have chosen to mark them as incompetent men and I wanted to find out whether it is within Government's knowledge that at least one of them stood first in the competitive examination.

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Because he has said that these people have not those qualifications.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: The object of a question is to elicit information and not to give information.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I would like to know why Government chose a non-Bengalee and another person, not recommended by the department turning down the claims of those who were admittedly of better qualifications and one of whom stood first in the competitive examination?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I do not accept that at all.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: On a point of order, Sir. This question is a question relating to action. This should not have been allowed.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I quite understand the trend of your questions and it cannot be said that they are irrelevant but, at the same time, there is a limit to the nature of cross-examination that is allowed in supplementary questions.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Cross-examination with a view to elicit facts. When the Hon'ble Minister says that he has no information or he is not in a position to reply, naturally I have to go into details.

Mr. SPEAKER: If he says that he cannot give any answer without notice, there is an end of it.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Exactly, that is why I want to refresh his memory.

Mr. SPEAKER: That does not arise.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in seeking the recommendation of the Bengal Government, the Federal Public Service Commission desired that preference should be given to the reporters of the Legislative Assembly and the Council?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: On a point of order, Sir. This question does not arise. Why I say that this question is not in order is because it is supplying information. Only to say "whether it is a fact" or "is Government aware" does not make a supplementary question in order when it is evident that the questioner knows the information because the object of questions is only to elicit information.

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot accept the statement as made in that general way. The fact is it is always open to a member to try to ascertain facts. He may have some idea about them but he may want to get accurate facts.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: But the question will show whether he knows the facts or not.

Mr. SPEAKER: He may or may not know but sometimes he may verify facts. However, I would request Dr. Sanyal to remember that we have got only a very limited time today.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: With reference to answer (*c*) (*ii*) that the claims of other stenographers in employ of Government were considered, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when and in what way the claims of other stenographers were considered? Was there any advertisement issued or any invitation made to them?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: All I can say is that their claims were considered.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of confining the recommendations to other departments to Bengalis and those resident in this province, so that persons qualified and resident in this province may have an opportunity to serve the Government of India and elsewhere?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Certainly. Government will consider the claims of Bengalis first. But in a case like this where special qualification is necessary, the qualifications have got to be taken into consideration.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a fact that the persons recommended by the Bengal Government could not pass the test in the Government of India and it was due to the fact that they chose less qualified men for patronage?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a question of inference.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a fact that the persons recommended by the Government of Bengal could not stand the test of the Government of India and had to come back?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I am not aware.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is it a fact that as a result of the patronage of the Government of Bengal, duly qualified persons were not recommended and Bengal could not get a proper share in the Stenographers Department in the Federal Public Service Commission?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not allow that question.

If there is no objection, other questions may be held over.

(As there was no objection, other questions were held over.)

GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

Regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay.

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Sir, I beg to move that this Assembly is of opinion that a message of deep sense of sorrow and sympathy of the people of Bengal be conveyed through the Government of Bombay to the relatives of the victims and other sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay, that took place on the 14th April, 1944.

Sir, I need not say many words on this subject except to say this that I had occasion to visit the scene of the devastation. The devastation is enormous and I think many people suffered loss of life and property. I have no idea of the actual extent of the damages or the number of people who either perished or were injured, but I think the calamity was of a very serious nature. As I said I had occasion to visit the scene of this disaster only a few days ago and the impression I had was that the people of Bombay have suffered very much, and it is only proper that we should from this Assembly send an expression of our deep sense of sorrow at the disaster that befell the people and the city of Bombay.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Mr. Speaker, no human heart can withhold its sympathy from the victims of the terrible disaster at Bombay. But, Sir, I have not got much to say. I cannot however help remarking that although this motion has come this afternoon from the Government Benches, their attitude yesterday towards what is happening in Dacca was quite different. We are going to discuss the sorrow and suffering of the people of Dacca this afternoon presently and I await with interest the attitude of Government towards those living much nearer home than Bombay.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: Sir, you are aware that the Chief Whip of the Congress Party Dr. Sanyal gave notice of a motion similar to this, and now that the Government has come forward to move this resolution we gladly associate ourselves with that resolution.

It is curious, Sir, how news is filtered through the censorship. Even now I doubt whether we know and realise the extent of the calamity that overtook Bombay on that day. We understand, Sir, that the area affected was more than two square miles, and there has been an enormous loss of life. Nearly 50 thousand people lost their lives. The loss of life included a large number of school children. Many high officials lost their lives. People who were fighting hard inside the dock lost their lives. The most tragic part of it was the loss of life of school children. About the damage of property, I am told that about a crore of rupees or more worth of property have been affected.

Sir, Bombay stood by us in our distress. Bombay came to our help when we were dying of starvation, and it is only proper that we send a message of sympathy to Bombay.

There is one other matter which I would like to mention before I sit down. I want to congratulate the Government of Bombay for the steps they took to meet the situation. They released the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. Nagindas Master, and sought his co-operation to meet the situation. That, Sir, is an example for which we are thankful to Bombay, and it is well worth imitating by the Government of Bengal.

Sir, once more I associate myself and the party I have the honour to lead with this resolution.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the absence of the Deputy Leader, on behalf of my party, I whole-heartedly associate myself with the resolution which has been moved by the Government however belated it may be. When our countrymen in another part of this country have been the victims of an accident of an unprecedented character, it is only natural that we shall be moved by their actual distress and suffering.

We only join the people of Bombay in their request that the Central Government should immediately come to their help in generous measure. We are also anxious to be assured by the Central Government that adequate precautionary measures be taken immediately, so that in future such a catastrophe will not recur.

With these words, Sir, I again support the resolution on behalf of my party.

Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Sir, may I associate myself on behalf of my party with the resolution which has been moved by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister on behalf of the Government of Bengal.

Bengal's heart goes out in fullest sympathy for the sufferers of the calamity which has fallen on Bombay. I cannot forget, Sir, the support, the unstinted support which was given to Bengal by Bombay last year when Bengal was passing through the terrible famine crisis.

There are just two points, Sir, which I would like to state in this connection. One is that there has been a demand from all sections of people in Bombay that Government should undertake full responsibility for paying adequate compensation to the sufferers. I have no doubt that the demand will have the support of all provinces throughout India, because it is reasonable and legitimate.

The second point is that there have been whispers that the catastrophe, at any rate the more serious part of it, might have been prevented if some steps had been taken promptly. It is not possible for us to say whether this criticism is justifiable or not. An Enquiry Commission has been appointed and we eagerly look forward to its impartial finding on this very important question. In case the finding is that this catastrophe might have been avoided, but it was not avoided on account of the negligence of somebody, we have no doubt that Government will come out to take proper action against such individual or individuals.

Sir, some time ago, I believe when there was the first heavy air raid on London, the Bengal Government contributed a sum of Rs. 1 lakh towards the alleviation of the suffering of the people in London. I believe—I am not giving any notice of amendment—it will be in accordance with the wishes of all sections of the House if the Government of Bengal would show similar gesture on the present occasion on behalf of the people of Bengal and of the Government of Bengal and sanction a donation of one lakh of rupees to the fund which has been opened in Bombay for the relief of the sufferers. I hope the Finance Minister will take note of the suggestion made in this connection.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Sir, I should like to asociate most whole-heartedly the European Party with this resolution which has been moved by the Hon'ble Finance Minister. Bombay has suffered a terrible disaster and it is only right that this House should send this message of our sincere and deep sorrow and sympathy to the people of Bombay. I feel, Sir, that we should also express our admiration of the courage and fortitude with which the people of Bombay have faced the ordeal which has been of an unprecedented nature. I feel, Sir, that we should also express our admiration—and here I join issue with my honourable friend Dr. Mookerjee to some extent—for the promptitude and effectiveness of the measures taken by the authorities on the spot. I feel, Sir, from the fact that a Commission has already been appointed to go into the causes of the disaster, we need have no apprehension that the matter will not be probed and the responsibility for this disaster settled.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, I endorse every word that has come from the honourable member for the University of Calcutta and I also agree with what the Whip of the European Party has said. From information that has come to me direct from Bombay I can say that the military, naval and specially the Fire Brigade personnel worked in the most excellent

manner and every section of the people of Bombay rendered admirable service to the sufferers. The honourable member for the University of Calcutta has referred to payments of the losses. The Government of India has not yet declared how it is going to face the situation. I do not know how the Commission of Inquiry will report on the point, but if it is in any way connected with military operations and military control, I do hope that the Government of India will not call upon the Indian tax-payer to pay the money. The losses in Bombay of whatever description and whatever the report of the Commission and decisions taken by the Government of India on it, fairness demands that the responsibility for the damage should be accepted by the United Nations and met out of a pool created by them.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Sir, in the absence of the Leader of the Krishak Proja Party, I whole-heartedly associate myself with the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Finance Minister, on behalf of our party. I also whole-heartedly support my honourable friend, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, when he proposed that one lakh of rupees should be set apart by the Government of Bengal for the help of the suffering people of Bombay.

Mr. PRAMATHA RANJAN THAKUR: Sir, on behalf of the Scheduled Caste members in the Opposition I associate myself with the other members who have spoken before me in extending our sympathy for the people who have suffered from the fire accident in Bombay.

The motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami that this Assembly is of opinion that a message of deep sense of sorrow and sympathy of the people of Bengal be conveyed through the Government of Bombay to the relatives of the victims and other sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay, that took place on the 14th April, 1944, was then put and agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION.

Communal Disturbances in the City of Dacca.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Sir, I beg to move that the business of the House do now stand adjourned to discuss a matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the failure of the Government to prevent the recrudescence of communal disturbances in the city of Dacca.

I am so glad, Sir, that my motion has already had one good effect, viz., that the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin left for Dacca last night. I only wish he had gone a little earlier. When he did not do that and went only yesterday he ought to have allowed the discussion on this motion to take place yesterday so that he might go fully armed with the suggestions that this House might make in its combined wisdom. But Sir Nazimuddin treats this House with scant respect. He disregards friendly and helpful suggestions made by its responsible members. It may be remembered that on the 16th I requested him to make a statement on the situation at Dacca which, as I then said, was on the verge of communal disturbances. I specially requested him to tell the House what steps had been taken by the Government to prevent a repetition of the tragic past. He took shelter under technicalities and in his bureaucratic arrogance refused to make a statement. Sir Nazimuddin must realise now that it was not merely for the fun of it that I asked him to make a statement. My prognosis of the situation has proved to be absolutely correct. If, on the 16th, Dacca was on the verge of communal disturbances, today it is engulfed by them. So far as has been known, 12 people have been killed and many more injured. Who knows the situation may worsen still!

This is so far as I am concerned. But what about Sir Nazimuddin? Did he or did he not realise that the storm was gathering which might break out in its utmost fury at any moment? One of the Parliamentary Secretaries of his Government told me on the 16th after my reference to the Dacca situation that it was absolutely under control. If that is what Sir

Nazimuddin's Government wanted us to think about Dacca at the time I must say that there is something dangerously wrong somewhere. It will be for Sir Nazimuddin's Government to prove that their indifference and complacent inactivity were not deliberate and purposeful. I shall come to this point later on.

Sir, I have had the melancholy privilege of closely studying the history and course of communal disturbances at Dacca since they started more than twenty years back. One outstanding feature of these disturbances has been that after one or two incidents of a more or less serious nature there followed a temporary lull which invariably proved to be the calm before the storm which broke out in all its fury and caused incalculable havoc. If you kindly refer to the statement appended to my motion, you will realise that this applies to the present case also. As advised by a friend of mine—a very prominent citizen of Dacca—who has arrived here this morning, I have to correct my statement by adding that the first two cases of stabbing occurred not on the 16th as I stated yesterday, but on the 14th. Then followed a lull of two days, viz., the 15th and 16th. On the 15th the District Magistrate assured the local Peace Committee that the situation was under control. On the 16th Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin also tried to create the same impression in the House by a non-chalant attitude in reference to my question. The District Magistrate, a comparatively junior officer, having very little experience of such disturbances, may have made a miscalculation. But why should Sir Nazimuddin whose experience in dealing with these matters spreads over quite a number of years, fail to make a correct prognosis of the situation and act swiftly! Unless one wants to insult Sir Nazimuddin's intelligence one feels inclined to ask, was this indifference and inactivity on the part of Sir Nazimuddin deliberate? Sir, I make this statement on the floor of the House without fear of contradiction, viz., that if adequate steps were taken immediately after the occurrences of the 14th the disaster of the 17th might have been averted to a great extent. The worst incidents of the day occurred in the morning near what is known as the Nawabpur Bridge, within a stone's throw of the office of the District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent. A few armed constables or sepoys on the bridge and its two approaches would be sufficient to make the way safe for passers-by. Why then was not this measure of safety adopted in time, I ask Sir Nazimuddin? Why did he not issue necessary instructions in this matter?

Sir, I have no time at my disposal to multiply instances of deliberate omission on the part of the Government in dealing with the situation. I only wonder why Sir Nazimuddin should have adopted this attitude of indifference and inactivity at a moment when a clear foresight and quickness of decision was demanded of him to tackle the situation. I repeat once again that unless one is to discredit Sir Nazimuddin with want of intelligence and efficiency he makes himself open to a graver charge, viz., that he was inwardly pleased at the occurrences and wanted them to continue at least for some time. The reason one may have of thinking so is not far to seek. Dacca would give Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin and his Government a splendid opportunity of telling the world and the powers that be that the agitation started over the Secondary Education Bill by the damned Calcutta Universitywallahs has provoked the situation at Dacca. The accusation, however, would be quite wide of the mark inasmuch as whatever agitation there has been at Dacca over the Secondary Education Bill has been absolutely peaceful and non-provocative. If one is asked to remember that in the present temper of some Muslims—I do not say all Muslims—any criticism of this Government or any of its measures is to create a situation like the one at Dacca, this Government had better resign immediately so that a more representative Government may be formed who are in a position and in a mood to guarantee freedom of thought and speech and protection to all.

Sir, you must have noticed that speaking so far I have not in the least inclined to lay the blame of the incidents at the door of one community in

exclusion of the other. In such matters I am not prepared to speak in terms of communities. Once the ball is set in motion—how, it is a matter of speculation for the present—things move in a vicious circle, mischief-makers in both communities falling into a craze to maintain the communal parity in crimes. We are here concerned to judge whether the Government of the day have directly or indirectly helped to restore the amity and friendship between the communities or done the contrary. I say, Sir, with all the emphasis at my command that this Government have done nothing so far to create a bond of fellow-feeling and friendship between the two communities. Ideologically they are incapable of doing it. Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin can at most warn Dacca people saying that the offenders shall be severely dealt with irrespective of community. Further than this he cannot go. He cannot utter the higher and nobler truth, namely, that the two communities are equal partners of one great nation and must live as good neighbours and friends. He can only preach separatism which in effect is a hymn of hatred. Indeed he has been the worst criminal in this respect. His statements and preachings on Pakisthanism in and outside the province have worked havoc on the Muslim mind, especially of the impressionable age. Let me give one instance from the city of Dacca that occurred just a week prior to the outbreak of disturbances, *i.e.*, on the 7th instant. The good and enlightened Head Master of Armanitola Government High English School, a Muslim gentleman of educational attainments and culture, was mercilessly assaulted by Muslim students for having permitted the celebration of Rabindra anniversary in the school premises. It does not require a great psychologist to suggest that this mentality in some of our Muslim young men created by the dangerous preachings of the Nazimuddin school is not helpful towards the attainment of a harmonious social life. It has not been helpful at Dacca. If any Hindu also has preached separatism of the Pakisthan type he is equally condemnable. But in Bengal at least I have known none of this type. Any way, a separatist, whether he be a Hindu or a Muslim, is unworthy to be a member of the Government of this province; he is a thousand times unworthy to be its head. So I would request Sir Nazimuddin, if he really wants communal harmony in Bengal, either to renounce Pakisthanism altogether or at least to put it in cold storage for the duration of his Government. Otherwise, having raised the Frankenstein himself he will bring the country to ruin and find himself smothered in political chaos.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise in support of the adjournment motion that has been moved by my friend Mr. Atul Chandra Sen. Sir, it is a matter of very great shame to us, particularly who come from Dacca, to have to stand up before this Assembly and to dilate upon the unfortunate happenings which seem to be a recurring event. But, Sir, it is absolutely necessary that we should put our heads together; we should direct the attention of the Government of the day to the real cause of trouble at Dacca.

Sir, we have been opposing separate electorates, we have been opposing communal claims not for the matter of fun. We know that the separate electorate introduced as a result of Minto-Morley reforms, inspired by the then Viceroy, has been eating into the vitals of this society of ours. Gradually these communal riots, these communal dissensions have become the order of the day, certainly not to the benefit either of the Hindus or of the Muhammadans. The time has come when we Hindus and Muhammadans should seriously think whether the dividing activities based on claims and counter-claims of communities forgetting that they are one people essentially should not cease.

Sir, in 1926, the first Dacca riot took place. I happened to reach the town of Dacca the very day and I found the streets deserted. In certain areas people were living in dread of their lives and could not come out of their houses until some of us went round and rescued them. They could not even go to the police-station. We thought that after deliberations amongst

the leaders of the communities we have been able to make it a thing of the past, but unfortunately again in 1931 there was a riot and then we had this Raipura riots which certainly did not redound to the credit of our sister community, the Muhammadans. We have not been placed with the full materials of this riot, but we find that there was a small difference amongst schoolboys at first. It has pained me to a great extent to see this and I hope my Muhammadan friends, particularly Dacca friends, will see that such a thing may not recur again, I mean the Muslim head master of a school having given permission for Rabindra Anniversary being mercilessly assaulted. How could it happen unless there was a bitter feeling that we cannot possibly as Mussalmans do honour to the memory of a world famous poet like Rabindra Nath Tagore. Of course, I hear certain peculiar sounds and the Hon'ble Education Minister apparently seems to know the cause of it, but it is absolutely necessary for the Education Minister to immediately make a vigorous enquiry as to how one of the head masters of a high school, a Muhammadan gentleman, could be assaulted because he had given that decision. (The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: By whom and why?) If the Government of the day say that when such an occurrence takes place they are not competent enough to find out who had assaulted and to take any steps against such an incident——

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That is under investigation and there is a case. My friend is not entitled to refer to that.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I am not naming any of the accused persons nor asking that such a person should be held responsible for it.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is enough.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: At any rate I would ask my friends seriously to consider whether the communal differences should be any further accentuated by any administrative or legislative action. The time is ripe for all of us to think about it.

Sir, I am not moving this as a censure motion against the Government because a censure motion will be of no avail. Even if we pass a censure motion this Government is not going to be in any way moved and it will not resign. I am moving this as a citizen of Dacca. (Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRAVARTI: As a fun.) I know to some people who think that loss of human lives is a fun my argument cannot possibly be of any avail. So far as they are concerned, I do not propose to change their minds, their hearts and I do not propose to appeal to them. But as a citizen of Dacca I know that innocent lives are lost out of this communal bitterness for which not only the Hindus but the Muhammadans are alike responsible, I will say, but the Government has got a duty, the local officials have got a duty and as soon as they find that there is any chance of a communal riot developing they should take immediate steps and the Government of the day should make it clear that no person should think that because he belongs to any particular community he will be immune from prosecution and also from all kinds of punitive steps that may be taken.

I am very glad that Sir Nazimuddin has gone down to Dacca. I will eagerly wait to see what steps he takes. I shall eagerly wait to see whether he strengthens the hands of the local officials, or if any local officer apportions the blame to any particular community, whether that officer is taken to task or put into difficulty. That is a thing which we have got to see. If the Government tackles the situation fairly and without showing any frown or favour to any community, I am sure the situation will improve. But if the Government takes sides, if the Government carries on white-washing propaganda, it will be doing the greatest injustice to both the communities and it will be a serious blot upon the administration of the day. I hope in this discussion today there will not be any acrimony. We want that all of us should very seriously consider the proposition.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: You rather address Mr. Atul Sen.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I have addressed all the members, and particularly to you, the Chief Whip of the Government Party. I am making this appeal "please do not carry on any whitewashing propaganda".

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Gupta, that is not the proper way of addressing.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: I am sorry, Sir, that was a sort of reply I was given. I ought to appeal and I do appeal, so that it may not fail, through the Speaker to the Chief Whip of the Government who is a Dacca man, who knows the communal situation, who knows what harm it is doing to the corporate life and the social life in Dacca to take courage and to do justice irrespective of caste, creed or community.

With these words, Sir, I support the motion.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: মি: স্পীকার Sir, আবার ঢাকার কথা। আমরা ঢাকার গত বিভীষিকাময় ঘটনার পর ভেবেছিলাম বুঝি হতভাগ্য ঢাকা একটু শান্তির নিঃশ্বাস ফেলতে পারবে; কিন্তু তা হওয়ার জো নাই। যখনই বাংলার কোন ব্যাপার হয়, তখনি ঢাকা, সে আর ঢাকা থাকে না,—সকলের সম্মুখে সে উন্মুক্ত হয়ে যায়, যত কিছু ভিতরের বিদ্বেষের জ্বালা নগ্ন ও কদর্য্যরূপে বাহির হয়ে সমস্ত জাতির প্রাণের ভিতর বিরাট আতঙ্কের সৃষ্টি করে এবং এই হতভাগ্য ঢাকা সে শুধু নিজেরই দুঃখের কারণ হয় না, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সমস্ত বাংলার বুকে একটা বিষাদ আতঙ্কের সৃষ্টি করে,—সব জায়গায় এই ভয় প্রবল হয়ে উঠে জানি না কখন কি ঘটে। যখনই ঢাকার বুকে সাম্প্রদায়িক আগুন জ্বেলে দেয়, সে আগুনের লেলিহান বহ্নিশিখা আবার কোন কোন স্থানে প্রসারিত হয়ে জাতির সুখ, সম্পত্তি, শান্তি সমস্ত নিঃশেষে ভস্মীভূত করে দেবে সেই আতঙ্ক সম্মুখে রেখে আজ ঢাকার বিষয় আমরা আলোচনা করতে উদ্যত হচ্ছি—

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA : সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ-বহ্নি ঢাকা জেলায় গতবার যখন শহর এবং পল্লী অঞ্চলকে দগ্ধ ও নাজিমুদ্দীনের গভর্ণমেণ্টকে ভস্মীভূত করে ক্ষান্ত হল, আসিল নূতন গভর্ণমেণ্ট ফজলুল হক্‌এর নেতৃত্বে; এবং ১৬ মাস ব্যাপী সেই গভর্ণমেণ্ট বাংলার বুকে কাজ করেছিল। সেই ১৬ মাসের ভিতর বাংলার বুকে সাম্প্রদায়িক দাবানল আর জ্বলে উঠতে পারলো না। তখনও বাংলার বুকে সাহাবুদ্দিন ছিলেন, নডরুল্লা, স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন ছিলেন, সলিম সাহেব ছিলেন, তমিজ উদ্দিন খাঁ এবং ফজলার রহমান সাহেবও ছিলেন। কিন্তু, তাঁরা থাকা সত্ত্বেও বাংলার বুকে সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ-বহ্নি এমনিভাবে বাঙ্গালীর জীবনকে ধ্বংস করতে পারেনি, তার কারণ তাঁরা তখন গভর্ণমেণ্টের মন্ত্রিত্বের আসনে অধিষ্ঠিত ছিলেন না। যে মুহূর্ত্তে আবার তাঁরা ফিরে এলেন বাংলার মসনদে স্যার জন হার্বাটের অপার করুণায়, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে আমরা দেখতে পেলাম ঢাকা কলেজে হিন্দু ছাত্রীদের উপর পৈশাচিক, বর্ব্বর অত্যাচার। অপরাধ তারা নিজেরা বন্দেমাতরম্ সঙ্গীত করে সরস্বতী পূজা উৎসব করেছিল। তারপর এই Bengal Government আমদানী করিলেন মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল, এবং এই শিক্ষা বিল আনার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে এই বিলের যাঁরা কর্ত্তা তাঁরা যে কোন রকমে হোক এই শিক্ষা বিলের বিরুদ্ধে যে প্রতিবাদ তাকে ধ্বংস করবার দৃঢ় সংকল্প নিয়ে দণ্ডায়মান হয়েছেন। স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন যখন বাংলার সাংবাদিকদের আহ্বান করে চোখ রাঙ্গিয়ে শাসিয়ে অনেক উপদেশ ও নির্দ্দেশ দিলেন তখনই আমরা বুঝতে পেরেছিলাম "পর্ব্বতো বহ্নিমান ধূমাৎ"—সবে ধোঁয়া উঠ্‌ছে, আগুন শীঘ্রই জ্বলে উঠ্‌বে। কাজেই এই অবস্থায় যখন আমরা দেখতে পাই যে ঢাকায় আবার সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ-বহ্নি দাউ দাউ করে জ্বলে উঠেছে, তখন বুঝতে দেরী হয় না স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিনের মাধ্যমিক

শিক্ষা বিলের প্রতিবাদকে ধ্বংস করার বুদ্ধি কোন্ রূপ পরিগ্রহ কর্ত্তে যাচ্ছে; এবং আমরা জানি যে বিদ্বেষের আগুন যখনই জ্বলে ওঠে তখন তার পিছনে তখনকার মতন যে কারণ থাকে সেটা অতি সামান্য। আমরা অনেক স্থলেই দেখেছি যে কখনও হোলি খেলা নিয়ে, ছেলেদের ফুটবল বা অন্য কোন খেলা নিয়েই আগুন জ্বলে ওঠে। এবার ছেলেদের ফুটবল খেলা নিয়ে দাঙ্গা সুরু হয়েছে। সামান্য ফুটবল খেলা নিয়ে যে এত বড় একটা দাবানল জ্বলে উঠতে পারে তার কারণ তার পিছনে জমা ছিল বারুদের স্তূপ, যার বিস্ফোরণ সহসা এমন ভীষণভাবে জ্বলে উঠেছে যে তার ফলে দুজন নিরীহ হিন্দুর বুকের রক্ত দিয়ে এই পৈশাচিক তাণ্ডবলীলা আরম্ভ হয়েছে ঢাকা সহরের বুকের উপর। আমি বলতে চাই আমাদের মুসলিম লীগ বন্ধুদের যে এতো ধ্বংসের পরও কি তাদের চিত্তে বিন্দুমাত্র দয়া বা অনুকম্পার সৃষ্টি হয় নি? হিন্দুর জন্য না হোক, তাদের নিজেদের সম্প্রদায়ের জন্যত হওয়া উচিত ছিল। কারণ যখন আগুন জ্বলে তখন সেই আগুনে শুধু যে, যার বাড়ীতে আগুন লাগে তার বাড়ী পোড়ে এবং ধ্বংস করে তা নয়, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে যে আগুন দেয় তারও ক্ষতি কম হয় না। কারণ, আগুন একবার জ্বললে যে আগুন দেয় তার কথামত বিচ্ছুরিত হয় না।

আমরা জানতে চাই যাঁরা এই সমস্ত পৈশাচিক ব্যাপারের মূলে আছেন, তাঁদের কি সেই সাহস আছে যে, তাঁরা তাঁদের সমস্ত দায়িত্ব নিয়ে নিজ সম্প্রদায়ের কাছে দাঁড়াতে পারেন? অথবা নিরীহ জনসাধারণ যাঁরা তাঁদের এই পৈশাচিক ষড়যন্ত্রের ফলে মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত হয়, তাঁদের সঙ্গে সুখদুঃখের ভাগী হওয়ার তাঁদের বিন্দুমাত্র সাহসও আছে কি? তাঁরা পর্দ্দার আড়াল থেকে অঙ্গুলি সঞ্চালনে সমস্ত দেশের মধ্যে বিভীষিকা সৃষ্টি করে, তাদের ভাইদের প্রতিবাসীর রক্তে সিক্ত হয়ে নিজেদের রাজতক্তে বসবার পথ পরিষ্কার করে নেয়। এই অভিনয় বাংলার বুকে কয়েক বৎসর ধরে চলে আসছে; আর কতদিন চলবে জানি না। যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত না এই হতভাগ্য দেশ সেই সমস্ত লোকের স্বরূপ বুঝে তাদের সরিয়ে না দেয়, সে পর্য্যন্ত আমাদের উপর এই সব অত্যাচার ও নিপীড়ন চলবেই।

আজ ঢাকায় যে কাণ্ডটা ঘটছে তার জন্য বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টের দায়িত্ব খুব বেশী রয়েছে। আমি বাংলার মন্ত্রিসভায় যাঁরা আছেন তাঁদের কথাই বলছি, তাঁদের যদি বিন্দুমাত্র আত্মমর্য্যাদা ও দায়িত্ব বোধ থাকে তাহলে তাঁদের সব চেয়ে প্রয়োজন ছিল চেষ্টা করার যে তাঁদের এই মন্ত্রিত্ব কালে এই বিদ্বেষ-বহ্নি আবার প্রজ্জ্বলিত হয়ে তাদের অপরাধকে জগতের সামনে সুস্পষ্ট-রূপে প্রমাণিত না করতে পারে। কিন্তু সে বুদ্ধি বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর বিশেষতঃ আমাদের লীগ বন্ধুদের যে আছে সেটা আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। তাঁরা মনে করছেন এই বিভীষিকা সৃষ্টি করে হিন্দুর যে ন্যায্য আন্দোলন, বাঙ্গালীর যে ন্যায্য আন্দোলন, তাকে তাঁরা দাবীয়ে দেবেন; এবং বিভীষিকা বিস্তার করে সকলের প্রাণে আতঙ্ক সৃষ্টি করে তাদের অভীপ্সিত কাজ তাঁরা করে যাবেন। একথা দৃঢ়ভাবে জানিয়ে দিচ্ছি তাঁরা দেশের মধ্যে বিভীষিকা বিস্তার করতে পার্ব্বেন বটে কিন্তু কখনও এই যে আমাদের ন্যায্য দাবী, ন্যায্য প্রতিবাদকে দমন করতে পারবেন না। স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন যে সমস্ত কথা বলেছিলেন সাংবাদিক এবং অন্যান্যদের কাছে তার দ্বারা বুঝেছিলাম যারা আন্দোলন করবে তাদের কারাগারে পুরে রেখে এই আন্দোলনকে দমন করবার চেষ্টা করবেন। কিন্তু সেদিকে না যেয়ে তাঁরা কেন এই পৈশাচিক পন্থা অবলম্বন করলেন? যার ফলে নিরীহ জনসাধারণের উপর চলেছে আক্রমণ এবং ফলে ঘটিতেছে এই নিরীহ হত-ভাগ্যদের মৃত্যু। এতে ঢাকাবাসীদের জীবনকেই যে আতঙ্কগ্রস্ত করে তোলা হয়েছে তা নয়, সমস্ত বাংলার হিন্দু-মুসলমানের ঘরে ঘরে একটা ভীতির সৃষ্টি করেছে। এই মহাপাপের জন্য যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট দায়ী সেই গভর্ণমেণ্টকে আমি সাবধান করে বলছি যার বাড়ীতে আগুন দেওয়া হয় তার বাড়ীই যে শুধু পোড়ে তা নয়, যে আগুন দেয় তাকেও পুড়িয়ে নিঃশেষ করে ফেলে।

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, আজকে ঢাকার দাঙ্গা সম্বন্ধে যে স্থগিতের প্রস্তাব অতুল সেন মহাশয় উপস্থিত করেছেন আমি তার সম্বন্ধে কয়েকটি কথা বলতে চাই। এই প্রস্তাব যখন কাল উত্থাপন করা হয়—(Mr. Muhammad Israil: খাজনা কমাবার জন্য নাকি?) তখন বর্ত্তমান প্রধান মন্ত্রী এবং স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন এই প্রস্তাবের বিরোধিতা করে বলেছিলেন যে এই জাতীয় একটা প্রস্তাব এই পরিষদে বর্ত্তমানে আলোচনা করলে কোন উপকার হবে না। এবং তিনি একথা'ও বলেছিলেন যে যদি বিরোধী দল জোর করে এই প্রস্তাব পরিষদে উপস্থিত করে তাহলে তিনি তার বিরোধিতা করবেন—এর একটা মস্ত বড় গুরুত্ব রয়েছে। একথা দ্বারা তিনি প্রকাশ করে দিয়েছেন—আমার বন্ধু নরেন্দ্র নাথ দাস মহাশয় বলিয়াছেন যে ঢাকা আর ঢাকা থাকে না। বাস্তবিক এই সব কারণে ঢাকা উলঙ্গ হয়ে পড়ে এবং এই বেলায় এই পরিষদে আর একটা প্রস্তাব উত্থাপন করা যেতে পারে—যে ঢাকা জেলার নামটা পরিবর্ত্তন কোরে উলঙ্গ জেলা রাখা হউক।

মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিনের ঐ রকম উক্তি করার বিশেষ কারণ রয়েছে। বর্ত্তমানে তাঁর মাথা অত্যন্ত গরম, তিনি চিন্তায় অত্যন্ত অস্থির। এবং এই ঢাকা জেলায় বা সারা বাংলায় সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ-বহ্নি প্রজ্বলিত করার ক্ষমতা একমাত্র তাঁর মুঠোর মধ্যে রয়েছে। তার মুঠা থেকে সময় সময় তিনি সেটা প্রজ্বলিত করছেন এবং যখন তিনি দরকার মনে করেন তখন তিনি সেটা থামাবার চেষ্টা করেন। যখন না থামানোর প্রয়োজন বোধ করেন তখন প্রজ্বলিত করেন অর্থাৎ তিনি যখন হাতের মুঠা খুলেন তখন আগুন জ্বলে, আর যখন বন্ধ করেন তখন নিবে।

Mr. J. N. GUPTA: On a point of information, Sir, বোকাই নগরী সাহেব তাঁর বক্তৃতার মধ্যে ঢাকা ঢাকা নেই, এই বলে আর একটা ভাষা প্রয়োগ করেছেন, সেটা Parliamentary কি না আমি জানতে চাই।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: What was the expression used?

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: মাননীয় সহ-সভাপতি সাহেব, আমি এই কথা বলেছি যে বর্ত্তমানে স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিনের মাথা গরম রয়েছে, তিনি নানা চিন্তায় অস্থির। তার কারণ হচ্চে এই যে, তিনি বুঝতে পারছেন যে অদূর ভবিষ্যতে এই ভারতবর্ষ ও বাংলা স্বাধীন হয়ে যাবে, এবং স্বাধীন হয়ে যাবার পর তাঁর অবস্থাটা কি দাঁড়াবে? সেই চিন্তায় তিনি অস্থির হয়েছেন, এবং ভাবছেন ভারত যখন স্বাধীন হয়ে যাবে—সেই স্বাধীনতার পরিপন্থী যে সব ব্যক্তি—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That you cannot use.

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: তাঁর কথা এসে পড়ে, Sir, তিনি বলেছেন, এই ধরণের প্রস্তাব পরিষদে আনার দরকার নাই, এবং যদি আনা হয় তিনি তার বিরোধিতা করবেন। কেন তিনি তা করবেন তার কারণ বিশ্লেষণ করতে গেলেই ব্যক্তিগতভাবে তাঁর নাম এসে পড়ে, তাই আমি বলতে বাধ্য হয়েছি।

মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, এই ভারতবর্ষ যখন স্বাধীন হবে, তখন স্বাধীনতার পরিপন্থী হিসাবে যাদের ফাঁসীকাঠে ঝুলতে হবে,— (A voice from the Government Benches: তোমাকেই আগে ঝোলাবে।) মুসলমানদের মধ্যে মিঃ জিন্না এবং স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিনকেই সেখানে প্রথম স্থান অধিকার করতে হবে—সেই চিন্তায় অস্থির হয়েছেন। মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, এই যে

সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ প্রজ্বলিত করা এটা বাঙালী বা ভারতবাসীর দ্বারা আমদানী হয় নাই, এটা বিদেশী শাসকের আমদানী করা জিনিষ, এবং তার contract নিয়েছেন কয়েকজন লোক। এমন কি নানাভাবে ভারতবর্ষের স্বাধীনতার বিরোধিতা করবার জন্য নানা লোককে নানা প্রকারের কণ্ট্রাক্ট দেওয়া হয়েছে, যে সমস্ত কণ্ট্রাক্টর নিযুক্ত হয়েছে তার কতকগুলি লোককে টাকা দেওয়া হয়েছে কতকগুলি লোকের মাথা ঠাণ্ডা রাখবার জন্য (laughter)! কতকগুলি লোককে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা টাকা দিয়ে সাহায্য করেছে যাতে তারা ভারতবর্ষময় নানা প্রকারের সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহ ও ঝগড়া বিবাদ জিয়াইয়া রেখে দেশে স্বাধীনতার আন্দোলন ডুবে যায়, থেমে যায়—সেইটার অস্ত্ররূপে সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহটাকে প্রয়োগ করার জন্যই কণ্ট্রাক্ট দিয়েছে।

মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, সেদিন ভূতপূর্ব্ব লাট মিঃ হালিফক্স বক্তৃতা দিয়েছেন; তাতে তিনি বলেছেন যে, ভারতবর্ষ হতে তাঁরা নাকি বিশেষ কিছু লাভ পাচেছন না এবং একথাও বলেছেন—ভারতবাসীকে স্বাধীনতা দিতে তাঁরা পারছেন না কারণ ভারতবর্ষ ছেড়ে যদি তাঁরা চলে যান তাহলে ভারতবর্ষের ভিতর সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামা জীবন্ত হয়ে উঠবে এবং ভারতবাসীরা নিত্য দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামায় লিপ্ত থেকে মারামারি কাটাকাটি করে মরবে। কিন্তু আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করতে চাই—যদি ভারতবর্ষ থেকে তাঁরা কিছু নাই পান তবে নিঃস্বার্থভাবে এই ছার ভারতবর্ষটাকে কেন আঁকড়ে ধরে রেখেছেন। তাঁদের আগমনের পূর্ব্বে এদেশে হিন্দু-মুসলমান মিতালিভাবেই বসবাস করেছে,—কোন ঝগড়া বিবাদ হতো না, এবং ফেসাদ হতো না। সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ ও মারামারি কাটাকাটি তারাই আমদানী করেছেন, তারাই জীয়াইয়া রেখেছেন এবং চিরকাল এ দেশটাকে পরাধীন রাখবার জন্যই তারা এটাকে জীয়াইয়া রেখেছেন। আমি বলতে চাই—ঢাকা জিলায় ইতিপূর্ব্বে যে সাম্প্রদায়িক বিরোধের দরুণ অত সব মারামারি কাটাকাটি হয়েছিল, সে সম্বন্ধে রায়পুরা থানার একজন বিশিষ্ট ভদ্রলোক যাঁর সঙ্গে সেদিন বাড়ী থেকে আসবার সময় এক গাড়ীতে আমি আসছিলাম, সেই ভদ্রলোকটি যে কথা বলেছেন তা দ্বারা প্রমাণিত হয়েছে এবং তাতে দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস হয়েছে স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন তাঁর গদিতে উপবিষ্ট থেকে ইচ্ছা করেই বাংলায় এবং ঢাকা জেলায় বিদ্রোহের আগুন সর্ব্বদা জ্বালিয়ে রেখেছেন। তাঁর হাতে ক্ষমতা রয়েছে সেটাকে থামাবার জন্য, কিন্তু ক্ষমতা থাকা সত্বেও তিনি থামাচেছন না। গত দাঙ্গার সময় যখন ঢাকার বহু দোকান লুটপাট হয়েছিল, রায়পুরা থানার বহু গ্রামের লোকের বাড়ীঘরে আগুন জ্বলছিল, তখন তিনি দার্জিলিংএ আরামে ঘুমাচ্ছিলেন। তখনকার প্রধান মন্ত্রী মিঃ এ. কে. ফজলুল হক সেখানে গিয়ে অনেক চেষ্টা করা সত্বেও প্রকৃতপক্ষে সেটা থামাতে কৃতকার্য্য হতে পারেন নাই। পরে আরো বহু অনিষ্ট হবার পরে, এবং বহু লোক মারা যাবার পরে স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন ঢাকায় গিয়ে এক রাত্রেই থামিয়ে দিতে পেরেছিলেন। যে ব্যক্তি এক রাত্রে থামাতে পেরেছিলেন তিনি আগে এসে সে দাঙ্গা থামান নাই কেন? কাজেই এর দ্বারা প্রমাণিত হয় তিনিই এ আগুন জ্বেলেছেন এবং তাঁর ইচ্ছামতনই থামাবেন, কাজেই এই পরিষদে স্থগিতের প্রস্তাবটা উত্থাপনের সময় তিনি ঐরূপ কথা বলেছিলেন যে এ বিষয়ে প্রস্তাব উত্থাপনের দ্বারা কোন লাভ হবে না। কারণ ক্ষমতা হাতে রয়েছে তাঁর, তিনি ইচ্ছা করে এ আগুন জ্বেলেছেন, এবং ইচ্ছামতন থামাবেন।

আমার আর একটা কথা এই যে ঢাকার জনসাধারণ অত্যন্ত নির্ব্বোধ। হিন্দুরা বেশী নির্ব্বোধ। কেন না গরীব মুসলমানদের দ্বারা ক্ষেপিয়ে দিয়ে অন্তরালে সরে দাঁড়ায়, তাঁদের গায়ে তারা আঁচড়ও কাটে না, হত্যা করেছে শুধু নিরীহ গরীব মুসলমানদের। কিন্তু যদি ঢাকার খাজা পরিবারের কারো গায়ে খোঁচা লাগতো, স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিনের ছেলেপিলে, ভাগিনা কিম্বা তাঁর পরিবারের কোন লোক মারা যেতো তাহলে তাঁর গায়ে আঁচ লাগতো, আর তিনি তখন তখন ঢাকার দাঙ্গায় আগুন নিবাবার চেষ্টা করতেন। কিন্তু সে উপলক্ষ হয় নাই। ঢাকার

জনসাধারণ শুধু গরীব মুসলমানের দল মারা যাচ্ছে। অতএব তাঁর গায়ে আঁচড় লাগছে না। তাঁর ইচ্ছা—ঢাকার লোক পুড়ে মরে ছারখার হয়ে যাক, আর তিনি সুখে রাজত্ব করেন—সেই উদ্দেশ্যেই—

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: On a point of order, Sir. Is it not a dangerous suggestion why are the Hindus of Dacca killing the poor people of rural areas and not the relatives of Sir Nazimuddin and people like that?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir, the honourable member is inciting the Hindus to attack the members of the family of Sir Nazimuddin; he is mad.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Wahed, kindly come to your point and keep yourself to it. Please do not make any suggestion which is not permissible.

Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: মাননীয় সভাপতি সাহেব, আজকে দেখা যাচ্ছে বাংলা দেশে বা ভারতবর্ষে যত সাম্প্রদায়িক বিবাদ বিদ্রোহ চলেছে তার পিছনে একদল লোক রয়েছে; তারা অতি শক্তিশালী এবং বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের টাকায় পরিপুষ্ট। তারা অন্তরাল থেকে সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্রোহের আগুন জ্বালাচ্ছে আর নিরীহ জনসাধারণ পুড়ে মরছে। তাই আমি বলছি যারা এই আগুন জ্বালাচ্ছে তাদেরই ধোরে নিয়ে ঐ আগুনে পোড়ান উচিত। মুসলমানদের মধ্যে যারা এই অনলে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার ইন্ধন যোগাচ্ছে তাদের মাথায় যেমন লাঠি পড়া উচিত সেই রকম যে সকল বড় বড় হিন্দু leader সাম্রাজ্যবাদের চররূপে তাদের টাকা খেয়ে এই সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্রোহানল জ্বেলে দেবার জন্য চেষ্টা করে সেই সকল নেতাদের মাথায়ও লাঠি পড়ুক। যদি ঐ সব তথাকথিত হিন্দু মুসলমান নেতার দেহ থেকে দর দর রক্ত ধারা বাহির হতো তাহলে দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামা কখনো হতো না। শুধু গরীব জনসাধারণ মারা যাচ্ছে আর তাঁরা নিজেরা তাঁদের স্বার্থ সাধন করছেন।

তাই আমি সাবধান করে দিচ্ছি তাদের, যাদের দোষে নিরন্ন জনসাধারণ দরিদ্র জনসাধারণ সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষের আগুনে পুড়ে ছারখার হচ্ছে। এবং আমি মোটা গলায় বলবো এজন্য সর্ব্বাপেক্ষা দায়ী স্যার নাজিমুদ্দীন—এই কথা বলে আমি আসন গ্রহণ করছি।

Maulvi Md. MOZAMMEL HUQ: সহ-সভামুখ্য মহোদয়, ঢাকায় যে সকল হত্যাকাণ্ড সম্প্রতি হইতেছে তৎসম্পর্কে discussion করিবার জন্য আমাদের বিরোধীদল অদ্য এখানে একটা adjournment motion আনিয়াছেন। কিন্তু প্রকৃত ঘটনা দেখিতেছি কি উঁহাদের বেঞ্চগুলি যে একেবারে খালি—উঁহারা কাজের কথা কিছুই বলিতে পারেন নাই, কেবল গালাগালি করিতেছেন। কিন্তু এত বড় একটা গুরুতর ঘটনা আলোচনার সময় উঁহাদের আজিকার এই দিনে অন্ততঃ ভালভাবে থাকা উচিত ছিল। (Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: আপনার বক্তৃতা শুনে লোকের ভালভাবে থাকা অসম্ভব।) এখন ছেলে-মানুষী না করিয়া আমার কথাগুলি শুনুন। (Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: আপনি যা ইচ্ছা বলবেন, সেগুলি শুনতে আমরা রাজি নই।) (Noise and interruptions.) আমার বিরোধী দলের অনেক বন্ধু আবিষ্কার করেছেন—যেহেতু নলিনিরঞ্জন আইনের দ্বারা যে separate electionএর ব্যবস্থা করিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে, সেই হেতু এই সকল দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামা হইতেছে—এই হইল তাঁহাদের কথা এবং ইহাই তাঁহাদের বিশ্বাস। আমি বলি উঁরা ত বড় বড় বিদ্বান, অনেকে আবার বড় বড় educationist যদিও আমরা সেটা স্বীকার করি না, আর উঁরা তো মুসলমানদের কাহাকে educationist বলিয়া স্বীকার করিতে রাজিই নন যদিও মুসলমানদের মধ্যে উচ্চ-শিক্ষিত ও বিদ্বানের কোন অভাবই নাই। (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: মিথ্যা কথা।) অপেক্ষা

করুন না আমি দেখাইতেছি, সেদিন স্যার পি, সি, রায়ের কথার উত্তরে আমাদের মাননীয় শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মিঃ তমিজুদ্দিন খাঁ সাহেব পরিষদে যে বক্তৃতা দিয়াছেন সে সম্পর্কে হিন্দু কাগজগুলি বলিয়াছে—স্যার পি, সি, রায়ের কথার উপর দুনিয়ার কেউ আর কথা কহিতে পারে? তমু মিয়া কথা বলিবে—এতদূর স্পর্দ্ধা; কিন্তু একটা প্রচলিত কথা আছে—

যুক্তিযুক্ত বাক্য যদি বালকেতে বলে,
বেদ বাক্য বলি তাহা মানিবে সকলে।
কিন্তু ব্রহ্মা কহে যদি অন্যায় বচন,
তৃণজ্ঞান করি কেহ না করে শ্রবণ॥

সেজন্য বলি Sir P. C. Roy Secondary Education Bill সম্পর্কে যে "অন্যায় বচন" বলিয়াছেন, তাহা কেহ শ্রবণ করিবে না। আপনাদের অন্যায় বচনগুলি দুনিয়ায় স্থান পাইবে না। কেবল আপনাদের যে কাগজ আছে সেইখানেই স্থান পাইবে। জগৎসভায় তার কোন স্থান নাই।

আপনারা তো বলিতেছেন separate electorate দেওয়াতেই ঢাকায় এই দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামার কারণ হইয়াছে। আপনারা ত শিক্ষিত এবং শিক্ষাভিমানী বলিয়া দাবী করেন। কিন্তু ইতিহাসের পাতা উল্টাইয়া দেখিয়াছেন কি? কত হিন্দু মুসলমানের দাঙ্গা ইতিহাসের পৃষ্ঠায় বিবৃত রহিয়াছে। মলিমিণ্টো আসিবার বহু যুগ আগে এই বাংলা দেশে হিন্দু মুসলমানে বহু দাঙ্গা হইয়াছে। প্রমাণ্য ইতিহাস "সিয়রুল মোতাক্ষেরিণের" পৃষ্ঠা খুলিলেই হিন্দু মুসলমানের বহু দাঙ্গা দেখিতে পাইবেন। তখন মিণ্টো মর্লির separate electorate কোথায় ছিল? এখন দেখা যাক হিন্দু মুসলমানে দাঙ্গার কারণ কি? কারণ হইল কি জানেন? আপনারা এই দেশের যাহারা নাকি Caste Hindu বাংলায় যাদেরে "কাষ্ঠ" হিন্দু বলে তাহারা এতদিন সকলকে ঠকাইয়া সকলের ভাগ খাইয়া আসিতেছেন। (Laughter.) সংখ্যায় আপনারা মাত্র শতকরা ৬ জন আর বাকি ৯৪ জন হইতেছে এদেশের মুসলমান, Scheduled Castes এবং অন্যান্য জাতি। ইংরেজ আমাদের মুসলমানদের রাজত্ব নেওয়ায় আমরা রাগে, অভিমানে, ইংরেজের আমলে আমরা মুসলমানেরা ইংরেজ বা "নাছরার" ভাষা ইংরাজী শিখিব না এবং তাহাদের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক রাখিব না—এই কথা বলিয়া বসিলাম। এবং ইংরেজী শিক্ষা হইতে দূরে সরিয়া গেলাম। আপনারা ছেলে-পিলেসহ গেলেন ইংরাজী শিখিতে। (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: আপনারা শিখলেন না কেন?) সে কথা পরে বলিতেছি। আপনারা আগের ভাগেই ইংরাজী শিখিয়া সব আফিস আদালত দখল করিয়া বসিয়া আছেন। আপনারাই ষড়যন্ত্র করিয়া সিরাজদ্দৌলাকে রাজ্য হইতে তাড়াইয়া ইংরাজকে এদেশে ডাকিয়া আনিয়াছেন। তার পরে ইংরাজকে আনিয়া বঙ্গের সিংহাসনে বসাইয়া কৌশল করিয়া তাহাদের নিকট হইতে যাহা কিছু লইবার লইয়া বসিয়াছেন। (Mr. ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: এসব প্রলাপ আর কতক্ষণ চলিবে?) খালি গণ্ডগোল আর গলাবাজী করিলে চলিবে না। আমরাও গলাবাজী করিতে জানি। ইংরেজের নিকট হইতে যত কিছু সুবিধা নিলেন। (Mr. HARI PADA CHATTOPADHYAY: এখন বুঝি তাই আপনারা নিচ্ছেন।) শেষে দেখা গেল কি? আপনারা যারা নাকি মুসলমান রাজত্বে অতি সাধারণ লোক ছিলেন—যাদের বাদশাহী আমলে কিছুই ছিল না, আমরা একশত বৎসর ঘুমাইবার পর দেখি—সব কিছু আপনাদের হাতে চলিয়া গিয়াছে। (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: আপনারা ঘুম দিলেন কেন?) আমাদের ইচ্ছা আমরা ঘুম দিয়াছি। (laughter and noise) তারপরে জাগিয়া দেখিতেছি কি। যাহারা পূর্ব্বে তল্পীবাহক ছিল তাহারা মাথায় চড়িয়া বসিয়া আমাদের সব ধনসম্পদ লুটপাট করিয়া খাইতেছে। আমাদের ঘুম ভাঙ্গিয়া গিয়াছে—আমরা এখন জাগরিত হইয়া আমাদের ভালমন্দ বুঝিতে পারিয়াছি, আমরা

এখন ইংরেজী শিক্ষার প্রতি মনযোগী হইয়া আমাদের ছেলেপিলেকে ইংরেজী শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত করিয়াছি এবং আরও করিব। প্রাইমারী শিক্ষায় আমরা আপনাদিগকে ছাড়াইয়া গিয়াছি এবং মাধ্যমিক ও উচ্চ শিক্ষায়ও আপনাদিগকে ছাড়াইয়া যাইব। (Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE : বেশত, আমরা তাহাতে সন্তুষ্ট হইয়াছি) তার পরে শুনুন, ওসকল তিক্ত কথা উঠাইবেন না। মুসলমান শিক্ষালাভ করিলে কি হইবে,—যত রকমের চাকুরীবাকুরী, আফিস, আদালত, শিক্ষা বিভাগের কর্তৃত্ব তা মুসলমান পাইবে না। আপনারা আপনাদের unqualified ভাই, ভাতিজা, নাতি-পুতি, ভাগিনা, শালা, শালার গোষ্ঠি দ্বারা সব পূরণ করিয়াছেন। মুসলমানের সৌভাগ্যবশতঃ লর্ড কারমাইকেল গভর্ণর হইয়া আসিলেন। তিনি ছিলেন দয়াবান। তিনি দেখিলেন মুসলমানগণ শিক্ষিত হইলেও চাকুরী পাইতেছে না। ইহাতে মুসলমানদের বড়ই ক্ষতি হইয়াছে। তখন Governor in Council একটা নোটিশ জারি করিলেন। (Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE : গভর্ণর সাহেব বুঝি এক বৎসরের মধ্যেই আপনাদের গদিটা ছেড়ে দিলেন) শুনুন গোলমাল করবেন না। লর্ড কারমাইকেল বলিলেন যে হিন্দুরা সব unqualified ভাই, ভাতিজা, ভাগিনা, নাতি প্রভৃতি সকলকে দিয়া সব আফিস ভর্ত্তি করিয়া ফেলিয়াছে এবং ভর্ত্তি করিতেছে। সুতরাং গভর্ণমেণ্টের সব আফিসে আফিসে নোটিশ দিতে হইবে এবং মুসলমানদিগকে চাকুরি দিতে হইবে। সেই নোটিশ দিয়াও দেখা গেল হিন্দুরা ১০০ বৎসর ধরিয়া যে অধিকার ভোগ করিয়াছে, তাহা হইতে তাহারা মুসলমানদিগকে একটু সামান্য অংশ দিতেও রাজী নহে এবং দেয় নাই। লর্ড কারমাইকেল তখন second circular দিলেন যে মুসলমানদের চাকুরীতে নিতেই হবে এবং "আমার সার্কুলার অনুসারে কাজ করিতেই হইবে"। এমনিভাবে স্বয়ং গভর্ণর লর্ড কারমাইকেল পর্যান্ত তিন তিন বার নোটিশ দিয়া মুসলমানদের চাকুরী দিতে কাঁদিয়া গিয়াছেন। কিন্তু আপনাদের কাষ্ট হিন্দুদের বিরুদ্ধে লড়িয়া কিছুই করিতে পারেন নাই—মুসলমানদের চাকুরী দিতে পারেন নাই—আপনারা এমনই কাষ্ঠ হিন্দু। আমাদের মুসলমানদের হক স্বার্থ এভাবেই খাইয়া আসিতেছেন।

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please come to the point.

Maulvi MOZAMMEL HUQ : শুনুন, আমরা ত এখন শিক্ষার দিকেই বেশী করিয়া আসিতেছি আমরা শিক্ষিত হইয়াছি—আমাদের মধ্যে এখন বহু লোক বি-এ, এম-এ পাশ করিয়া উচ্চ শিক্ষিত হইয়াছে—যোগ্য হইয়াছে। এখন আমাদের মুসলমানদের শিক্ষিতের সংখ্যা বেশী হইয়াছে। এখন আমরা এই গভর্ণমেণ্টের আফিসে, আদালতে আমাদের সংখ্যানুসারে চাকুরী চাই—তাহা আমাদিগকে দিতে হইবে।

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN : এসব প্রলাপ উক্তি আর শুনবো না। (noise and interruption.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Maulvi Sahib, please speak on Dacca riot.

Maulvi MOZAMMEL HUQ : Sir, এই Caste Hinduরা কেবল গোলমাল করিতেই জানে। সেই যে মাত্র সপ্তদশ জন পাঠান অশ্বারোহী আসিয়া বাংলা দেশ জয় করিয়াছিলেন কেন? তার কারণ কাষ্ট হিন্দুগণ নিজেদের অন্যান্য হিন্দু জাতিকেই পিষিয়া মারিয়াছে বলিয়া হিন্দুগণই মুসলমানদিগকে বাংলায় বরণ করিয়া লইয়াছে। উহাদের বেদ আছে সে বেদ ব্রাহ্মণ ছাড়া, ব্রাহ্মণেতর জাতি কেউ পড়িতে পারিবে না এবং শুনিতেও পারিবে না, শুনিলে কানে তপ্ত সীসা ঢালিয়া দেওয়া হইত। কাষ্ঠ হিন্দুগণ এভাবে মানবের উপর অত্যাচার করিয়াছে। আমাকে আমার বক্তব্য বলিতে দিতে হইবে। কাষ্ঠ হিন্দুরা শিক্ষা-দীক্ষা সব নিম্ন শ্রেণীর হিন্দুদের নিকট হইতে গোপন করিয়া রাখিয়াছে। সেই জন্যই তাহারা বলিয়াছে—"এসো মুসলমান, তোমাদের সঙ্গে আমরা যাইব।" কাষ্ঠ হিন্দুদের সঙ্গে আমরা থাকিব না। কেন না

যত কিছু সুখ-সুবিধা উহারাই ভোগ করিতেছে আমাদের কিছুই দিতেছে না। আইস তোমরা মুসলমানগণ এস। আসিয়া আমাদের পাওয়ানাটা কড়ায় গণ্ডায় আমাদিগকে দিয়া দাও। (Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: সেই জন্যই ত riot হয়।)

এখন বলিতেছি ঢাকা riot কেন হইতেছে। ঐ ঢাকায় শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জি প্রথম যখন Secondary Education Bill আনা হয়, তখন বক্তৃতা দিয়েছিলেন, কিছুতেই এটা হতে দিব না, দিব না—হে হিন্দু যুবক, জাগরিত হও, জাগরিত হও, মুসলমানের অত্যাচার হচ্চে, কত লোক কলেরায় মারা যায়—ম্যালেরিয়ায় মারা যায়—তোমাদের মরতে হবে, জীবন দান করতে হবে—(A voice: বাঃ বেশ তো গ্রামোফোন।) এগুলি সব fact, বাঃ বাঃ করিলে চলিবে না। ঐসব উত্তেজনার কথা বলিয়া এ আগুন বঙ্গদেশে তোমরাই জ্বালাইয়াছ এবং সেই আগুনে ঢাকা জ্বলিয়া গেছে। তারজন্য কি আমরা দায়ী? (Maulvi ABDUL WAHED: হাঁ আপনারাই দায়ী।) দায়ী তোমরাই। Secondary Education Bill কিছুতেই পাশ হইতে দিব না, এই বলিয়া এখনো কলিকাতার পার্কে পার্কে, Institutionএ Institutionএ বক্তৃতার আগুন ছড়াইতেছে। ইহার জন্যই ঢাকায় আবার দাঙ্গা হইয়াছে—তাহার জন্য তোমরা কাষ্ঠ হিন্দুরাই দায়ী—মুসলমানগণ আদৌ দায়ী নহে। (Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE, বেশ করছি। ঠিক করছি)

(At this stage the honourable member having reached his time-limit there was the usual red light).

Maulvi MOZAMMEL HUQ: Sir, আপনি ও দলের লোকদের যেমন দিয়া থাকেন, তেমনি আমিও একটু time চাই।"

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: No. I can't.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: মাননীয় ডেপুটী স্পীকার মহোদয়, পরিষদ গৃহে বিতর্ক শুনে আমার একটা কথা মনে পড়ছিল। পলাশী ষ্টেশন থেকে খাঁচায় করে মুরগী চালান হয়। খাঁচার মধ্যে মুরগীরা একটু স্থানের সুবিধার জন্য ভুষের আহার যা তাদের দেওয়া হয়, তার কণা লাভের জন্য সব ঠোক্‌রা ঠুক্‌রী করে। তারা ভুলে যায়—তাদের সকলেরই গলার উপর জবাইয়ের ছুরি উদ্যত আছে। এদেশে আমরা যারা সাম্প্রদায়িক স্বার্থ নিয়ে মারামারি করি তাদের অবস্থাও তদ্রূপ। বাংলা দেশে ৩০ লক্ষ লোক অনাহারে মরে গেল। অন্ন, বস্ত্র, শিক্ষা, স্বাস্থ্য দেশে আজ সব কিছুরই অভাব। দুর্ভিক্ষ ও মহামারির তাণ্ডব চলেছে সমস্ত দেশ জুড়ে। এতদিন লড়াইয়ে সমগ্র পৃথিবীতে যত লোক না মরেছে এক বাংলা দেশেই তার চেয়ে বেশী লোক অনাহারে ও মহামারিতে মরেছে। কোটি কোটি লোক এখনো অনাহারে ধুকছে। অন্য দেশের যুদ্ধবান লোক লড়াইয়ে মরবার পূর্ব্বেই আমরা বিনা লড়াইয়ে সাবাড় হয়ে যাব, এই ত আমাদের অবস্থা। আমাদের অস্তিত্ব কেবল অপরের শোষণ ও শাসনে ইন্ধন যোগাবার জন্যে। জবাইয়ের ছুরি আমাদের সকলের গলার উপরই উদ্যত রয়েছে। এরি মধ্যে আবার সাম্প্রদায়িক স্বার্থ নিয়ে আমরা মারামারি করি, সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাব ছড়াই। হিন্দু নিরীহ মুসলমানের বুকে ছুরি মারে, মুসলমান নিরীহ হিন্দুর বুকে ছুরি মারে—লজ্জায় আমাদের সকলেরই মাথা হেঁট করা উচিত। সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা ঢাকার যা বেধেছে তারজন্য গভর্ণমেণ্টকে দায়ী করলেও আমরাও দায়িত্বকে একেবারে এড়াতে পারব না। His Majesty's opposition is also a part of the Government, সেই হিসাবে আমরা যারা oppositionএ আছি সরকারের এই ব্যর্থতায় আমাদেরও দায়িত্ব এসে পড়ে। অতএব ঢাকার ইদানীং দাঙ্গার জন্য লজ্জায় সকলেরই আমাদের মাথা নীচু করা উচিত।

প্রভুরা টেবিলে বসে চব্য, চোষ্য, লেহ্য, পেয় আহার করছেন, আর রুটির দু'একটা টুকরো যা টেবিলের নীচে মাটির তলায় পড়ছে তাই নিয়ে আমরা হিন্দু-মুসলমান দাঙ্গা করছি। ক্ষমতা বৈ চাকুরী কি আমরা পাই? পেলেও কয়জন পাই?

"লাট ছোট-লাট তারাই সবে,
জজ্ ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট তারাই হবে,
চাবুক খাবার বাবু কেবল আমরা সমুদয়।"

সাম্রাজ্যবাদী কুচক্রীরা ভেদনীতির উপর তাঁদের শোষণ ও শাসন ব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠিত করেছেন। এতদিন হিন্দুর পিঠ খাবড়েছেন, তারাই চাবুক খাবার বাবু হয়েছে, তারাই ক্ষুদ্র স্বার্থের লোভে দাসত্বের শৃঙ্খল মাতৃভূমির গলায় পরিয়েছে। আজ আবার হিন্দু নেক নজরে পড়েছে, সুযোগ ও সুবিধা অন্য সম্প্রদায়কে দেওয়া হচ্ছে কিন্তু সে সুযোগ সুবিধা মানে তো মাটিতে পড়া ঐ রুটির টুক্‌রোগুলি! তা যদি সবই অপরে পায় তো কি আসে যায়। যোগ্যতা ও অযোগ্যতার প্রশ্ন না তুলে, আমার ত মনে হয় আজ সমস্ত চাকুরীই মুসলমান ও সিডিউল কাষ্ট হিন্দুদের দেওয়া যেতে পারে। যে না চাকুরী, তা নিয়ে আবার কাড়াকাড়ি। আর কয়জনই বা ঐ চাকুরী পায়? লক্ষের মধ্যে একজন। মেহেরপুরের পাশে গৌরীপুর গ্রাম, আমি একবার গৌরীপুর গ্রামে কতজন সরকারী চাকুরে তার হিসাব করতে গিয়া দেখি সেখানে মাত্র একজন লোক আছে যে আদালতের পিয়ন। ৭ লক্ষ গ্রামে গাঁথা এই ভারতবর্ষ, আর এক লক্ষ গ্রামে গাঁথা এই বাংলা দেশ। এতে কতজন সরকারী চাকুরী করে? হাটে, মাঠে, ঘাটে যাদের সর্ব্বদা দেখি—তাদের কজন সরকারী চাকুরী করে বা পায়? অথচ তারাই দেশের অগণিত জন-সমাজ। যাঁরা চাকুরী রূপ রুটির টুকরোর জন্য কাড়াকাড়ি লাগিয়েছেন এবং এই নিয়ে সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহের প্রসার করে ভাবছেন—সম্প্রদায় ও দেশের কল্যাণ করছি, তাঁরাই দেশের চরম অকল্যাণ করছেন। আপন সম্প্রদায়ের স্বার্থ ত এতে বলি পড়ছেই সুবিধা হচ্ছে কেবল তৃতীয় পক্ষের। তারা এই মারামারির সুযোগ নিয়ে নিশ্চিন্ত আশ্বাসে ও পরম আনন্দে নিজেদের স্বার্থ সিদ্ধি করছেন। তাই এদেশে সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা বাঁধলে তাঁদের আর আনন্দের সীমা থাকে না। কেন না তার ফলে তাদের নিজেদের সমস্যা সমাধান হয়ে যায়। টেবিলের উপর সাজানো তাদের চব্য, চোষ্য, লেহ্য, পেয় আহার্য্যের দিকেও আমাদের নজর পড়ে না, আর তারা পৃথিবীকে বোঝাতেও পারেন—এইসব সাম্প্রদায়িক অশান্তি থেকে ভারতবর্ষকে রক্ষা করতে হলে তাঁদের ভারতবর্ষে থাকা একান্ত প্রয়োজন। বস্তুতঃও হিন্দু মুসলমান একত্র মিলিতে পারছেন না বলেই ত তারা এদেশে কারো হাতেই ক্ষমতা ছেড়ে দিতে পারছেন না। তা না হলে কবে এ দেশ ছেড়ে চলে যেতেন! এদেশে তাঁরা কেবল তীর্থ করতেই এসেছিলেন। তাছাড়া কোন স্বার্থই তাঁদের এদেশে নাই—এই ত তাদের কথা। এবং এই কথাই সেদিন Halifax বা Holy Fox (laughter), a true British type, তারস্বরে আমেরিকায় ঘোষণা করেছেন।

কত অত্যাচার, কত হত্যার নির্ম্মম কাহিনী, কত পুলিশ জুলুম চাপা থেকে যায়, কিন্তু হিন্দু-মুসলমান সামান্য দাঙ্গা হতে না হতে রয়টার তা পৃথিবীময় ঘোষণা করে দেয়। আমাদের এক বন্ধু যুদ্ধের পূর্ব্বে কিছুদিন চীন ও জাপান ছিলেন। তিনি তখন দেখিয়েছেন যে ভারতবর্ষের পুঞ্জীভূত বহু দুঃখের ও অসংখ্য সরকারী অত্যাচারের একটি কথাও সেখানে প্রকাশ পেত না, কিন্তু হিন্দু মুসলমানের সামান্য একটা কলহ ঘটতে না ঘটতেই রয়টার সেটাকে ফলাও করে সে দেশে ঘোষণা করতো। আর ঐসব খবর পড়ে সে দেশের লোক অবাক হয়ে যেত, আর বলতো—"তোমাদের দেশের লোকের কি রাজনৈতিক বুদ্ধি একেবারেই নাই? ধর্ম্ম নিয়ে তারা

এ রকম মাথা কাটাকাটি করে কেন? আমাদের দেশে দেখতো একটা পরিবারে বৌদ্ধ মুসলমান ও খৃষ্টান রয়েছি। ধর্ম্ম মানুষের মনের জিনিষ, যার যেভাবে ইচ্ছা ভগবানকে ডাকে। মা বৌদ্ধ, বাবা খৃষ্টান, ছেলে হয়ত মুসলমান একই পরিবারের ভিতরে। কিন্তু ধর্ম্ম নিয়ে কেউ ত মারামারি করে না। যার ইচ্ছা মন্দিরে, যার ইচ্ছা গির্জায়, যার ইচ্ছা মসজিদে যায় এ নিয়ে তো কই কোন দাঙ্গা বাঁধে না।" ওসব দেশে সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহের কথায় লোকের অবাক হওয়াই স্বাভাবিক বটে। সেখানে তৃতীয় পক্ষ নাই, তৃতীয় পক্ষ যতক্ষণ এদেশ থেকে না যাচ্ছে ততক্ষণ আমাদের সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহ মিটছে না। সাধু গান্ধিজী একথা ভাল করেই বুঝেছেন। তাই quit India আজ তাঁর slogan.

দেশের মধ্যে কলহের সৃষ্টি না করতে পারলে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর অস্তিত্ব বজায় থাকে না; তাই তারা যেখানেই যায় ভেদনীতির প্রভাবে কলহ সৃষ্টি করায়। তাই দেখতে পাই যেখানেই বৃটিশের শুভাগমন, সেখানেই ভেদনীতি ও তার অপরিহার্য্য পরিণাম কলহ। কিন্তু যারা নাকি বুদ্ধিমান তারা এদের পাল্লায় পড়ে না। বৃটিশ সিংহ ত আমেরিকায়ও গিয়েছিলেন, কিন্তু আমেরিকানরা এদের চক্রান্ত ধরে ফেল্‌ল, ক'ষে কাণ মলে পাছায় তিন লাথি মেরে তাড়িয়ে দিল—আর সিঙ্গি মশায় লেজ গুটিয়ে পালিয়ে গেলেন। স্বাধীন আবহাওয়ার গুণে বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায় ত অল্প কথা, বিভিন্ন জাতিতে মিলে এক মহাজাতি আমেরিকায় গড়ে উঠেছে। আজ এই যে আমেরিকানরা আমাদের দেশে পর্য্যন্ত দল বেঁধে এসে জাপানকে রুখতে প্রস্তুত হয়েছে এরা বহু জাতির মিলনে তৈরী। এদের মধ্যে ইংরাজ, জার্ম্মাণ, ফরাসী, স্পেনিস, ইটালিয়ান সবাই আছে। এরা যে শুধু জাপানের সঙ্গে লড়ছে তাই নয়। ইটালিয়ান ও জার্ম্মাণদের সঙ্গেও লড়ছে। একমাত্র আমেরিকার স্বার্থই এরা পুরাপুরি বোঝে। ঢাকার দাঙ্গার আশু কারণ সাম্প্রদায়িকতা দোষদুষ্ট Secondary Education Bill, শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী এই বিল না আনলেই পারতেন। বিদেশীর সুস্পষ্ট ইঙ্গিত এর পেছনে রয়েছে। অনারেবল্ খান বাহাদুর তমিজুদ্দিন খান যেদিন মিঃ তমিজুদ্দিন খান ছিলেন, সেদিন তাঁর বিপ্লবী মনের পরিচয় আমরা পেয়েছিলাম। আমরা একসঙ্গে বহুদিন ঢাকা জেলে ছিলাম। আজ তাকে এই সাম্প্রদায়িকতা দোষদুষ্ট বিলের জনকরূপে দেখে সত্যই মর্ম্মান্তিক দুঃখিত হয়েছি। আমি একথা মুক্ত কণ্ঠে স্বীকার করছি হিন্দুদের যথেষ্ট অপরাধ আছে, এবং সেজন্য হিন্দুদের প্রায়শ্চিত্তও করতে হবে। আজ যদি দেশের সকলের পক্ষ থেকে মুসলমানগণ সমুদয় ক্ষমতা হাতে নেন, তার থেকে আনন্দের বিষয় আর কি আছে? কংগ্রেস না সেই জন্যই মুসলিম লীগকে দেশের সকলের পক্ষ থেকে সমুদয় ক্ষমতা হাতে নিতে বলেছিল। কিন্তু সে এক কথা আর হিন্দু মুসলমান আমরা উভয়ে যে জাতীয়তার ডালটির উপর বসে আছি, একের অপরাধে অপরের সেই ডালটিকে কর্ত্তন করতে যাওয়া আর এক কথা। জাতীয়তার ডালটি কাটলে উভয়েই আমরা রসাতলে পড়ে যাব। জানি কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের তোরণ দ্বার সঙ্কীর্ণ, জানি সেখানকার আবহাওয়া স্বাধীন মানুষের নয়—গোলামের। মানুষ তৈরী না হয়ে সেখানে চাকুরীজীবী বেশী তৈরী হয়। কাজেই সেখানকার লোকের মেরুদণ্ড বাঁকা ও পিঠ কুঁজো। মন্ত্রিবর যদি সেই সঙ্কীর্ণ তোরণ দ্বারকে গগণস্পর্শী করার প্রয়াস করতেন সমস্ত দেশকে আজ মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত কোরে তোলার জন্য, তাহলে তার সাধুবাদ করতাম। কিন্তু কি করতে চলেছেন? তিনিও দেখছি সেই রাজারই দোসর যিনি তোরণ দ্বার দিয়ে মাথা স্বচ্ছন্দে প্রবেশ না করায় মাথাটাকেই কাটার ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন।

আমাদের মন্ত্রিবর অন্ততঃ তুরস্কের দৃষ্টান্তটাও গ্রহণ করতে পারতেন। তুরস্ক কি শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্র থেকে সাম্প্রদায়িক মনোভাব সম্পূর্ণরূপে বিসর্জন করেনি? বৃটিশরাজ তুরস্কের খলিফার পরম বন্ধু ছিলেন আর ঐ ধর্ম্মপ্রাণ ব্যক্তিটি সিংহ মহাশয়কে সকল রকমের সুযোগ ও সুবিধা

দিতেন। কিন্তু দুর্ব্বল জাতিদের স্বাধীনতার জন্যই তাঁরা লড়াই করেছেন—এই বহুঘোষিত উক্তি সাময়িক উত্তেজনার বশে ভুলে গিয়ে মনের আনন্দে যখন লয়েড জর্জ বর্ণচোরা শেয়ালের মতন We have got Mesopotamia, we have got Arabia, we have got Egypt, we have got Turkey বলে হুক্কাহুয়া করে উঠে আপন স্বরূপ প্রকাশ করেছিলেন তখন তুরস্কের দামাল ছেলে কামাল ঠিকমত ঔষধটা এদের প্রতি প্রয়োগ করেছিলেন। তিনি বুঝেছিলেন যে "গুতো হি বলবত্তরং" এবং সেই দাওয়াইয়ের বেশ ভাল রকম ব্যবস্থাটা তিনি চটপট্ করেছিলেন। তারপরই তুরস্কের শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থাটাকে তিনি ভালভাবে ঢেলে সেজে গোটা দেশটাকে তিনি জাতীয়তার প্রেরণায় ও শিক্ষায় উদ্বুদ্ধ করে দিয়ে গেছেন। ধর্ম্মের বা সম্প্রদায়ের গোড়ামি আজ আর তুরস্কে বিন্দুমাত্রও নেই। ইংরাজের বন্ধু খলিফা বিতাড়িত, ফেজ্ ও বোর্খা বর্জ্জিত। তাই তুরস্ক আজ আর sick man of Europe নয়, বিশ্বের দরবারে সম্মানের স্থানে অধিষ্ঠিত।

সাম্প্রদায়িকতা জিনিষটা সংক্রামক ব্যাধির মতই দেখ্তে না দেখ্তে সহজেই ব্যাপক হয়ে উঠে। সেই জন্য তাতে গভর্ণমেণ্টের ইন্ধন যোগান মোটেই উচিত নয়। ছোটবেলায় আমি নবাব বাহাদুরের ইনষ্টিটিউশনে পড়েছি। হিন্দু-মুসলমান ছেলের দল আমরা একসঙ্গে পড়েছি, খেলেছি। তখন কোন রকম সাম্প্রদায়িক আবহাওয়াই আমাদের মধ্যে ঢোকে নি। আমাদের সরস্বতী পূজায় মুসলমান ছেলেরা এসেছেন, আমরা যোগ দিয়েছি তাঁহাদের মহরমে। তারপর Old Dacca Collegeএও পড়েছি। তখন অবশ্য Dacca University তৈরী হয় নি, Dacca College কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের অন্তর্গত ছিল। কোন রকম সাম্প্রদায়িক ভেদ-বুদ্ধি আমাদের ছাত্রদিগকে পরস্পর বিভিন্ন করেনি। আমরা থাকতাম কলেজ হোষ্টেলের northern barrackএ, মুসলমান ছেলেরা থাকতেন western barrackএ। কলহ কোন দিন হওয়া তো দূরের কথা বরাবর আমাদের মধ্যে সম্প্রীতিই ছিল। তাঁরা করতেন রোজা নামাজ, আমরা করতাম সরস্বতী পূজা। এবং পরস্পরের উৎসবে যোগদানেও কোন বাধা ছিল না। আজ বিদেশীর হাতের পুতুল হয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্ট শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রেও যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ছড়াতে যাচ্ছেন তার প্রথম কুফল আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি—ঢাকার এই দাঙ্গা।

ভারতের পরাধীনতা পৃথিবীর কলঙ্ক। সমস্ত পৃথিবীটাকেই প্রায় বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা আলাতন করছেন। বহু দেশের স্বাধীনতা কেড়ে নিয়েছেন, এবং তাদের সর্ব্বস্ব হরণ করেছেন এবং একাজ তাঁরা করতে পারতেন না যদি ভারতের অর্থ ও সামর্থ্য আগে হতেই করায়ত্ত করতে না পারতেন, তাই পরাধীন ভারতের পাপের সীমা নাই। এ পাপের দায়িত্ব হিন্দু মুসলমান ভারতবাসী মাত্রেরই। আফগান ও চীন যুদ্ধ ইংরেজরা চালিয়েছিলেন ভারতের ঐশ্বর্য্য ও সৈন্যবল দ্বারা। ব্রহ্মদেশ, মেসোপোটেমিয়া, আরেবিয়া, পারশ্য প্রভৃতি দেশকে তাঁরা নিজেদের খপ্পরে এনেছেন; ভারতের সৈন্য ও সমরোপকরণের সাহায্যে চীনকে আফিং খাইয়ে ঘুম পাড়াতে হবে—অতএব পাঠাও ভারতীয় সৈন্য; ইজিপ্ট ও তুরস্ককে সায়েস্তা করতে হবে—পাঠাও ভারতীয় সৈন্য। তাই বলছি ভারতের হিন্দু মুসলমানের অপরাধের সীমা নাই। আজ সেই জন্য হিন্দু মুসলমান সকলেরই কর্ত্তব্য হচ্ছে ক্ষুদ্র সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধিকে সর্ব্বৈব বিসর্জন করা, ও একযোগে ভারতভূমিকে—নিজেদের মাতৃভূমিকে স্বাধীন করা। এজন্য যে কোন মূল্য হাসিমুখে দান করতে হবে।

মৌমাছির চাক একসঙ্গে উড়তে পারে না। একটি একটি ক'রে সকলেই উড়ে। তেমনি কোন জাতির অগ্রসর হবার সময় একটি-দু'টি লোক আগে অগ্রসর হয় আর তাদের পশ্চাতে

অপর সকলে চলতে সুরু করে। যাঁরা আগে চলেন তারাই হন পথভ্রষ্টা—পতাকাবাহী। মহাত্মা গান্ধী আজ জাতিকে পথ দেখিয়ে আগে চলেছেন; তিনি সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধিকে সম্পূর্ণ বর্জন করেছেন। তাঁর ধমনীর প্রতিটি রক্তবিন্দু নিপীড়িত মানুষের কল্যাণ কামনায় নৃত্য করে' ফিরে। শুধু ভারতকেই নয় আজ তিনি সমগ্র পৃথিবীকেই পথ দেখাচেছন। দম্ভ ও নৃশংসতার মধ্য দিয়ে মানুষ বড় হয় না—বড় হয় প্রেম আর অহিংসার মধ্য দিয়ে। হিট্‌লার, তোজো, চার্চিল, রুজভেল্ট এরা সব এক জাত। এদের বাহাদুরীর স্বরূপ আজ দিবালোকের ন্যায় প্রতিভাত হয়েছে। এরা যে কতখানি মেকি তা আজ জগতের বহু লোক টের পেয়েছে। এতদিন তাঁদের জাঁক বড় কম ছিল না, কিন্তু এই লড়াইয়ে প্রমাণ করে দিয়েছে—যুদ্ধের মতন বর্বরতা দুনিয়ায় আর কিছু নেই। খুব ঠেকেই মানুষ এটা আজ বুঝতে পারছে। খৃষ্ট ছিলেন প্রেমের অবতার, তাঁর অনুশাসন হলো এক গালে চড় মারলে আর এক গাল ফিরিয়ে দিতে হবে। কেউ কোট্‌টা নিলে, তাকে অলেষ্টারটাও দিয়ে দিতে হবে। তাঁর প্রাণ-বিমোহন শান্তির বাণী কামান ও বোমার সঙ্গে ডুবিয়ে দিয়ে আজ তাঁর শিষ্যরা কিসের পরিচয় দিচেছন? অরক্ষিত শহরের উপর বোমা ফেলে কে কতটা ধ্বংস কার্য্য সম্পাদন করতে পারছেন,—কে কত নিরপরাধ নর-নারী, শিশু, বৃদ্ধ, অন্ধ, আতুর হনন করছেন, আর জগৎময় তারি বড়াই করে বেড়াচেচন। দু' হাজার বছর পরে সভ্যতার নামে যে এইরূপ বিভৎসতা ঘটবে বোধ করি মহামানব খৃষ্ট তা দিব্য চক্ষে দেখতে পেয়েছিলেন। সেই জন্য ক্রুশবিদ্ধ হবার মুহূর্ত্তে তিনি বলে উঠেছিলেন—God, hast thou forsaken me! খৃষ্টের সেই অমর বাণী সফল হতে চলেছে—তিনি যে বলেছিলেন—Those who shall draw the sword shall perish with the sword—আজ চোখের সাম্নে তাই ঘট্‌ছে। একদিন না একদিন জগতের ভবিষ্যৎ বংশধরগণ এই স্বার্থান্ধ দম্ভপরায়ণ সমরবিদ্‌গণের যথোচিৎ নিন্দা করবেই। একদা যারা গান্ধীজীকে ব্যঙ্গ করতেন তাঁরা আজ তার তপস্যায় অভিভূত। "Statesman" কাগজ সেদিন পর্য্যন্ত তাকে crank বলতো এবং crank's corner বলে তার পৃষ্ঠায় গান্ধিজীর খবর ছাপাতো। কিন্তু আজ গান্ধিজীর চরিত্র আপনা থেকেই জগতে কি উদ্ভাসিত হয়ে উঠেনি? সমরবিদ্‌গণ কি ধিক্কার পাচেছ্ না? তেম্নি আজ যারা সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গাকে প্রশ্রয় দিচেছন তাঁরা একদিন ধিক্কৃত হবেনই। সরকারের যদি কোন বুদ্ধি বিবেচনা থাকে তাহলে এই হীন সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধি দেশ থেকে চিরতরে তাড়িয়ে দেবার জন্য উঠে পড়ে লাগুন। এবং তার প্রথম সোপান স্বরূপ এই সাম্প্রদায়িকতা দোষদুষ্ট মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলটাকে অনতিবিলম্বে প্রত্যাহার করে নিন। যে ইংরেজগণ (pointing to the European Party) ওখানে বসে তাঁদের একাজে উৎসাহ দিচেছন তাঁদের জিজ্ঞাসা করুন, তাঁরা নিজেদের দেশে এই ধরণের শিক্ষা বিল আনেন না কেন? তাঁরা চান এদেশে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা চরম আকার ধারণ করুক, আর তাঁদের স্বার্থ সাধনের সুবিধা হোক।

খাজা স্যার নাজিমুদ্দিন ঢাকায় গিয়াছেন, ভাল কথা। চলুন, আমরা সকলেও ঢাকায় যাই। ঢাকার এই দাঙ্গা আমাদের সকলকেই ধিক্কার দিচেছ। আজ শরৎচন্দ্র বসু, সুভাষচন্দ্র দেশে নেই, তার উপর দেশের যারা রত্ন তাদের আমরা কারাগারে পুরে রেখেছি; সকল শুভ কাজের যারা নাকি পুরোভাগে থাকে, তারা আজ কেউ নাই, আর আমরা আস্ফালন করছি যে কলকাতা করপোরেশনে সাম্প্রদায়িকত্ব এসেছে ত কি হয়েছে!! কেউ ত এর কোন প্রতিবাদ করছে না, সবাই তা এটাকে মেনে নিয়েছে। শিক্ষার মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতাও নাকি সবাই তেম্নি মেনে নেবে। বৃটিশ বেয়োনেট্ আমাদের রক্ষা করছে আর আমরা যা খুসী তাই করছি। আমাদেরই চমৎকার শাসন ব্যবস্থায় দেশের ছাঁকা শ্রেষ্ঠ লোকগুলি কারান্তরালে তিলে তিলে মরছে, আর আমরা এখানে অতি জঘন্য সাম্প্রদায়িক বুদ্ধির বশবর্ত্তী হয়ে দেশের আবহাওয়া কলুষিত

করছি—সাম্প্রদায়িকতার বিষ ছড়াচ্ছি। আমাদের নরেন্দ্র নারায়ণ, তুলসী চন্দ্র, বরদা পাইন পর্যন্ত আজ God-fearing ধার্মিক হয়ে গেছেন। সাম্প্রদায়িক Education Board না হলে নাকি তাঁদের চলবে না। তাই এক এক সময় ভাবি—হায়রে দেশে কি এমন কোন ক্রমওয়েল নেই যে আমাদের মাথায় চাটি মেরে তাড়িয়ে দেয়?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Sir---

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: We had a number of speakers representing other communities and other parties. None from the Scheduled Caste members has spoken and none from the Progressive Muslim Party has spoken. They should be given a chance.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: I would request you, Sir, to allow Mr. Syed Badrudduja to speak.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let the Hon'ble Minister speaker now.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, today's speeches have demonstrated that Sir Nazimuddin was right when he stated that nothing good can possibly come out of the debate on this subject. Except imputations and unworthy imputations on the part of the Opposition against the Government we have heard nothing constructive by which we can hope to ease the present situation. I have been pained more than anything else to hear the speech of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen on account of the very unworthy imputation which he has cast against Sir Nazimuddin. Now whatever you may say about Sir Nazimuddin, you must admit, and you know in your heart of hearts, that there is hardly a truer and straighter man within the precincts of this Assembly than Sir Nazimuddin; a man on whose integrity and honesty you can absolutely rely; a man that speaks the truth and would not stoop to anything as mean as that which has been imputed against him. Mr. Atul Sen has devised a new version of the old saying "আমি কলা খাইনি।" The new version is not only "আমি কলা খাইনি কিন্তু তুমি কলা খেয়েছ।" Who is the person responsible for the disturbances? Mr. Atul Sen not only exonerates himself from any possible charge that he or his party may be responsible for the unfortunate ill-feeling which has arisen in Dacca, but he starts making imputation against Sir Nazimuddin and those occupying the Government benches. Sir, I claim that never in the history of Bengal have we ever attempted to create such a situation. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: What about Raja Bazar?) I claim, Sir, that if any speeches, fiery or otherwise, any incentive, any instigation to the public to create disturbances—if it has ever been made at all, it has been made by the members who today sit on the Opposition benches. Sir, Mr. J. C. Gupta says that nothing should be done to interfere with the local officers. Mr. Atul Sen says that the local officers should not be left alone as they are inexperienced. The answer is Government is taking just the correct steps.

Sir, I feel that the House ought to know what steps Government have taken to bring the situation under control. If the gentlemen opposite were really anxious to see the situation brought under control, and desired that these unfortunate occurrences should end as soon as possible, they would be more anxious to know what steps Government have taken than to throw mud inside the House. Sir, as soon as the situation developed, the District Magistrate instituted the Eastern Frontier Rifles and the mobile Police patrols which were in readiness. He and the Superintendent of Police moved round Dacca until 1 o'clock in the morning and certainly no incidents occurred for some time. The curfew order was promulgated, and steps will

be taken to impose punitive fines on the localities in which these occurrences will take place. The Eastern Frontier Rifles have been strengthened. Armed Police and unarmed Police are being rushed from all sides. More men of the Eastern Frontier Rifles are on the way to the city from Munshiganj and Rangamati, and the armed Police are coming from Faridpur and Bakarganj. The Inspector-General of Police has already gone there and so has the Chief Minister. Nothing more can be done from the point of view of taking preventive steps, but what can be done is this. If Muslims and Hindus of goodwill were to meet together and stop bandying acrimonious words on the floor of this House, if we were to combine and make a fervent and genuine appeal——

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Are you ready?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Yes, we are ready, but are you?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Yes, we are ready.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Then stop your speeches and be ready——

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Stop yours too.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Even then I would accept your *bona fides*——

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Let us go tomorrow.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Come, let us go there. If you say you are ready, I shall accept your word.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: I am ready to go. Will you go?

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Let us all men of goodwill get together and let us make a sincere appeal to the people that they should not attack each other in this manner; that they should feel—whatever may be the political situation—that the people of the Province are one and that we are brothers. (Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Don't be a separatist then.) As I have said before, realise this: if a Muslim attacks a Hindu and draws his blood or if a Hindu attacks a Muslim and draws his blood, he is actually taking the life of one of his own community, because there is sure to be a reprisal. A Muslim is not taking the life of a Hindu but he is in fact taking the life of a Muslim; and a Hindu is not taking the life of a Muslim but he is taking the life of another Hindu. We feel this intensely. We are most anxious that good fellow-feeling should be established in this Province, and instead of the kind of speeches which we have heard—which are really political speeches for the purpose of making an impression—I should have thought that the right thing for us was not to move an adjournment motion here but to sit in the room of the Speaker or somewhere else, and let leaders of the parties come together and draw up an appeal requesting the people to cease this warfare.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: On a point of information, Sir. I saw——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Only if the Hon'ble Minister accedes to your request, I can allow you to speak.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: Peace Committees are meeting together. Local officers are promoting meetings of these Committees, and there is hope that apart from the preventive measures which have been

taken there, a better atmosphere will be engendered. Government, I can assure you, are not going to take any side. You may be perfectly certain that it is not our endeavour either to frown one party or to support another. We consider any one who has broken the peace in these critical times to be the enemy of the people and the enemy of this Province, and we shall take all possible steps against the miscreants. Side by side with it, I do feel that apart from any punitive steps that may be taken, there is necessity for goodwill, and I make this offer to the honourable members of the Opposition.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Sir, may I ask a few questions of the Hon'ble Minister? Will he state whether he will call a conference——

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, I submit that after the Hon'ble Minister has given his reply, the honourable member cannot offer any suggestion.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: In view of the appeal made by the Hon'ble Minister I make this suggestion. Is the Hon'ble Minister prepared to go to Dacca tomorrow? I am going there tomorrow too.

(Interruption from Coalition benches.)

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: If I may reply to that suggestion, may I say that a man much greater than myself, much more important than myself—the Chief Minister—is at Dacca and he has gone there for bringing about peace between the communities of Dacca. If Mr. Atul Chandra Sen goes there I am perfectly certain that the Chief Minister will be glad to have his co-operation.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise on a point of privilege. While the Hon'ble Minister stood up I stood up and informed you that two members of our party were still willing to speak and you assured me that if time permitted you would permit those two members to speak. There is still 10 minutes left.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I will put the question now.

The motion that the question be now put was then put and agreed to.

The motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen that the business of the House do now stand adjourned to discuss a matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, the failure of the Government to prevent the recrudescence of communal disturbances in the city of Dacca, was then put and lost.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 6-53 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Monday, the 22nd May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Monday, the 22nd May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 10 Hon'ble Ministers and 172 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Re: Calcutta Police.

*322. **Mr. S. A. SALIM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(*i*) the present number of, and the scale of pay attached to each of the posts of—

(1) Commissioners,
(2) Deputy Commissioners,
(3) Assistant Commissioners,
(4) Inspectors,
(5) Sergeants,
(6) Sub-Inspectors,
(7) Assistant Sub-Inspectors,
(8) Literate Constables, and
(9) Constables,

of the Calcutta Police belonging to the following communities:

(*i*) the European,
(*ii*) the Caste Hindus,
(*iii*) Muslims,
(*iv*) Scheduled Castes,
(*v*) Anglo-Indian,
(*vi*) Indian Christian,
(*vii*) Budhist,
(*viii*) Parsi, and
(*ix*) Others?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether any post or posts are reserved for particular communities;
(*ii*) if so, the reasons for such reservations, and
(*iii*) whether it is a fact that Sergeants of Police are recruited from European and Anglo-Indian communities?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*b*) (*i*) No, but I refer the honourable member to my reply to (*iii*).

(*ii*) Does not arise.

(*iii*) Yes.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 322.

Rank.	Community.									Scale of pay.	
	European.	Caste Hindu.	Muslim.	Scheduled Caste.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian Christians.	Buddhist.	Parsi.	Other.	Unrevised rate.	Revised rate.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
										Rs.	Rs.
Commissioner ..	1	1			..	..		.	..	2,000—100—2,500	2,300—50—2,500.
Deputy Commissioner	3	2	2		.	.	.	.	.	Senior scale of pay in the scale of pay for I. P. officers, viz., 650 to 1,450.	....
Assistant Commissioners.	2	5	2		1	.	.	..		425—25—625 ..	350—50/2—550.
Inspectors ..	18	22	7		11	.	.	.	..	225—25/2—350 ..	200—25/2—325.
Sergeants ..	165				38	.	..		.	200—5/2—250 ..	200—5/2—250.
Sub-Inspectors ..		61	48	3	2	1	.	.	..	150—5/2—200 ..	125—5/2—185.
Assistant Sub-Inspectors.	.	136	36			1				30—1—40—2—50 .. (Efficiency bar after 11th stage.)	30—2/2—42—4/2—50. (Efficiency bar after 12th stage.)
Literate Constables		261	95		.	..	..	.	..	25—1—29 .. By increments of Re.1 after 3, 7, 10 and 17 years approved service.	25—1—29. By increments of Re.1 after 3, 7, 10 and 15 years approved service.
Constables .		2,694	1,343	86	.	..	.				

Re: Staff employed in different branches of Motor Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police.

*323. **Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the Upper and Lower Division clerks (separately) employed in the—

(A) Spare Parts,

(B) Petrol Rationing, and

(C) Tyre Rationing Departments,

under the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta;

(*ii*) how those posts have been distributed among different communities;

(*iii*) the name and present salary of each of them; and

(*iv*) whether the Communal Ratio Rules have been observed in filling up the vacancies in those Departments?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iv*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, Government propose to take in the matter?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) (*i*) (A) 1 Upper Division, 4 Lower Division and 1 typist.

(B) 7 Upper Division, 34 Lower Division and 1 typist.

(C) 1 Upper Division and 2 Lower Division.

(*ii*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*iii*) A list is laid on the Table.

(*iv*) Appointments to Lower Division posts were made on the basis of the Communal Ratio Rules. Vacancies in the Upper Division were filled by promotion by seniority and merit from the staff of the Motor Vehicles Department, as suitable candidates could not be secured by advertisement when the offices were first established.

(*b*) A fresh endeavour will be made in accordance with the proviso to rule 11 of Communal Ratio Rules to secure communal balance in the Upper Division posts as far as possible.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a)(ii) of starred question No. 323.

	Hindus.	Muslims.	Scheduled Castes.
A	1 Upper Division 1 Lower Division 1 Typist.	3 Lower Division.	
B	4 Upper Division 1 Stenographer 16 Lower Division	3 Upper Division. 15 Lower Division 1 Typist.	3 Lower Division.
C	1 Upper Division 1 Lower Division	1 Lower Division.	

List referred to in reply to clause (a) (iii) of A. R. A. Staff of starred question No. 323.

One Head Assistant—	A.R.A.
Susanta Kumar Bagchi, Hindu (Rs.125—200).	1 Head Assistant — Hindu (Rs.200).
Upper Division Clerks (Rs.100 each) 1. Satadal Mookerjee, Hindu 2. Gobinda Ch. Bhattacharjee, Hindu. 3. Ashutosh Banerjee, Hindu 4. Azaharuddin Mollah, Muhammadan. 5. Abdul Latif Khan, Muhammadan. 6. Mahfizur Rahman, Muhammadan.	6 Upper Division — 3 Hindus (Rs.100). 3 Muhammadans (Rs.100). 1 Stenographer .. Hindu (Rs.80). 34 Lower Division (Rs.45 each.) — 16 Hindus. 15 Muhammadans. 3 Scheduled Castes.
1. One Stenographer sanctioned— Ajit Kumar Banerjee, Hindu (Rs.80).	1 Typist .. Muhammadan (Rs.45). No vacancy.

34 Lower Division Clerks sanctioned (Rs.45 each).

Hindu.	Muhammadan.
1. Bhupendra Nath Chatterjee.	1. Md. Ali Ashraf.
2. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri.	2. Anwar Hossain Mondal.
3. Santimoy Bose.	3. Md. Mahboob Ali.
4. Sankar Kumar Biswas.	4. Md. Abdul Awal.
5. Profulla Ch. Lahiri.	5. Zahirullah Chowdhury.
6. Biswanath Basu Mullick.	6. Hasmat Ullah Chowdhury.
7. Sachindra Nath Bhattacharjee.	7. Abdul Matin.
8. Ganga Charan Dutt.	8. Mozhar-Ul Haque Khan.
9. Subodh Moullick.	9. Gazi Abdus Salam.
10. Rajani Bhusan Mookerjee.	10. Tobarak Hossain.
11. Dipendra Nath Chatterjee.	11. Kazi Abdul Hashem.
12. Indu Bhusan Mojumder.	12. Md. Abdul Khaleque.
13. Biswa Ranjan Roy Chowdhury.	13. Shamsul Alam.
14. Debabrata Dutt.	14. Syed Ali.
15. Ajit Kumar Banerjee.	15. Md. Yunus Ali.
16. Amiya Sankar Gupta.	

Other Communities (Rs.45 each).

1. Satya Ranjan Sircar.
2. Tarun Kumar Dey.
3. Phani Bhusan Das.

One Typist sanctioned (Rs.45).

1. Abdur Rauf, Muhammadan.

List of Tyre Rationing Staff.

	Tyre Rationing.
One Upper Division Clerk sanctioned— Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Hindu (Rs.100).	1 Upper Division.. Hindu (Rs.100).
Two Lower Division clerks sanctioned— 1. Dhon Gopal Banerjee, Hindu (Rs.45). 2. Sk. Anisur Rahman, Muhammadan (Rs.45).	2 Lower Division (Rs.45 each) { 1 Hindu. 1 Muhammadan.

List of Spare Parts Office Staff.

	Spare Parts.
One Upper Division clerk sanctioned— Sarojendra Mohan Mitra, Hindu (Rs.110).	1 Upper Division (Rs.110) .. Hindu.
Four Lower Division clerks sanctioned— 1. Govinda Lal Mukherjee, Hindu (Rs.45). 2. Md. Yukub, Muhammadan (Rs.45). 3. Daud Ali Molla, Muhammadan (Rs.45). 4. Md. Ibrahim, Muhammadan (Rs.45).	4 Lower Division (Rs.45 each) { 1 Hindu. 3 Muhammadans.
One typist sanctioned— 1. Sourendra Mohon Mitra, Hindu (Rs.45).	1 Typist, Hindu (Rs.45).

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: With reference to answer (*a*)(*iv*) last portion, namely, "as suitable candidates could not be secured by advertisement", will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there were 7 or 8 qualified Muslims, of whom six were graduates and still they were not appointed on that occasion?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in place of the Muslim graduates Mr. Ashutosh Banerji, an I.Sc., was taken in as the most suitable candidate?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice. I might add that several clerks resigned for better posts elsewhere and suitable Muslim candidates were not available at the time and the vacancies were filled temporarily by non-Muslims.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to explain the word "elsewhere"?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: With regard to lower division clerks, is it a fact that one Muhammad Abdul Awal was relieved of his post on the 24th April?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Robbery in rivers of Khulna and 24-Parganas.

***324. Mr. PATIRAM ROY:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Police) Department aware of the fact—

(*i*) that a number of robbery has been taking place since April, 1943, in the passenger boats in the rivers of the southern portions of Khulna and 24-Parganas; and

(*ii*) that the miscreants have not yet been put under control?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of taking immediate steps for the prevention of robbery in future?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) No. A number of persons were arrested in connection with the robberies.

(*b*) Preventive measures in the form of special patrols including armed patrols by boats have been introduced in this area and a C.I.D. Inspector has been specially deputed for this purpose.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell us how many cases have been investigated into?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The total number of robberies committed in that area were 33, the number of arrests that were made 155, prosecutions launched 15, cases that ended in conviction 3, and the number of cases *sub judice* 1.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the present condition in that area?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The position has considerably improved.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Filling up of the post of Assistant Superintendent, Bengal Government Press.

158. Maulvi ABUL HASHIM: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Finance Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the post of an Assistant Superintendent in the Bengal Government Press has been lying vacant for over a year since the resignation of Mr. S. R. Huq; and

(*ii*) whether the post is kept reserved for a Muslim?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) why the post has been left unfilled so long; and

(*ii*) whether the Hon'ble Minister is considering the desirability of filling up the vacancy by a Muslim at an early date?

MINISTER in charge of the FINANCE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami): (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) The vacancy can be filled by promotion or direct recruitment: if it is filled by promotion, there is no reservation. If it is filled by direct recruitment, it will be reserved for a Muslim.

(*b*) Government wish to advertise the vacancy with a view to its being filled by direct recruitment but do not wish to debar applications from Government servants who are eligible to appointment by promotion. This is a course that involves a relaxation or amendment of the existing recruitment rules and the matter is under correspondence with the Public Service Commission.

Delimitation of constituencies of Bakarganj District Board.

159. Mr. SADARUDDIN AHMED: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) when the term of the Bakarganj District Board expired;

(*ii*) what steps the Government have taken for the new election; and

(*iii*) how long the delimitation question has been pending with the Government?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of expediting the matter?

MINISTER in charge of the PUBLIC HEALTH and LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*)(*i*) On the 27th May, 1942.

(*ii*) and (*iii*) The Commissioner submitted his proposals on the 9th March, 1943, since which date they have been under the consideration of Government.

(*b*) Yes.

Prohibition of cycle-rickshaws in Calcutta.

160. Mr. SYED SAHEBE ALAM: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that cycle-rickshaws are prohibited from plying in the streets of Calcutta?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state under whose orders and under what authority or law such prohibition has been issued;

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is a demand for such vehicles owing to restrictions of other means of communications as evidenced by the popularity of rickshaws?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of withdrawing the prohibition orders?

(*e*) If the answer to (*d*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) and (*c*) Yes.

(*b*) Under orders of the Provincial Government, in exercise of the powers conferred on them by clause (*a*) of sub-rule (2) of rule 89 of the Defence of India Rules.

(*d*) No.

(*e*) Cycle-rickshaws constitute a serious danger in the crowded streets of Calcutta, particularly under black-out conditions at night.

Staff of Civil Transport Department of Calcutta Police.

161. Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the total strength of the present staff of the Civil Transport Department under the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, with respect to officers, clerks and peons with their names, designations and present salaries and also with respect to the communities in each case?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether after the introduction of Communal Ratio Rules these have been observed in filling up the vacancies in that Department?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action, if any, he proposes to take for filling up the future vacancies of that Department in accordance with the Communal Ratio Rules?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) A list is laid on the Table.

(*b*) and (*c*) Attempt was made to fill the vacancies in accordance with the Communal Ratio Rules. Applications were invited in the newspapers, but as suitable Muslim candidates were not readily available, the vacancies had to be filled by non-Muslims. There has been no further recruitment after the establishment of the office, but in filling up future vacancies the Communal Ratio Rules will be strictly observed.

List referred to in reply to clause (a) of unstarred question No. 161.

(a) Statement of staff—

(1) Officers—

	Rs.
(i) Mr. S. G. C. Jarman, Assistant Commissioner of Police and Civil Transport Officer	575
(ii) Mr. R. S. Littlewood, Inspector of Transport	275

(2) Clerical staff—

	Name.	Community.	Designation.	Pay.
				Rs.
1.	S. K. Gupta	Hindu	Office Superintendent	150
2.	K. L. Pyne	Do.	Reference Clerk	120
3.	N. N. Roy	Do.	Accountant	125
4.	B. K. Banerjee	Do.	Upper Division Clerk	110
5.	R. C. Bhattacherjee	Do.	Cashier	80
Recruited from outside—				
6.	M. B. Karmoker	Hindu	Stenographer	80
7.	S. K. Basu	Do.	Typist	45
8.	S. Gupta	Do.	Store Clerk	45
9.	H. D. Banerjee	Do.	Clerk	45
10.	A. Rahman	Muslim	Do.	45
11.	S. Ahmed	Do.	Do.	45
12	B N Ghose	Hindu	Do.	45
13.	A. J. Mandal	Muslim	Do.	45
14.	S K. Mandal	Scheduled Caste	Do.	45
15.	R. K. Bagchi	Hindu	Do.	45
16.	S Basu Mallick	Do.	Do.	45
17.	P. M. Thakur	Do.	Do.	45
18.	N N. Mukherjee	Do.	Do.	45
19.	A. Gafur	Muslim	Do.	45
20.	S. K. Mitra	Hindu	Do.	45
21.	Serajuddin	Muslim	Do.	45
22.	R N Moitra	Hindu	Accounts Clerk	45
23.	G C Sen Gupta	Do.	Do.	45
24.	S K. Ganguly	Do.	Do.	45

(3) Peons and Duftries—

	Name.	Community.	Designation.	Pay.
1.	M Hossain	Muslim	Duftry	13
2.	J Sircar	Hindu	Do.	13
3.	S. Das	Do.	Peon	13

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: With reference to answer (*b*) where it is stated that applications were invited in the newspapers, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the invitation for applications was made and in what paper and what was the last date?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The advertisements were made, but if I am to give the date, I will ask for notice.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Proposed removal of prisoners from Dum Dum Central Jail.

*325 **Mr. SATYAPRIYA BANERJEE:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether Dum Dum Central Jail is situated in a first class danger zone?

(*b*) Has the Hon'ble Minister received any petition from the security prisoners urging for their immediate removal and the removal of the ordinary convicts to safer places?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of removing the security prisoners and the ordinary convicts to places of comparative safety; if so, when?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) and (*b*) Yes.

(*c*) I refer the honourable member to the reply given to clause (*f*) of starred question No. 114 on the 8th March, 1943, by the late Government.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any reply was given to the security prisoners who applied for their removal from the danger zone?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the substance of that reply?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what precautionary measures were taken to remove them from the danger zone?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I refer the honourable member to Starred question No. 114 of the 8th March, 1943, where the precautionary measures taken by Government had been detailed.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House how far away the Dum Dum Central Jail is situated from the aerodrome?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I do not think that it is a matter which could be disclosed.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether the circumstances have changed within this one year?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I could not follow the question.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether the danger has become more probable than it was last year?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir, it has not become.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: In view of the fact that the Dum Dum Central Jail is situated within the aerodrome, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to reconsider his decision?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I do not understand what the honourable member means by "within the aerodrome". It is not within the area of the aerodrome.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: In view of the fact that it is not very far from the aerodrome area, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to reconsider his decision?

Mr. SPEAKER: Probably he means that it is within the danger zone.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There is no specific danger zone. Even the whole of Calcutta may be called a danger zone.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: From this answer just now given, does the Hon'ble Minister propose to revise the answer that has been given with reference to question (*a*) stating that it is a danger zone?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether it is a fact that Government is making propaganda to make the people careful when the siren goes?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I could not follow the question.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House whether it is a fact that Government is making propaganda to make the people of Calcutta careful while the siren is sounded?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir. Government tries to impress upon the public the necessity of taking shelter when the siren is sounded.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: In view of the answer given by the Hon'ble Minister that the whole of Calcutta is a danger zone——

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I did not say that.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: In view of the fact that Calcutta is supposed to be a danger zone, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of removing the security prisoners somewhere else?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: In view of the fact that Government is asking the people to be careful, cannot we understand that Dum Dum aerodrome is a dangerous place?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of interpretation.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Government deny that Dum Dum Central Jail is not just in the vicinity of the Dum Dum aerodrome?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I cannot answer that question for obvious reasons.

Khan Bahadur SHAH ABDUR RAUF: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the distance between Dum Dum Central Jail and the Dum Dum aerodrome?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already stated that it cannot be disclosed.

Supply of foodstuffs to security prisoners at a higher rate than controlled one.

***326. Mr. PRATAUL CHANDRA GANGULY:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department aware—

(*i*) that Babu Phakir Chandra Roy, a security prisoner, on behalf of all security prisoners detained in the Alipore Central Jail sent a petition to the District Magistrate of 24-Parganas in the latter part of July, 1943, complaining about the profiteering on food articles supplied to them;

(*ii*) that Babu Phakir Chandra Roy sent a reminder for reply to his petition and also sent a separate letter to the District Magistrate of 24-Parganas in this connection; and

(*iii*) that Babu Phakir Chandra Roy has not yet received any reply to his petition, reminder and letter to the District Magistrate of 24-Parganas?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*iii*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that security prisoners of the Alipore Central Jail were charged for the food articles supplied to them much higher price and in some cases about double the prices fixed by the Government?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what steps he has taken to stop this practice; and

(*ii*) what action, if any, has been taken against the persons carrying on these malpractices?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*)(*i*) and (*ii*) Yes.

(*iii*) A reply from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, was duly communicated to the security prisoner.

(*b*) Does not arise.

(c) and (d) Before the promulgation of controlled prices security prisoners, supplied with foodstuffs from jail stocks, were charged the prices at which the jail authorities had actually obtained their supplies. In many cases the jail supplies for the entire year had been purchased and stocked during a non-controlled period at prices which were higher than the controlled prices later promulgated. Owing to a misunderstanding of instructions security prisoners in some jails continued to be charged at the price of original purchase instead of at the controlled rates. Since this was detected steps have been taken to ensure that, for foodstuffs supplied to security prisoners from jail stocks, prices higher than controlled prices are in no case charged. In cases where the original cost price of the articles supplied to security prisoners exceeds the controlled price at the time of supply, the difference is borne by Government.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House where prices higher than controlled prices were charged whether Government will refund the money to the security prisoners?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Government at the present moment are bearing the difference.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: That is not my point. In cases where security prisoners had to pay higher prices than controlled prices will that difference be refunded to security prisoners?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: There is no such proposal for the consideration of Government at present.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Government be pleased to consider the case?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: If the honourable member puts up a note Government will give due consideration to it.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to take this as a note?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: A written note will be required.

Family allowance for persons detained under Defence of India Rules.

***327. Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(a) the number of prisoners detained under Defence of India Rules who have been granted family allowance;
(b) the percentage of prisoners who have received family allowance in relation to the total number detained;
(c) the minimum and the maximum amount of family allowance granted to a prisoner so detained;
(d) the number of them that are receiving minimum and the number of them that are receiving maximum amount of allowance;
(e) the number of applications for allowance that remain undisposed of yet;
(f) the date when such applications were received;
(g) the number of prisoners in whose cases allowance has been increased according to the policy of increment declared by the Government; and
(h) the names of such prisoners receiving the increased allowances as compared with their original allowances?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a), (b) and (d) to (h) The information asked for is not readily available and its collection would involve an amount of time and labour that would not be justifiable in war time.

(c) Rs. 10 is the minimum and Rs. 150 is the maximum amount of family allowances that have been sanctioned so far.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if a register is maintained of the security prisoners?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if a register is also maintained showing the names of prisoners who are granted family allowances and who are granted increased family allowances according to the liberal policy of the Government?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: The case for the grant of family allowance to each security prisoner is considered in a separate file, but there is no consolidated list or register showing the family allowances granted to each individual prisoner.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Sir, I would only wish to draw your attention to the fact that sometime ago the Home Minister wanted to give us the policy of his Government——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when this question was received in his department?

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite appreciate your desire to know all these things, but is it necessary?

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: This sort of reply can be given forthwith. So I want to know the date on which this question was received in his department.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It was received on the 10th of September, 1943.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Is it a fact that if an answer to this question is given in detail, the so-called liberal policy of Government will be exposed?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, not at all. If it is given in detail it will go to show that a very liberal policy has been adopted by Government.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Including the allowance of Rs. 10 per mensem—that is also a part of the liberal policy!

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: It is mostly on compassionate grounds where no allowance had been sanctioned by the Ministry when the honourable questioner was in the Cabinet.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Is that your passport to every misdeed that it was done by the last Ministry?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is no supplementary question.

Re: Applications for the leave by security prisoners.

***328. Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home (Jail) Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the names of security prisoners who applied for leave from the different jails in the Province within the 24th April, 1943, and now;
(*b*) the reasons for which the leave was asked in each case;
(*c*) the dates of applications in each case;
(*d*) the dates when each application was disposed of;
(*e*) the names of those who were granted leave; and
(*f*) the names of those who were refused leave with reasons for such refusal?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): The information is not readily available and its collection would involve an amount of time and labour that would not be justifiable in war time.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the number of security prisoners who asked for leave will exceed 12?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Quite a good number of prisoners were allowed to go on leave.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the number exceed 25?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice. It might perhaps exceed 25.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: I put this question: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if an answer to this question is given whether it will be seen that leave is not granted to any prisoner?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, that is not correct. Very recently, only the other day a security prisoner was released for 5 days.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to tell the House the policy of Government about granting leave to security prisoners?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is very difficult to state the policy of Government in reply to a supplementary question.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I can, Sir. The present policy of Government is that in case of death, illness or very serious illness of near relatives, prisoners are allowed to go and see them, provided the journey can be completed within 24 hours.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the answer just now given, will the Hon'ble Minister please state why leave has been refused in the case of Nripati Bhusan Chatterji, detained in the Midnapore Central Jail, who asked for leave to attend his mother in death bed?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I ask for notice. Probably the case did not conform to the conditions laid down by Government.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell the House whether it is not their policy that security prisoners should be granted leave to go to perform the *sradh* ceremony of their father and mother?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No. Facilities are given to them to perform *sradh* within the precincts of the jail compound.

Scale of pay of Assistants of Home Department.

***329. Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that there are assistants in the Home Department of this Government who were appointed to Secretariat Lower Division posts before 21st July, 1931, and have, either on promotion or on transfer on promotion from other departments to Secretariat Upper Division posts created in the *revised scale*, been drawing in the Department *unrevised scale* of pay of Upper Division posts; and

(*ii*) that some assistants, whose condition of appointment is the same as in above have been disallowed the concession on promotion or transfer to posts on revised scale of Secretariat Upper Division on the technical ground that they had since been away for some time in non-Secretariat Departments of Government?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*)(*ii*) is in the affirmative, are the Government considering the desirability of according an equitable treatment to such assistants whose interests have been adversely affected?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how he proposes to do so?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*)(*i*) The unrevised scale of pay in Upper Division and Lower Division applies in the case of assistants appointed before the 22nd July, 1931, and the revised scale of pay both in the Upper Division and Lower Division applies in the case of assistants appointed after the 21st July, 1931.

Assistants in the Lower Division of the Home Department appointed before the 22nd July, 1931, who have subsequently been promoted to the Upper Division are drawing Upper Division pay in the unrevised scale. The same is also the case of Lower Division assistants from other departments of the Secretariat appointed before the 22nd July, 1931, who are holding Upper Division posts in the Home Department.

The Upper Division posts are not, however, created in the revised scale. The Government orders sanctioning the posts are made flexible by addition of the following clause:—

"Persons holding lien on permanent posts will draw pay in the unrevised or revised scale of pay as admissible by virtue of the Bengal Services (Revision of Pay) Rules, 1934."

(*ii*) No.

(*b*) and (*c*) Do not arise.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*a*)(*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister please further clarify whether the unrevised scale is admissible to any assistant who held a substantive Lower Division post in the Bengal Secretariat before 1931 but subsequently served in the Legislative Council and Assembly Departments and has ultimately been in Secretariat Upper Division posts elsewhere?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*a*)(*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state what will be the procedure for regularising matters when the facts of such a case are otherwise?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: That will have to depend on the Government decision.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Does the Hon'ble Minister propose to take action if details of such cases are given to him?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes. If any injustice has been done and if the honourable member will write to Government, Government will certainly take action.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to answer (*a*)(*i*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the Bengal Services (Revision of Pay) Rules, 1934, on the line of service are inflexible?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No rules are inflexible and it is within the competency of Government to amend or alter rules.

Number of sale-deeds registered in Dacca district.

***330. Maulvi MD. ABDUL HAKIM VIKRAMPURI:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education (Registration) Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the number of sale-deeds, transferring agricultural lands, registered in the district of Dacca showing the number of each subdivision in 1942-43; and

(*b*) the percentage of these sale-deeds in which the consideration money was Rs. 250 and below?

MINISTER in charge of the EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan): The information asked for is not readily available and as its collection would involve an expenditure of time and labour which would not be commensurate with the results to be obtained, Government regret that they are not prepared to call for it.

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether it is not possible to have the information easily from the books which are kept for copying out the documents registered, then and there?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir, it is not easy to get the information.

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether the difficulties are due to the fact that the documents registered since the month of August last have not been copied out for want of supply of books from Government?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That may be one of the difficulties.

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether he considers the desirability of supplying the books at a very early date, so that the documents may be copied out?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: That is a different matter.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi FAZLUL QUADIR: Will the Hon'ble Minister consider it desirable to instruct the Sub-Registrars to get a monthly statement and to prepare a list of sale deeds registered at each office showing in the monthly returns the sale deeds in which the consideration money is Rs. 250 and below?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I shall consider the question if my honourable friend reminds me.

Re: Teaching staff of Mymensingh Zilla School.

***331. Mr. ABUL HOSSAIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state the names of the present teachers serving in the Mymensingh Zilla School for more than 10 years at a stretch?

(*b*) Is it a fact—

(*i*) that the teaching staff was not reorganised there for a long time; and

(*ii*) that the Divisional Inspector in his inspection note of the school in 1943 made a remark to this effect?

(*c*) Is it a fact that some teachers of that school were alleged to have taken active part in political agitations of the Congress in March, 1943?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any enquiry was made in the matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (*a*) (1) Babu Suresh Chandra Chakravarty, B.SC., B.T., Assistant Master, from the 23rd February, 1915.

(2) Babu Sachindra Kumar Adhikari, M.A., B.T., Assistant Master, from the 29th September, 1930.

(3) Maulvi Md. Siddique Hussain, Drill Master, from the 6th July, 1916.

(*b*) (*i*) and (*c*) No.

(*b*) (*ii*) In his inspection note, the Divisional Inspector of Schools, Dacca Range, asked the Head Master to come up with a proposal for reorganisation of the staff towards the efficient working of the institution.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to answer (*b*)(*ii*), will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the Head Master had come up with any proposal, as desired by the Divisional Inspector of Schools, for reorganisation of the staff of the Mymensingh Zilla School?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, as far as I know some changes have been made thereafter.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons why the teachers mentioned in reply (*a*)(1), (2) and (3) are allowed to remain in the institution for more than 25 years? One is there from 1915, one from 1916 and another is there from 1930.

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I do not know whether there has been any specific reason for that.

Khan Bahadur SHAH ABDUR RAUF: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the teachers in Government schools are liable to transfer like other Government servants?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: Yes, Sir.

Khan Bahadur SHAH ABDUR RAUF: Then what is the reason why these teachers have been kept in this institution for more than 20 years?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: There is no hard and fast rule about the transfer of teachers. It is only when exigencies of public service require it that teachers are transferred.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is aware of the fact that teaching in the Zilla School has deteriorated for a long time?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: No, Sir.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many students there are in the Zilla School at present?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the private schools in Mymensingh are getting more students every year than the Zilla School is getting?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question also does not arise.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: With reference to the answer given by the Hon'ble Minister that some changes have been made in the Zilla School, will he be pleased to state whether the specific changes that have been effected have in fact effected any change in the administration of the school?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: I want notice.

Secondary Education of girls in Calcutta and Government subvention to certain girls' schools.

***332. Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department be pleased to state—

(*i*) the amount of subvention for 1941-42 granted to,
(*ii*) the amount of annual expenditure ordered by the Education Department to be maintained by, and
(*iii*) the proportion which Government contribution bears to the expenditure actually incurred by,

each of the following schools, viz.,—

(1) Binapani Purdah Girls' School,
(2) Brahmo Girls' School,
(3) St. Margaret School,
(4) Calcutta Girls' School,
(5) Loretto Secondary,
(6) Lake School for Girls,

(7) Gokhale Memorial Girls' School,
(8) St. John's Diocesan Girls' School,
(9) M. A. O. Girls' School,
(10) Victoria Institution (School section),
(11) United Missionary Girls' High School,
(12) St. Thomas Girls' School,
(13) Surah Kanya Vidyalaya,
(14) Kamala Girls' School,
(15) Ballyganj Girls' School, and
(16) Sir Romesh Mitter Girls' School?

(b) Is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of expanding Secondary Education for girls in the city of Calcutta?

(c) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, have been taken for the development of new schools for girls in the newly developed localities of the city?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: (a) A statement furnishing the information is laid on the Table.

(b) Government do not consider it desirable to make any move in the matter during present emergency.

(c) Does not arise.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 332.

Name of school.	(1) Amount of subvention, 1941-42. Government grant.	(1) Amount of subvention, 1941-42. Municipal grant, on the basis of last year's grant.	(2) Amount of annual expenditure to be maintained by the authorities.	(3) Proportion which Government contribution bears to the expenditure actually incurred.
	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	Per cent.
1. Binapani Purdah School ..	13,200	600 0 0	32,832	40·20
2. Brahmo Girls' School ..	12,000	2,142 12 0	37,848	31·71
3. St. Margaret's School ..	7,200	(Equal to rates 750).	24,108	29·87
4. Lake Girls' School ..	1,800	900 0 0	14,973	12·69
5. Gokhale Memorial School ..	7,800	1,400 0 0	44,100	17·69
6. St. John's Diocesan School ..	7,200	1,725 0 0	34,200	21·05
7. M. A. O. Girls' Middle English School.	4,200	700 0 0	10,200	41·18
8. Victoria Institution (High English).	9,960	1,973 0 0	39,144	25·44
9. United Missionary High English School.	9,600	(equal to rates 1,250).	31,716	30·27
10. Surakhanya Vidyalaya High English School.	3,60	700 0 0	11,340	31·75
11. Kamala Girls' High English School.	5,400	1,250 0 0	20,628	26·18
12. Ballygunge Girls' High English School.	4,200	1,250 0 0	18,984	22·12
13. Sir R. C. Mitter High English School.	4,200	2,200 0 0	21,552	19·49
			Total expenditure for 1941-42.	
14. Calcutta Girls' School* ..	19,335	..	71,795	26·9
15. Loreto Secondary School* ..	17,387	..	63,198	27·5
16. St. Thomas Girls' School* ..	29,153	..	1,08,245	26·9

*There is no Government order on the amount of annual expenditure to be maintained by any of these schools.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why there was no Government order on the amount of annual expenditure to be maintained by any of the three schools, Nos. 14, 15 and 16?

The Hon'ble Mr. TAMIZUDDIN KHAN: The apparent reason is, that was not considered necessary.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when this question was sent to his department for reply?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think I can allow this question.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, this is a question which is waiting for an answer——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not a supplementary question.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, if I remember aright, you wanted to make a statement in that respect, but you have not. A number of questions from the last two or three sessions are remaining unanswered. When the reply comes, it is like this which can be answered forthwith in a second.

Excise shops in Mymensingh district.

***333. Maulvi ABUL HOSAIN AHMED:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Forest and Excise Department be pleased to state whether it is the policy of the Government to provide Bengalis with excise shops in preference to non-Bengalis?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether this policy has been strictly followed in the district of Mymensingh?

(*c*) If not, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the cases in which deviations have been made with reasons thereof?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether Amritalal Misir, a non-Bengali country spirit licensee of Mymensingh Sadar shop, has become too old; and

(*ii*) whether another up-country man has been made his joint licensee?

(*e*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reasons thereof?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state how many non-district as well as non-Bengali excise licensees are there in the district of Mymensingh?

(*g*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is considering the desirability of settling the excise shops with local men of the district after the expiry of the terms of the licences of the present non-Bengali as well as non-district vendors?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. Prem Hari Barma): (*a*) and (*b*) Yes.

(*c*) Does not arise.

(*d*) (*i*) Yes, he has been running the shop for over 22 years and has become old.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*e*) As Amritalal Misir had been suffering from eye trouble and lost one of his eye-balls, he was allowed to take his nephew Singeswar Misir as a joint licensee to help him to run the shop which has so long been very satisfactorily managed by him.

(*f*) Out of 188 major licences, 2 country spirit, 4 *ganja* and 2 foreign liquor licences are being held by non-Bengalis and 74 licences by men belonging to districts other than Mymensingh.

(*g*) Yes, on the determination by cancellation or otherwise of the existing licences.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why Amritalal Misir who, according to answer in (*e*), had been suffering from eye trouble and lost one of his eye-balls, has been allowed to continue his licence without cancelling that although he is a non-Bengalee?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Because the report says that for the last 22 years he has managed the shop very satisfactorily and for that he has been allowed to get his nephew appointed.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether they really intend to see that Bengalees get preference to non-Bengalees?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: Yes.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: If that is so, will Government be pleased to state the reason why, when there was an occasion for cancelling or discontinuing the licence, it was not discontinued or cancelled so far as Amritalal Misir is concerned?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: There was no occasion.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why 74 non-district men and 8 non-Bengalees have been allowed to continue as licensees in the district of Mymensingh when there are many people available in the locality for holding these licences?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA KUMAR: These licences were granted to them before Government adopted an explicit policy in the year 1936.

Government expenditure for maintaining the Kanchrapara Technical Institute.

***334. Kazi ABUL MASUD:** Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Industries Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) whether there is a Technical Institute at Kanchrapara;

(*b*) if so, what expenditure has been incurred by the Government of Bengal to maintain the Institute for the years 1941, 1942 and 1943;

(*c*) how many students have got their training from this Institute for the years 1941, 1942 and 1943, showing the number of—

(1) Bengalis,

(2) Non-Bengalis;

(*d*) of the Bengalis how many are—

(1) Muslims,

(2) Hindus; and

(*e*) whether the Institute gets subsidy from any other provincial Government?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID (on behalf of the Hon'ble Mr. K. Shahabuddin): (*a*) Yes.

		Rs.
(*b*)	1941-42	30,437
	1942-43	25,463
	1943-44	22,438

(*c*) and (*d*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*e*) No.

Statement referred to in reply to clauses (c) and (d) of starred question No. 334.

Years.		Bengalis.		Non-Bengalis.
		Muslims.	Hindus.	
1941-42	.. ..	..	7	4
1942-43	.. ..	2	16	5
1943-44	.. ..	5	9	2

Dr. ABDUL MOTALEB MALIK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government has got any representation in the Governing Body of the institution?

Mr. SYED ABDUL MAJID: I do not think this question arises out of it. However, I will enquire—I am not aware of it.

Shortage in fish supplies in Calcutta and Urban areas.

***335. Mr. J. R. WALKER:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state whether he is aware—

(*i*) that there is a shortage of fish for consumption in Calcutta and other urban areas;

(*ii*) that Calcutta's main source of supply is normally the Sunderbans fisheries where there is an abundance of fish;

(*iii*) that this source of supply has almost completely stopped owing to lack of transport; and

(*iv*) that supplies are now coming mainly from Madras and owing to delays in transit large quantities have to be destroyed as unfit for consumption?

(*b*) Have Government investigated the fish supply position of Calcutta and other urban areas with a view to increasing supplies?

(*c*) If so, what is the result of the investigation?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what steps, if any, have been taken by Government to secure transport for bringing fish from the Sunderbans to Calcutta; and

(*ii*) whether Government have made any representations to the military authorities to secure motor launches or other means of transport for bringing fish from the Sunderbans to Calcutta?

MINISTER in charge of the AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muazzamuddin Hosain): (*a*)(*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) Sunderbans are an important source of supply, but not the main source.

(*iii*) Supply has diminished owing to difficulties about transport and supply of ice.

(*iv*) A large quantity arrives from Madras. A portion of it goes waste owing to lack of sufficient refrigeration facilities.

(*b*) to (*d*) (*i*) Government have already made detailed enquiries and are actively considering how best to meet the difficulties referred to in the reply to (*a*) (*iii*).

(*ii*) The fishing season at Sundarbans has almost come to an end. The military are considering a scheme for improving the transport facilities from Sundarbans to Calcutta, and to what extent the civilian supplies can benefit from these facilities is being explored.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is the result of his detailed enquiries referred to in answer (*b*) to (*d*)?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: By detailed enquiries Government have found out that unless the supply of ice be increased and better transport facilities be arranged it will be difficult to control the situation.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what action Government are proposing to take to meet the difficulties of transport and shortage of ice?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: We are just going to meet the railway authorities in a meeting on the 26th instant and the Director of Industries has been exploring whether the supply of ice cannot be increased. We will consider these things and then come to a certain decision.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Is the Hon'ble Minister satisfied that if the difficulties as regards transport and ice are removed there will be a sufficient supply of fish at reasonable prices?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: To a very large extent the situation will be relieved.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the difficulty of shortage will be over?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: When the supply question and the transport question will be solved.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister give us some idea of the time when he thinks he will be able to get over the difficulties?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: It is not possible to give an idea. We have not met yet. We are meeting on the 26th instant and we are going to discuss and find out a solution.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Is the Hon'ble Minister satisfied that there is no profiteering in the sale of fish in Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: There is very little profiteering as far as we can see.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us whether the transport difficulty is increasing or decreasing?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I cannot say that.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us whether it is possible to manufacture ice locally?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: That is the question we have asked the Director of Industries to explore.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the Director of Industries was asked to explore?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: We expect a report within a week.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is it a fact that large quantities of fish used to arrive in Calcutta from Goalundo area?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Yes, it has been arriving always. Large quantities of fish come from Goalundo.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the same quantity of fish is now arriving from Goalundo or not?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: There has not been any recent trouble. This has been going on for a very long time.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is Government's information that as a result of transport difficulties price of fish in the mofussal has at any place gone down below the usual normal price?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: I am not aware.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that there has been a general deterioration in the production of fish and in the catchments even at the places where from Calcutta was formerly being supplied?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Yes, that is true; there has been some deterioration.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government have taken so far any steps to ascertain the reasons for such deterioration?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: To some extent it was due to the denial policy of last year and every effort is being made to make it good.

Mr. ROGERS HAYWOOD: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether he is completely satisfied in his own mind that the high prices of fish ruling are entirely the result of transport difficulties and lack of ice and will he give some assurance that in making investigations the question of breaking up the fish ring which is dominating the sale of fish in Calcutta for so many years will also be looked into?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Enquiries were made independently by the Police Department (Criminal Investigation Department) as well as by the Industries (Marketing) Department and both the enquiries go to show that there is no ring at all. The high prices are chiefly due to the shortage of ice and transport difficulties and also to a great extent to the great demand. The demand has increased to a very great extent and the supply is not as much as it used to be. In consequence the price has gone up high. It is only natural.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that one cogent reason for this shortage is the large overgrowth of water hyacinth and such other aquatic shrubs which choke up and are choking up the river beds and water courses and as a result of which fish in very large quantities are either dying or not growing sufficiently?

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, that is only asking for an opinion on certain statistics.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I have asked whether Government is aware of this state of affairs in Bengal.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a matter of opinion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Let us see what is the reply.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Government has no knowledge. Personally I am of the opposite opinion. I think that with the growth of water-hyacinth fish flourishes.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that in the districts of Jessore, Nadia and parts of the 24-Parganas wherefrom large quantity of fish used to be imported into Calcutta, the water courses have largely got choked up with overgrowth, and as a result catchment of fish has become very very difficult?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: In Jessore and Nadia this overgrowth of water-hyacinth and other things have been in existence for the last 30 years, I know.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that the deterioration in the production of fish is due to the fact that large number of fishermen have died last year on account of famine and those who have survived, have not sufficient nets and boats?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Certainly want of nets and boats is one of the reasons.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps Government propose to take to supply nets?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: We have seriously taken up this matter in connection with the rehabilitation scheme on the aftermath of last year's famine.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government are considering the desirability of preserving fish and having certain months or periods reserved for enabling the seedlings to be left undistrubed, so that growth of fish may be encouraged?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Government are considering to have some legislative measures passed through this House in order to give protection to the smaller fries and to impose closing season for catching of this fish. They are seriously considering this matter. As a matter of fact they have asked the Director of Fisheries to prepare a draft of this thing.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government are also considering the desirability of having one or two non-fish days for Bengal as in the case of non-meat days?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Government have not yet considered the matter.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if Government propose to take any action to remove the difficulty of lack of sufficient refrigeration facilities for supply of fish from Madras referred to in answer (*a*) (*iv*)?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: All these matters will be considered in that meeting.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the difficulties with regard to transport and ice are removed, does the Government propose to take any measure to control the price of fish?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: That has not yet been considered.

Charging of exorbitant prices for certain foodstuffs in Calcutta markets.

***336. Mr. J. N. SMART:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agriculture Department be pleased to state whether he is aware—

(*i*) that supplies of beef, mutton, poultry, eggs, fish and vegetables are becoming increasingly scarce in Calcutta and other urban markets and exorbitant prices are being charged;

(*ii*) that the effect of the introduction of "meatless days" in Bengal has been to increase the scarcity and high prices of such essential foodstuffs as fish and vegetables; and

(*iii*) that one of the causes of the scarcity and high prices of these essential foodstuffs is transport difficulties?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government have investigated the supply position of these essential foodstuffs with a view to taking steps to increase supplies to Calcutta and other urban areas?

(*c*) If so, what is the result of the investigation?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps are being taken by Government—

(*i*) to remove transport difficulties hampering the bringing of supplies of these essential foodstuffs to Calcutta and other urban areas;

(*ii*) to control consumption of these essential foodstuffs by restaurants and military messes; and

(*iii*) generally to ensure that adequate supplies of these essential foodstuffs are available to the public at reasonable prices?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: (*a*) (*i*) and (*iii*) Yes.

(*ii*) Government are not aware of any appreciable increase in price of fish and vegetables, as a direct result of the promulgation of the Bengal

Meat Control Order, 1944. The prices had an upward trend prior to the promulgation of this Order and the tendency continues.

(*b*) and (*c*) Investigations are in progress.

(*d*) Government are awaiting the results of the enquiries referred to in (*b*) and (*c*).

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if his investigations have now been completed?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: No. our investigations have not yet been completed.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that considerable quantities of poultry and eggs are exported from this province to Bihar and Assam?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur SAIYED MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN: Yes, it is a fact and we are just considering to put an embargo on export of poultry and eggs.

Message from the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Secretary read out the following message received from the Bengal Legislative Council:—

"That the Bengal Legislative Council at its meeting held on the 12th May, 1944, agreed to the Bengal Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill, 1944, without any amendments".

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Mr. MANMATHA NATH ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the last day, I was speaking on my motion for reference of this Bill to a Select Committee. The Bill proposes that the University will in future have practically no voice in the framing of syllabus and curriculum or prescribing the test for those who wish to avail themselves of University education. If these proposals are carried, there is no doubt that they will deal a death-blow not only to secondary edcuation, but to higher education as well.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Rs. 25 lakhs a year or even Rs. 50 lakhs a year is wholly inadequate for the development of secondary education. It appears to me to be only a drop in the ocean. We should remember the recommendations of the Sargent Report which propose several crores for this purpose.

The Hindus have built up more than 90 per cent. of the secondary schools and if this Bill is passed it will lead to the drying-up of those substantial private contributions that are now made for financing secondary education and which can hardly be made up by Government grant.

The Bill is wholly silent as to what kind of education will be imparted in the schools under the Board. The Bill does not determine the future of the Matriculation examination, nor does it contain any provision for compensation that will have to be paid to the Calcutta University in order to enable it to continue its work for the post-secondary and post-graduate stages.

All these must be in the picture and the question of compensation to the University should be satisfactorily settled.

I appeal to our Muslim brethren to shed their communal complex and to pause and consider whether the present time is appropriate to rush through the legislature a Bill of this kind. Every item should be carefully considered by the Select Committee and proposals acceptable to both the communities must be placed before the country. To the members of the European group I make this appeal that they should at least once take the view that they would have taken if the question had arisen in their own

country for the teaching of their own children. They hold the balance of power in this House and I would ask them whether with a clear conscience they can support the present measure. There is enough of communal venom in different parts of the country. It is significant that today's papers do not give any information as to the present situation at Dacca. Possibly, the Government does not want to take us into confidence. .Whaever that may be I would again appeal to the European group to desist from scattering venom and poison in the whole of this province.

With these words I move my motion for reference to a Select Committee.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: I rise to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) Mr. Syed Badrudduja,
(2) Dr. Sanaullah,
(3) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(4) Mr. Harendra Kumar Sur,
(5) Mr. Pramatha Ranjan Thakur,
(6) Mr. Upendra Nath Edbar,
(7) Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri,
(8) Mr. Atul Chandra Sen,
(9) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(10) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(11) The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department,

with instructions to submit the report by the 31st July, 1944, and that the quorum of the select committee be fixed at seven.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I could not obtain the written consent of the other members of the party which supports the Government of the day to serve on the Select Committee. If the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Education Department had only refused his consent then no reference to a Select Committee under the rules could have been made.

Mr. SPEAKER: I find in my papers it is stated that the quorum be fixed at 9. Have you said 9 or 7?

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: I have said 7. It is due to the fact that 4 members of the Government party have declined to serve. So with your permission I am moving that the quorum be fixed at 7.

A motion for reference of an important first-rate province-shaking educational measure to the Select Committee for proper consideration and for a possible adjustment of divergent points of view has, it has been declared, I understand, by a pontifical authority to be an instance of dilatory tactics. Raw haste, we all know, is half-sister to delay. A motion of this kind is perfectly well known to the parliaments of the modern world. I know ours is a Court of Miracles. Victor Hugo, more than a century ago, described a Court of Miracles as a "heaven where the blind can see, the deaf can hear, the dumb can speak".

Ineffectiveness of the opposition in every country where parliamentary institutions prevail has led to decline of parliaments excepting in our country where we are called upon to toy with toy parliaments. The Mother of all Parliaments has withered with age. She now has the happy aspiration of being a grandmother hoary with years. I was told that opposition to this portentious and important measure has been cirticised as opposition springing from vested interests. I venture to hope that the honourable member whose sense of natural justice has been heightened would kindly remember that he is the representative of vested interests in this House. What about the powerful parties in this House? Do they not represent vested interests in this country? Have they ceased to be watch-dogs of vested interest? Have they ceased to aspire after fresh fields and pastures new? Vested interests, if divested, must be vested somewhere. Where does the present Bill propose to vest these interests? In a world of officialdom they are under the stiletto and the mask, and in a museum of political

curiosities. I could have certainly understood power with responsibility, I would have understood if the Government had constituted a committee of educational experts for the representation and control of the Secondary Education Bill and if Government control was effective. Instead, the Government of the day has chosen to put power on commission with all the threads of power in its hands, safely relying on the support of a great party in this House whose only delight seems to be to divide and rule. I wondered in 1942, I wonder today if time is opportune for a controversial legislation like this. After all, the present educational system has remained untramelled and uncontrolled ever since the famous Despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854. I charge the present Government with having deliberately brought forward this mighty controversial measure in the midst of war, famine and pestilence. Do we not see old traditions and old land-marks fast disappearing beyond the horizon? Do we not witness the terrific crash of empires? Do we not hear the drones of aeroplanes overhead? Do we not hear the tramp of armies, the booming of guns, the clash of tanks, the conflict of ideas and ideals? Two years ago my honourable European friends insisted that the Legislature should not be led to a vortex of political agitation over controversial legislation during the period of war. This I thought was in accordance with the accepted principles adopted by their and our masters across the seas, who will not allow any political advance during the period of war in India. Even the general election to the Legislature during the period of war and one year after the war has been put under a ban. Countries situated in the midst of the theatres of war not controlled and supervised as we are by our near and far-off trustees, are indulging in this innocent pastime. I charge the Government of the day for their crooked attempt to rush the Bill through the Legislature this session. With a coercive attitude of mind they have taken mean advantage of the indefensible Defence of India Act and the most obnoxious series of rules passed thereunder from day to day. I charge the Ministry of Education with the unholy desire to communalise education in a desperate hurry in total disregard of all proposals for post-war reconstruction of the whole system of education in India, in total disregard of the valuable suggestions of the Abbot-Wood Report in India, the Spens Report in England and the last but not the least important Sargent Report. The Sargent Report, I find, was agreed to *in toto* by one of the two representatives from Bengal, its Director of Public Instruction, and agreed to in the main by the Hon'ble the Minister for Education in this province with an illogical note of dissent and a glowing testimonial to the framer of the report who is incidentally a British educationist of repute and eminence. Said our Education Minister:

"The report is worth its weight in gold. No previous endeavour of a similar character can approach its insight and boldness of conception. It will, we hope, prove to be an epoch-making document." Mr. Tamizuddin Khan frankly conceded in his note of dissent that "post-war development in India, whether in education or industry, will depend on her political status and the character of the constitution that may eventually be set up." Mr. Khan was then speaking as a politician which he really is. Does the present Bill accept the principle contained in the Sargent Report, viz., that "in every country in the world, whether occidental or oriental, which aspires to be civilised, with the exception of India the need for a national system of education for both boys and girls which will provide the minimum preparation for citizenship has now been accepted"? Does the present Bill recognise the validity of the principles enunciated in that report that a national scheme of education for all children must be organised not on the basis of separatist tendencies? Does this Bill accept the proposition contained in the Sargent Report, "that the high school is in one sense the backbone of a national educational system, for it is to the high school that the country must look for the preparatory training of its leaders and experts in all walks of life"? The Bill which the Hon'ble Education Minister has brought forward damns with faint praise and assents with civil leer the proposition contained in the Sargent Report that the recognised high schools

should be in the main of two types—(1) the academic high schools and (2) the technical high schools. There are 3,861 high schools in British India. And about 50 per cent. of the high schools are situated in Bengal and Assam under the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta. Does this Bill care to touch the Wardha Committee's report on education? It does not. Yet the Sargent Committee carefully and appreciatively considered its proposals. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan in his note of dissent to the Sargent Report talks about the future political status of India and of federation and the Cripp's proposals with apparent approbation. Does he know—he should know—that when various provinces of Canada now constituting the Dominion of Canada were federated special guarantees had to be conceded to the demands of education? In Canada they had then, and they have now, two religions, two races, even two languages with different traditions, history and culture living side by side. I present section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, to the Minister-in-charge: "In and for each province, the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education subject and according to the following provisions—

(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union.

(2) All the powers, privileges and duties of the union by law composed and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec."

It is perfectly true that the attempts to reform the secondary education in this province have not yet succeeded. Legislative measures towards control of secondary education have indeed had a chequered history. The Bill of 1942 after a debate of seven solid days before this House was referred to a Select Committee on the 24th August, 1942. The report of the Select Committee is before us. No Caste Hindu signed this report. That Secondary Education Bill was dropped. The Government of the day have now chosen to bring forward the Secondary Education Bill of 1944. It is, diabollically speaking, a new Bill. He who relies upon the fiction that this Bill is the daughter of the Bill of 1942, is relying upon *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*. In the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill under debate, the Hon'ble Minister perhaps means the extreme rapidity with which education in this province has spread within the last thirty years. I would have appreciated had he taken credit for his own community for this rapid advance. Since the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1919 strangely enough the portfolio of education, for the last quarter of a century, perhaps with an *ad interim* exception, has been held by Muslims, shall I say, Muslims who were not in my judgment inferior in culture and reputation to those of the present Hon'ble Minister of Education.

The Hon'ble Minister of Education further says that the development of secondary education in this province can no longer remain uncontrolled. Why has he used the prolific expression "development" I do not know. With the exception of the definition of secondary education for which he ought to be grateful to the Bill of 1942, the solid phalanx of 57 sections in the present Bill do not betray the faintest traces about development. They all tell us doleful tales of unhealthy control and vicious supervision of the Pakistan brand in the domain of education. The Hon'ble Minister for Education is proud of the fact that his pock-marked natural child bears traces of representation of all the divergent interests in the province. His child, while seeing the light of the day, could not possibly dream of one nationality. He did not even admit the validity of the fashionable Muslim League dogma of two nationalities. The Hon'ble Minister in the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill regales us with the fact that the proposed executive committee in the Bill contains representatives of different interests and educational experts in the province. Do Hon'ble Ministers born and

living under separatist influences have a conscience? I do not know. In my analysis I most emphatically repudiate the suggestion made by the European party with its sanctimonious hypocrisy and chiselled double-crossing that the main points of difference between the provisions of the Bills of 1942 and 1944 are small. The old Bill of 1942 conceded joint electorate with reservation of seats in favour of what I consider to be the fissiparous tendencies sedulously encouraged by the Government of India Act, 1935, which indeed is a standing monument of shame to these ideas. Albion's Chiefs whose lawless words are laws in this country have the candour now to admit that the process of forcing down the Government of India Act, 1935, was a mistake. Perhaps they regret the statements made; perhaps they are relying upon their two great legacies from expiring antiquity, viz., their sense of diplomacy and their interpretative faculty.

In the old Bill the Senate of the Calcutta University was conceded 11 seats. The Academic Council of the Dacca University was given 3 seats; headmasters of schools for boys had 5 seats. .Head mistresses were given 2 seats. The managing committees of schools were granted 3 seats and members of the Legislature 7 seats. In this new Bill the Senate of the Calcutta University has been given 6 seats. Of these, 2 are representatives of the Muslim community to be elected by and from amongst Muslim members of the Senate. One seat goes to the Scheduled Caste to be elected by and from amongst the members of that caste. One seat as the residuary legatee of the Constitution goes either to a European or to an Anglo-Indian or to an Indian Christian, that is to say, other than a Hindu or a Muslim. Yet in the case of the Dacca University two seats have been granted, one to the Hindus, the other to the Muslims. The election is not from the Court nor from the Academic Council but from the Executive Council consisting of 15 or 16 members. Is it because the aspirants to the representation are today afraid to be returned by an electorate bigger than the smallest pocket borough? Four or five seats have gone to the head masters of schools of which again 2 are Muslims, 2 Hindus and 1 from Scheduled Castes. Two seats in the present Bill have been allotted to head mistresses of girls' schools. Of these again one must be a Hindu and one Must be a Muslim. All these co-called representatives will be returned by separate electorates, not merely communal but also sexual in character. The present Bill in order to have an easy passage through the Legislature gives 10 seats to the Lower House and 4 seats to the Upper House. The old Bill guaranteed representation from the professoriate, the Bill of 1944 has completely ignored the claims of academic experience. Is it because that the aspirants for the proposed offices under the Bill of 1944, in a fit of self-introspection, has discovered their own utter academic unfitness? Is it because that they are incompetent to teach but quite competent to rule and to preach? Is it because they realise their chronic poverty of intellect but rely upon the pernicious activity in the matter of control? In the old Bill of 1942, the Board consisted of 60 members; in the new dispensation the number has been limited to only 53. Of these, 16 are ex-officio or official members selected mainly for separatist functions. There are 8 nominees of the Government, who are supposed to represent diverse branches of learning, such as, agriculture, medicine, trade, commerce, teaching, etc. Yet, what do we find? Of these 8 members, 3 shall be Muslims, 2 members of the Scheduled Castes, 1 Indian Christian, 1 Buddhist. Why this camouflage? Can birth and religious bigotry ever represent specialised or technical knowledge from the educational point of view? Such a proposal is only possible in an unfortunate country like ours and before a Court of Miracles like this. There are on the proposed Board 2 women members, one of them is a Hindu and the other a Muslim. The electorate which will return the 2 women members is not to be elected by women but must be co-opted by the Board itself. Is this a precaution to shut out the access of independent women with academic knowledge and experience to the Board? I do not know why this method of co-option is made applicable to women? Is it

because they are so defenceless that they cannot protect their own interests? In this matter this pseudo-educational measure is more retrograde in character than the political measure called the Government of India Act of 1935. I do not know why two seats go to the representatives of the European community. I do not know how the European party views this proposal. Europeans in this country during normal times never allowed their children beyond, say, 5 years of age to grow educationally under the blue canopy of an Indian sky. They were always sent out for truer and broader education across the sea preferably to their homeland. Then why do they claim separate representation here on a Board which will cater for the needs of the children of the Indian soil? Budget grants for European and Anglo-Indian education under the Government of India Act of 1935 have been kept deliberately charged upon the revenues of this province. Is it the case of my European friends "heads I win, tails I also win"? Viewing the Bill of 1944 as a whole, the marked difference between the Bill of 1942 and the present one is absolutely transparent. In the old Bill the President was to be a nominee of the Government, but the choice was restricted to three names from a panel to be chosen by a Selection Committee of four persons, namely, the Minister for Education, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and the Chairman of the Public Service Commission. The Hon'ble Minister of the day, has, in his colossal wisdom, chosen a course of real unrestricted choice of the President of the Board by himself and himself alone. The Executive Committee which is the mainspring of the new organisation, proposed to be set up, consists of about 21 members. Of these, 6 are official and ex-officio members, 4 are from the University of Calcutta and 3 from the University of Dacca. Without being disrespectful to Dacca, undue weightage, I submit, has been given to it. The Calcutta University which has more than 1,500 high schools under its jurisdiction must be satisfied with 4 seats and Dacca which is restricted to a 5 miles radius under the Statute and which has only about 15 high schools must have 3 seats. The Calcutta University representatives must be chosen by the Senate. The candidates to be chosen are, however, limited to 9 members of the Senate; they also must be the members of the Board, and of these, one must be a Muslim. In the case of the Dacca University, the electorate is the entire Court. Why this difference? Furthermore, the Board in an undefined manner to be prescribed by executive *fiat* will elect 8 members to the Executive Council. Of these, 4 must be Muslims, 3 only Caste Hindus. Of the latter again, 2 must belong to the Scheduled Castes. Therefore only one person will represent the Caste Hindus. One seat is reserved for Anglo-Indians or Europeans. The Indian Christian must in this inevitable dispensation, go to the wall. I notice that the two Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities who were included in the old Bill have been conveniently dropped out in the new Bill. There is no provision in this new Bill for the representation of the professoriate and the teaching profession. So, why call this an educational measure? Where shall I find the representatives of experts dealing with different aspects of education, namely, technical education, agricultural education, industrial education, commercial education, medical education, education of the blind, the deaf, the dumb and education in reformatory schools and jails? I shall never agree with the view that the Director of Public Instruction or even the President of the Board can represent all these branches of knowledge. The composition of the Examination Committee is educationally monstrous. It is empowered in the Bill to deal with text books, syllabus, appointment of paper-setters, examiners, tabulators and the publication of results. It will consist of about 21 members representing in the main officialdom and communalism of the Muslim League brand. There are, so far as I can see, only 2 teachers on the Committee. Obviously the Hon'ble Minister for Education does not see the difficulties and dangers of the proposed Examination Committee. I do fear that the proposed Examination Committee will try for the extension of the Communal Ratio Rules applicable to services under the Crown to examination results.

Under the new Bill the Calcutta University will not be entitled to control in future admission of students to it.

Not a word has been said about the proposed abolition of the Matriculation Examination and the compensation to be paid to the Calcutta University. This omission is calculated and deliberate in my opinion. The party in power schemes to strangulate the University of Calcutta which is built up on the sweat, the toil, the blood, the sacrifice of generations of my countrymen and countrywomen. Although 90 per cent. or more of the high schools in this province have been erected, equipped, and maintained by the public-spirited Hindu citizens, the principles underlying Communal Ratio Rules unfortunately applicable to the services under the province have been sought to be extended and applied under a planned diabolical scheme of fraudulent control of secondary education. The shameful scheme represents expropriation of the worst type; its consequences are bound to be disastrous and tragic.

Roughly about 40 per cent. of the temporarily recognised high schools within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University will look forward to uncertainty and instability of their tenure under a Board arbitrarily created and whimsically operated. The Bill of 1944 has cut down the period of life allowed by the old Bill of 1942 to these schools from 3 years to 1 year. This is a most reactionary proposal not entirely communal in character but official in inspiration. The framer of this measure "feeds fat his ancient grudge" of more than a dozen years ago. The Bill is anxious to oust the jurisdiction of Courts in the matter of disputed elections and in the matter of the proposed arbitration committees. It grants indemnity to official acts done in good faith. We all know what good faith means in India. It means black acts of an irresponsible bureaucratic Government. Perhaps the Hon'ble Minister has forgotten the Greek old adage "he laughs the best who laughs the last". Perhaps his profound knowledge of law does not allow him to visualise the crippled possibilities of the present legislation with regard to what may be characterised as *supersedea* to the Jurisdiction of Chartered High Courts. The composition of the Finance Committee and the Grants Distribution Committee will not inspire confidence in anybody with the possible exception of the Ministers and a few supporters. The Bill is coercive in the extreme. It has no ethical foundation. It has no ideal. It has no background of culture. It has no utility. It will serve no community. Yet why should Bengal be made to sacrifice its cherished ideals and institutions? The proposed financial grant is wholly inadequate for the proper nourishment of the Board. The provisions relating to the budget and audit are a lurid commentary on the self-control of the Board. The Board like its putative father, I am sure, the Government of India Act of 1935, will die unhonoured, unwept and unsung. The verdict of history is pitiless. It will demand sackcloth and ashes for those who are in history guilty of parricide. I have here a personal note to strike. A Caste Hindu is frequently derided by the illegitimate offspring of the Government of India Act and its lineal ancestors. I am proud that I am a Caste Hindu. Who is not proud of his ancestry? The 25 Britons who sit on my left and who day after day enliven the Assembly by their august presence, are they not proud of their progenitors? The Khans and Khajas have their proud ancestry, their past traditions and glories of Islam. Quality is the word that has always counted in the world. It will count again. Generations of my ancestors have throughout the yawning ages before the advent of the Greeks, the Scythians, the Huns, of Islam and of Christianity, have lived the life of sacrifice and service for civilization and humanity. Hindus, I tell you, will live again that life; they will not sacrifice their glorious ancestry, resplendent traditions, their world-renowned culture. Sir, I believe Mr. Edward Thompson is an Englishman. He has written a book "Enlist India for Freedom", a subject which may be characterised as anathema to a certain section of our masters. He says on page 83: "There is nothing in all India more monstrous than the block

of 25 Europeans in the Legislature giving British business a controlling hand. They have half the total representation of the Caste Hindus". That accounts for the criticism of the Caste Hindus in this Legislature and in this province. Sir, a British statesman said, more than a century and half ago, "if I were an American and if taxation without representation was forced down my throat by an alien Government I would never have given my consent, never, oh never." That British statesman died of stroke. I propose to live and live to see that day when cobwebs of hypocrisy will disappear and Bengal shall live under the canopy of her own and free blue heaven. Perhaps the Hindus and the Muslims with their culture will flow, like the two great streams of Bengal which flow into the ocean, the Padma and the Meghna, the one with its deep colour, the other with its light blue hue. Perhaps some day some one will sing the dirge on this monstrosity called the Secondary Education Bill on the lines of Shakespeare:

"The fire seven times tried this,
Seven times tried what judgment is,
Some there be that shadows kiss
There be fools, alive I wiss."

I consign my speech to Lethe's waves.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD KHONDKAR: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of the Education Department,
(2) Khan Bahadur Haji Badi Ahmed Choudhury,
(3) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth,
(4) Mr. J. W. Chippendale,
(5) Mr. Dhirendra Nath Datta,
(6) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(7) Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee,
(8) Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal,
(9) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(10) Mr. M. Shamsuddin Ahmad,
(11) Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq,
(12) Mr. Syed Badrudduja, and
(13) Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 31st July, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at seven.

Sir, the members belonging to the Government side have not given their consent.

In moving my amendment, I wish to add a few words to the observations which I had already made on the Bill in my last speech. My amendment is a simple one and it is only a question of postponement of the consideration of the Bill practically for two months, during which the Bill will be before the Select Committee. If my amendment is accepted, it will afford ample opportunities to Government for coming to some happy solution with regard to this controversial Bill. Government will get the wisdom of the Select Committee by which they will be able to improve the Bill in a manner satisfactory to all concerned. The Bill with the report of the Select Committee may then be placed before the House in August next and passed if the Government so choose. It may so happen that this House may get that Bill and pass it on an agreed basis. This will save a lot of your and

our time and labour and the country also will heave a deep sigh of relief. Unity and communal harmony in the province is not only essential for internal peace and order but also essential for the successful prosecution of war effort. Therefore it was not prudent on the part of Government to have come forward with a controversial Bill like this at this hour of our national calamity. During these seven long years, I have found that important measures which were introduced in this House were referred to a Select Committee at the first instance. The motion of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education for consideration of the Bill at once is a deviation from the established practice. I fail to understand the reason for this haste. There is a well-known saying that "raw haste is a half-sister of delay". The Government of the day must be conscious of it and amenable to reason. Hot haste that goads on this Bill makes me believe that the real object behind the Bill is the propaganda of the Ministry. I have got in my possession a piece of valuable document from the Publicity *daftar* of the Government to substantiate my proposition. Here it is, Sir, It is a pamphlet in Bengali containing the photo of the Hon'ble Revenue Minister, Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea, for his splendid achievement in connection with the Bengal Alienation of Agricultural Land (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1944. Every one in this House knows that this Bill has yet to be passed by this House and assented to by the Governor before it can be made into law.

Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: It is a very poor representation of the features of the Hon'ble Revenue Minister. Will it go into the proceedings of the Legislature as an exhibit?

Mr. SPEAKER: That cannot be done. I do not think that the speaker has intended it either.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD KHONDKAR: But the credit of the Ministry is already afloat in the country. The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan will certainly not lag behind and shall share 50 per cent. of the credit of the achievement of this long session of the Assembly. As soon as the Secondary Education Bill is passed by this House and before it is passed by the other House of the Legislature and assented to by the Governor the country will get another pamphlet from the same Publicity *daftar* of Government with a majestic photo of the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, the hero of the Bill. This attempt of the Ministry to count the chickens before they are hatched in these days of paper control and at the expense of a bankrupt Government is certainly deplorable and rather to be condemned. This controversial Secondary Education Bill will afford a fighting ground where the communities will come to blows. There will be a constant clash and struggle in the arena of secondary education. Muslims will be the worst victims. Hindus in the first place will boycott the proposed Secondary Education Board, the constitution of which can only be possible if the requisite number of Hindus to represent all and different interests are available. Even if this Board is constituted it will be still helpless. Only a small number of existing secondary institutions are managed by Muslims and the rest are managed by Hindus. These Hindu secondary institutions will not seek the affiliation of the Board and will continue to remain affiliated to the University of Calcutta. What will the Muslim students of these institutions do? They will either remain in these institutions or come out of them on a protest. If they choose to come out where will the Secondary Education Board accommodate them?

These students will enjoy sunshine holidays and roam about singing slogans of an agitation and their education will suffer much. The Calcutta University will perhaps make a further rule that the students passing the School Final Examination of the Board will have no entry into colleges: they will have again to appear at the Matriculation examination to obtain a certificate of success. I am still in the dark as to what remedy Government propose or have in contemplation for this sort of emergencies. Even

if these emergencies do not arise, still Muslim education will suffer under the provisions of the present Secondary Education Bill. As under the District School Board a huge number of primary schools have ceased to exist, so under the Secondary Education Board a large number of existing secondary educational institutions will have to be closed down. Sir, prompt and liberal grant of affiliation by the Calcutta University encouraged private enterprises and these private enterprises brought into being a large number of secondary educational institutions in different parts of the province. These secondary educational institutions in the interior rural areas, coupled with the high percentage of success in the Matriculation examination, a generous gift of the Calcutta University, have encouraged the Muslim masses and have brought secondary education to the door of the poor illiterate Muslim masses of Bengal at a less cost. The collapse of these institutions will be to their disadvantage and to get the present day costly education at a distant quarter from home will be beyond the means of many poor Muslims. Thus this Secondary Education Bill will not only deny secondary education to the poorer section of the Muslims but will also force them back to illiteracy. Sir, the religious and madrassah education will not get due care and attention from the Secondary Education Board and the Muslim Secondary Education Committee. Before the establishment of District School Board *diniat* or religious education was well taught in muktabs and primary schools, but it has been kept in the background in the primary schools of the day managed and controlled by this Board. Similarly, the Secondary Education Board and the Muslim Secondary Education Committee will devote more of their attention and care to the English side of the secondary education and will keep religious and madrassah education in the background. The representation of the principals of the madrasahs in the Secondary Education Board is unsatisfactory. A separate committee for religious and madrassah education is essential, but Government has not provided for it in the Bill. But, Sir, there is yet time and Government will do well to provide for it in the Bill by an amendment.

Sir, speaking on the motion the Hon'ble Minister for Education said that the time was not inopportune for a Bill like this. He maintained that even in England the legislature passed the Education Bill the other day with more powers given to the Education Minister, but in reply to this I may tell him that the people of England are not dying in thousands, they have not become famished, emaciated for want of food and medicine: the people of England have not been turned destitutes and homeless vagrants: the people of England are not in dire want of essential commodities of daily life: the enemy is not knocking at the door of their country: the people of England are not disunited and disintegrated. The Ministers of that country are quite alive to the responsibilities and dignity of their office. Like the Ministers of Bengal they are not procuring votes for their stability by objectionable means and they do not stick to office at all costs. The world knows what attitude Mr. Churchill, the Premier of England, took when the Education Bill, which was referred to by the Hon'ble Education Minister in his speech, was defeated by the margin of a solitary vote. The world also knows what attitude the Bengal Ministry took when its defeat was averted by the casting vote of the chair. Sir, the Education Minister of England has been vested with more powers because he is a man of consistency and his countrymen can trust him even in the darkness, but more powers have not been provided for in the Bill for the Education Minister of Bengal because he has the brand of half a dozen political somersaults and his countrymen cannot trust him even in broad day light. It is unfortunate that the Education Minister of Bengal dragged in an analogy of a blessed country to this wretched country of ours.

With these words, Sir, I commend my amendment for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of the Education Department,
(2) Mr. Monomohan Das,
(3) Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq,
(4) Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed,
(5) Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy,
(6) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(7) Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu,
(8) Mr. Upendra Nath Barman,
(9) Si. Ashutosh Mallick,
(10) Mr. Radhanath Das,
(11) Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal,
(12) Miss Mira Dutta Gupta,
(13) Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, and
(14) Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, the mover,

with instructions to submit their report by the 15th July, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed at seven.

In this connection, Sir, I submit that Mr A. F Stark's name has been substituted, at his suggestion, by that of Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, and Mr. Wordsworth has given his consent. As regards the names of the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, Khan Sahib Mafizuddin Ahmed and Rai Sahib Anukul Chandra Das, I have not received their consent.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is all right, you omit their names.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, many of the members on this side as well as I moved motions for circulation for eliciting public opinion but we had not the advantage of hearing the Hon'ble Minister about them, but we take it that he will oppose these motions because the Government are agreed to discussing the Select Committee motions. We did not, Sir, in the course of the discussion of circulation motions offer, strictly speaking, challenges to the Hindu Ministers and members but requested them to go out in their constituencies for ascertaining opinion, but, Sir, they had neither the courage to go out in their constituencies nor they had the constitutional wisdom, intuition and honesty to accept the opinion that has been expressed unequivocally through the press and on the platforms in this province. As a second best procedure, Sir, we therefore propose to move amendments for referring the Bill to Select Committee where we can try to improve the Bill and try to come to a common agreement. Sir, even at this stage if we can accept one of these motions we can certainly avert a great disruption and a disaster and avert controversies which will tell very badly on all in the province; we can also save the waste of valuable national time and national wealth and the highest and the most desired thing, namely, unity amongst the Government party and the Opposition in a matter of tremendous importance like the Education Bill will be achieved.

In support of my motion, Sir, I will point out to the members the constitution of the Select Committee. I have tried to represent all parties and groups in the House in the list. I have tried to represent all communities and sections either belonging to the Muslim members or to the Hindu and the Scheduled Caste members. I am sorry, Sir, that two members from the Government party refused to give their consent. There is, therefore, no apprehension that the opinion of a particular community or a particular group will be foisted on the Government. In support of my motion, Sir, I also propose to quote from speeches of some of the prominent members of this House who spoke in connection with the Secondary Education Bill which was introduced in the year 1940 and 1942. Sir, in quoting these speeches I have to wait to hear what those members who in support of circulation motion and Select Committee motion spoke vehemently against the

Bill then introduced and I have also to wait to see what will they do when actually these motions will be put to vote. Sir, I will read from a speech of Mr. Abdul Hakim. I cannot really do justice to the speech because I have very short time at my disposal and cannot read all the context. I am quoting the relevant portions.

"Therefore, why should we not look at these things from a purely educational point of view based on eternal principles free from the party politics of the day with the beneficent object of propaganda and development of education in the countryside?"

Further down, he said "Powers of a giant have been given to kill, to throttle the existing schools without the Guardian Angel's benediction to foster and develop these and yet unborn institutions."

Further down, he said "I am afraid, a large number of private schools will be closed down as a result of this Bill. There is no provision in the Bill to help any private enterprise to start any new schools in backward and neglected areas."

I shall then read from the speech of Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas. I shall not quote his speech but I shall quote the interjections that Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha made when Mr. Biswas was making his speech. When Mr. Biswas was speaking to the effect "আমি Assemblyর কতিপয় Scheduled Caste বন্ধুদের সঙ্গে কথা বলেছি এবং জানতে পেরেছি—যাঁরা নাকি oppositionএ বসেন তাঁরাও প্রায় সকলেই এই বিলের principleটা support করেন।"
Mr. Kshetra Nath Singha interjected "We do not support the principle of the Bill".

Then further down, when Mr. Biswas said "তাহলে তাদের logic অনুসারে তাদের protestটা আরও effective হবে" an interjection was made by my friend Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar "আপনি congress ticketএ returned হয়েছেন আগে আপনি resign দিন"। To this Mr. Rasik Lal Biswas retorted "আমার ত আপনাদের মত মতিভ্রম হয় নি।"

Sir, I shall then read a few passages from the speech of my friend Mr. Shyama Prosad Barman: "But our popular Ministry have laid and are now again laying heavy hands on education of the province. They have already officialised primary education by the Primary Education Act as a result of which the number of primary schools has been reduced to a great extent. The Ministry is now out for regulating and controlling secondary education of the province by this proposed Bill. The proposed Secondary Education Bill is not an educational measure meant for the improvement and expansion of education, but a political measure the avowed object of which is to cripple and crush the cultured and educated section of the province."............"Government contribution towards the total expenditure for secondary education is only 18 per cent. Now, Sir, only 25 lakhs of rupees is proposed to be spent on secondary schools and the Government are going to assume full official control for this financial support."

Sir, these arguments still hold good.

My friend Mr. Barman said further "Of the 50 members 19 will be directly appointed by Government and since the Ministry is expected to have a fair majority in the Provincial Legislature, the majority if not all of the 9 members of the Board to be elected by the Legislature will be virtually the nominees of the Ministry. The Ministry will thus have an assured majority in the Board. Thus the Executive Council will be a miniature form of the Education Department of the Government of Bengal". Sir, Mr. Barman concluded by saying like this: "In view of the strong protest from the press and the platform regarding the pernicious provisions of the Bill and also in view of the fact that all the secondary schools

of the province will be vitally affected by the provisions of the Bill inasmuch as they will all be put under the sole control of this Board it is earnestly desired that the Bill should be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon especially the opinion of the managing committees of the secondary schools".

Now, Sir, I will quote from the speech of Mr. Wordsworth from whom many of us are ready to take lessons regarding education and educational matters. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: In the matter of castor oil also.) Yes. Mr. Wordsworth said: "I am constitutionally unable to believe that education"—this is in 1940—"is entirely made up of Hindu and Muslim and Scheduled Caste and European and Anglo-Indian communal formulæ, bitter and strife". Further down he said: "I myself dislike the intrusion of the communal formulæ. I have fought against it for many years, in the House as elsewhere. From a purely educational point of view I think it is wrong. But if in the realm of pure educational thought we may strive for the highest and the best, here in this Assembly and therefore as statesmen we must strive for, not what is best absolutely, but the best we think we can get in existing circumstances. We cannot shake off the condititons in which we live. Therefore, unless we are prepared to accept a dose of communalism, I do not see how we shall make any advance or take any action whatever——

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Sir, I want another 15 minutes.

Mr. SPEAKER: You can speak for five minutes more.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Now, Sir, I do not know what Mr Wordsworth meant—whether the dose of communalism he wanted to swallow in the year 1942 is the same dose of communalism that is being tried to be administered into the educational system of this province now. It is for Mr. Wordsworth to say whether the imperfection he mentioned in the Bill introduced in 1940 has been perfected and the dose of communalism reduced or it is an increased dose He said: "May we not then be courageous enough to swallow a dose of communalism without letting it impair our belief that life has many better things than communal formulæ? Let us take what we can get and do our best to improve it." Then he said: "I hope that in the Select Committee we may do certain things. We may reduce officialism." This Mr. Wordsworth said in advancing arguments for a reference to the Select Committee. "We may smooth corners in communalism We may give the public, through this Legislature and by other means, a larger share in the work of controlling education." Sir, in the year 1942, Mr. Wordsworth also spoke in the same strain. He said——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not necessary Give only the substance. That is enough.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In the year 1942 Mr. Wordsworth said: "We have no doubt that there are certain imperfections in it, but these imperfections can be dealt with by the Select Committee and by the House afterwards." .... In any Bill drafted with ability we must find the opportunity of improving our present situation, and it should be our object to devote our abilities only to that."

Sir, I will finish by quoting Mr. Syed Abdul Majid and Mr. Fazlur Rahman from what they said in the year 1942. The contention of the Government party and especially the members of the League party is this that Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and others belonging to Caste Hindu groups who have got vested interests somewhere are trying to oppose even the formation of a Secondary Education Board. Sir, that this is not true will be proved when one notices how Mr. Rahman commenced his speech. He said: "Let me tell this House that Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee is reported to be the author of the Bill. A different draft was placed before the Cabinet and I understand that the hand of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee

has given the present shape to the Bill. ....In this Bill also the shares of the various communities to the representation on the Board have been specified. May I ask, Sir, in what way, in what respect is the present Bill different from the previous one?" If Mr. Fazlur Rahman contended in the year 1942 that there was no difference between the 1940 and 1942 Bills, what earthly reason can there be not to go on with the agreed Bill which averts disaster, disruption, controversy and brings about unity and peace in this province? Mr. Syed Abdul Majid said: "Not only that, provision has also been made for an Islamic Secondary Education Committee and a Hindu Secondary Education Committee which was quite unknown in the former Bill. Although provision for communal representation was made in the former Bill, yet it was not so communal as the present Bill and on that score several speakers from the Congress side condemned the Bill with all the vehemence they were capable of in the course of their speeches yesterday." So when we say that this Bill is a communal Bill we get support from Mr. Majid who styled the Bill of 1942 as a communal Bill. Mr. Majid concluded by saying: "There should be no hurry to pass the Bill. Let it go to the public once more and that for a short time and let us see what verdict they pass on it." Why has Mr. Majid changed his attitude now considerably and all on a sudden? The verdict of the public has been given not on the contents of the Bill but on the fact that there is necessity for reorganisation of secondary education in this province and for the formation of the Board As regards details of the Bill, the public has certainly been taken by surprise by the introduction of quite a new Bill from the 1942 Bill.

There may be reasons for distrust; there may be reasons for Muslim members thinking that in the hands of Hindus education of Muslim boys will not be safe. But has there been any provision made in the Bill by which equal facilities to all sections of Hindus and Muslims, poor or rich, have been guaranteed? If you had done so this imaginary distrust, this imaginary fear or apprehension would have certainly vanished You have not done so. You are only quarrelling over the skeleton.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: You are not going into the spirit or merit of the Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up. You had occasion to speak before. You have spoken practically twice and I expect that you would be able to finish soon.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: The motions are different, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite understand. It is no use arguing.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In that case, I have to finish my speech. I would appeal to members opposite to make up their minds to refer this Bill to a Select Committee, so that we can come to an agreement and go to our constituencies with very good feeling that will not only add to the advancement of learning of the people of this province but will also strengthen the movement for the establishment of freedom in this country.

With these words, I commend my motion for acceptance of the House.

Mr. PUSPAJIT BARMA: Sir, I beg to move by way of amendment that the Secondary Education Bill, 1944, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge of Education Department,
(2) Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq,
(3) Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad,
(4) Dr. Sanaullah,
(5) Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy,

(6) Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu,
(7) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee,
(8) Mr. Upendra Nath Barman, and
(9) Mr. Puspajit Barma (the mover),

with instructions to submit their report by the 30th of June, 1944, and that the quorum of the Select Committee be fixed, with your permission, at five.

The long expected, the long desired and highly controversial Bengal Secondary Education Bill has at last come before the House for consideration and passing. The Bill, if it is passed by the House, will be enacted as law.

The objects and reasons of this Bill are to regulate and develop and improve in a proper way the system of secondary education of the province according to "planned scheme" as there is now no such scheme which can direct the secondary education of the province in a proper way for the good of the people. Sir, the desire of the Hon'ble Minister is no doubt sincere and honest. I welcome the sincerity and honesty of his intention for the good education of the people of the province. But, Sir, when I read the Bill I found that the Hon'ble Minister in drafting the Bill could not give more attention to the objects and reasons of the Bill for which it has been introduced in this House He devoted more of his valuable time in constituting the Board and in allocating seats amongst different communities than to formulating schemes for the improvement of education.

Sir, the Bill is based on fundamentally unsound principles principles not academic and not intended to serve the best educational interests of the major portion of the people of the country.

Sir, the Bill is not prompted by any genuine desire for improvement and development of secondary education but to control and restrict the existing facilities of secondary education of the province. This Bill, if it is enacted, will restrict education instead of spreading it amongst the poorer masses of the province A large number of poor people will be sufferers by reason of this Bill.

Sir, I shall boldly say that the two main objects of the Bill are to communalise education and to officialise the secondary education of the province to get direct and indirect control over education by Government. The Bill provides one Board, one Executive Council and many committees. Over and above these, there are some other Committees of different communities to advise the Board regarding education according to their own culture and traditions.

Sir, the Board as proposed in the Bill is the final authority to guide and regulate secondary education of the province. Nineteen members out of 53 who will be represented in the Board in their various capacities rather than by election will practically control the Board. They will officialise education. So, Sir, the Board as proposed in the Bill will not be autonomous. I shall now come to the highly controversial point of communal representation as proposed in this Bill.

Sir, some people are of opinion that the communal representation provided in the Bill will crush the culture and tradition of the minority community of the Province, but I hold a different view. In my opinion, the communal representation as proposed in the Bill is neither to achieve culture and tradition of one community or to crush the culture and tradition of the other community, but to get control in education through the Board in different educational institutions of the Province. Sir, I do not oppose communal representation for various reasons, but what is most objectionable, in my opinion, is the system or the method or the process of election as proposed in the Bill. Sir, I oppose separate electorate. Separate electorate as provided in the Bill is really harmful to human society as a whole. This system of election damages the very spirit of unity among the political communities of the Province; it makes the difference wider and wider, and

ultimately brings enmity among the different political communities of this Province. Sir, it may also lead to communal disturbances. Instances of this kind are not unavailable in the mofussil. Sir, I prefer joint electorate system with reservation of seats for all political communities of the Province. I firmly believe that joint electorate system with reservation of seats for all political communities in various Committees of the Board will bring unity and goodwill among the different political communities of the Province. Sir, by this system of election, I mean joint electorate for all political communities, the qualitative and quantitative representation will be made. The real object of the Bill will not be hampered. It will bring harmony in education and will help to achieve the national aspiration of the country ultimately.

Sir, the Bill has provided communal representation, but communal representation has not even been adequately made in case of Scheduled Caste Hindus in the Board and in the different Committees proposed in the Bill. Out of the 53 members of the Board excluding the ex-officio member, we get minimum six representation, and if we consider the total number of the Board we get minimum seven representation whereas in the Bill we have got only 5 representation in the former case and 6 representation in the latter case.

Sir, out of 21 members of the Examination Committee we have got only one representation on an ex-officio capacity, whereas we can claim at least two. Out of ten elected members of the said Committee no provision has been made for the Scheduled Castes representation by election. Sir, out of ten elected members we can claim minimum one.

Then I come to the Girls' Secondary Education Committee We have not been provided with a single seat there. Scheduled Caste graduates and post-graduate women are not unavailable nowadays. Why should the Scheduled Castes remain unrepresented in such a Committee?

Now I come to the Finance Committee. This Committee is one of the most important Committees in the Bill. We have been kept under smoke-screen about this Committee, but we do not like to remain under smoke-screen. We like to see a provision for one Scheduled Caste representation in this Committee. As I have said, the Finance Committee is one of the most important Committees, and I claim Scheduled Caste representation in this Committee, whether our quota allows it or not

Sir, now I come to the most important point which vitally affects the Scheduled Castes education of the Province. No special provision has been made in the Bill for a Special Fund for the advancement of education of the Scheduled Castes of the Province. Sir, what would be the fate of the five lakhs of rupees which our students are now enjoying as scholarships and stipends over and above the scholarships they are enjoying from the General Education Fund of the Province? Sir, we want a clear and a definite provision in the Bill for a substantial sum of money for the advancement of Scheduled Castes education of the Province which we legitimately claim by the Poona Pact and which is an integral part of the Government of India Act, 1935.

Mr. SPEAKER: The motions relating to circulation as well as reference to Select Committee are all now open to discussion.

Babu NARENDRA NARAYAN CHAKRABARTY: আমিই বোধ হয় প্রথম তথাকথিত বর্ণ হিন্দু, যে এই শিক্ষাবিল সমর্থন করতে দাঁড়িয়েছে। বর্ণ হিন্দু বলে নিজেকে পরিচিত করতে আমি ঘৃণা বোধ করি; কিন্তু উপায়হীনতার নির্ম্মম চাপে অনেক কিছুই সহ্য করতে হয়—এটাকেও মেনে না নিয়ে উপায় নেই।

গত কয়েক দিনের আলোচনা—বিশেষ ক'রে আমার কংগ্রেস-দলভুক্ত সহতীর্থ বন্ধুদের বক্তৃতা একান্ত মনোযোগের সঙ্গে শুনবার চেষ্টা করেছি। শুধু শুনেছি তাই নয়, শুনবার আগে ভেবেছিলাম, হয়তো অনেক মূল্যবান কথা, যুক্তি এবং তথ্য এদের কাছ থেকে জানবারও সুযোগ

পাব। কিন্তু দুঃখের হলেও একথা সত্য যে, আমাকে নিরাশ হতে হয়েছে। আমার মহামান্য নেতা শরৎচন্দ্র যেদিন থেকে তাঁর সাহায্য থেকে এদের বঞ্চিত করেছেন, সেদিন থেকে শুধু এরা রাজনৈতিক চেতনা, উপলব্ধি ও বিশ্লেষণ বুদ্ধিই হারিয়েছেন তা নয়,—অতি সাধারণ এবং একান্ত বাস্তব বিচারশক্তিরও এদের অভাব ঘটেছে। একথা আলোচনা করা যদিও অসঙ্গত নয়, তবুও অবান্তর। আজকের আলোচনা বিষয়েই আমি অবতারণা করতে চাই।

সর্ব্বপ্রথমে আমি বিরুদ্ধপক্ষীয় যুক্তিগুলির উল্লেখ করবো। গত কয়েক দিনের আলোচনার সময়ে আলোচ্য বিলের বিরোধীরা বর্ত্তমান বিলের দোষ ত্রুটি দেখাতে যেয়ে বলেছেন যে,

১। পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন পদ্ধতি এই বিলের প্রথম ও বিশেষ মারাত্মক ত্রুটি;

২। হিন্দু ও মুসলমানের জন্য পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন মেনে নিয়েও কেউ কেউ বলেছেন যে, হিন্দুদের মধ্যে তপশীলভুক্ত শ্রেণীর জন্য পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন অত্যধিক দোষাবহ;

৩। বিলের সমগ্র লক্ষ্য জাতীয়তা বিরোধী;

৪। এ বিল দ্বারা শিক্ষার সম্পূর্ণ অবনতি ঘটবে,

৫। হিন্দুর অর্থে ও ব্যবস্থায় বর্ত্তমান শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান গড়ে উঠেছে, সংখ্যাধিক হিন্দু ছাত্রদের দেওয়া অর্থেই বিশেষ ক'রে শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলি বেঁচে আছে—অতএব হিন্দুর প্রাধান্য অত্যন্ত স্বাভাবিক, ইত্যাদি;

৬। এই বিলের অন্তর্নিহিত উদ্দেশ্য সরকারী প্রভাব কায়েম করা;

৭। এ বিল রাজনৈতিক বুদ্ধি প্রসূত।

এ ছাড়া আর যে-সব কথা বিলের বিরুদ্ধে বলা হয়েছে, যেমন এই বিল দ্বারা "ঢাকা পরিবারের" প্রভাব বাড়াবার ইচ্ছা প্রভৃতি যুক্তি নয়, ওগুলো গাল। গালের পরিবর্তে গালই দেওয়া যায়, যুক্তি দেখানো চলে না। কাজেই ওপথে আমি যাব না, হয়তো যাবার মত রুচি ও সামর্থ্য আমার নেই।

বিরুদ্ধ পক্ষের উত্থাপিত যুক্তিগুলি একে একে খণ্ডন করবার আমি চেষ্টা করবো।

১। পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন: এই প্রসঙ্গে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের একটু অতীত আলোচনা করা দরকার। অনেক দিনের কথা আজ আর বলব না। ১৯৪০ সাল থেকেই আরম্ভ করবো। কেউ কেউ বলেছেন যে, ১৯৪০ সালের বিলে যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা স্বীকৃত হয়েছিল। ও কথাটা মোটেই সত্য নয়। যারা একথা বলেছেন হয় তাঁরা ১৯৪০এর বিল চোখে দেখেন নি, শুধু কানে শুনেছেন; আর না হয়, ইচ্ছা করেই সত্যকে করেছেন বিকৃত। ১৯৪০ এবং ১৯৪২ সালের বিলে নির্ব্বাচন প্রসঙ্গ কৌশলে এড়িয়ে যাওয়া হয়েছিল। সেদিন বিলের স্রষ্টারা যুক্ত বা পৃথক, কোনটার কথাই বলেন নি; বিরোধীদলের বাধাকে ক্ষীণ ও দুর্ব্বল করবার জন্যই যে এ কৌশল অবলম্বন করা হয়েছিল, তাতে বিন্দুমাত্রও সন্দেহের অবকাশ নেই। আজকে হলেও বুঝতাম, কিন্তু সেদিনের মৌ: ফজলুল হক দিন রাত গান্ধী-জহরলালকে পকেটে পুরে রাখতেন। মোস্লেম বিপন্ন, এ ধ্বনি সেদিন তাঁর কণ্ঠেই সর্ব্বপ্রথম ভাষা পেয়েছিল, কংগ্রেস মন্ত্রির আমলে সমস্ত ভারতবর্ষে হিন্দুরা মুসলমানের উপর অমানুষিক অত্যাচার করেছে ব'লে তিনিই সেদিন কংগ্রেসকে দ্বন্দ্বযুদ্ধে আহ্বান করেছিলেন; এহেন মৌ: ফজলুল হক দেশ, জাতি বা হিন্দুপ্রীতিতে বিগলিত হ'য়ে নিশ্চয়ই যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচনের জন্য সেদিন ব্যাকুল হ'য়ে ওঠেন নি।

বিল পাশ হবার পর নিয়ম প্রণালী মারফৎ নির্ব্বাচনের প্রকৃতি নির্দ্ধারিত হবে (Will be decided in the prescribed manner of the rules—) এই ছিল সেদিনের এবং ১৯৪২ সালের প্রত্যক্ষ ঘোষণা; কিন্তু ভেতরকার কথা যাঁরা সেদিন জানতে পেরেছিলেন, তাঁরা জানেন। কোন রকমে বিলটা পাশ করিয়ে নিয়ে নিজেদের ইচ্ছা মত রূপ দেওয়া হবে, এইটেই ছিল মনোভাব।

সেদিন কি উদ্দেশ্য ছিল, সেইটাই আজকের বিচার্য্য ক্ষেত্রে বড় কথা নয়। আজকের আলোচনা ক্ষেত্রে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা সমর্থন যোগ্য কি না, সেইটাই বিচার্য্য। রাজনীতি, সমাজনীতি বা দেশের প্রতি বিন্দুমাত্রও শুভবুদ্ধি যে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা সমর্থন করে না, একথা বেশী বাড়িয়ে বলবার মত কথা নয়। একথা সর্ব্বজন স্বীকৃত। সংসারে অনেক কিছুই হওয়া উচিত, কিন্তু তা কি হয়? তা যদি হ'তো একই মায়ের পেটের ভাই ভাইএর সঙ্গে পৃথক হতো না,—হিন্দু হিন্দুকে বলতো না অস্পৃশ্য,—সুভাষ-সেনগুপ্তে ঝগড়া হ'তো না,—দেশবন্ধু কংগ্রেস ছেড়ে স্বরাজ্যদল গড়ে তুলতেন না,—বাংলায় মুকুটহীন সম্রাট শরৎচন্দ্র কংগ্রেস থেকে বিতাড়িত হতেন না।

যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন নিশ্চয়ই ভাল কিন্তু স্বাধীনতা যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচনের চাইতেও ভাল। সেই স্বাধীনতা আজো আমরা সম্ভবপর ক'রে তুলতে পারলাম না কেন?

যে দেশ সমগ্রভাবে শাসিত হয় মুখ্যত পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের সহায়তায় সেখানকার অংশ যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচনে শাসিত হবে,—এ যুক্তি বিচার সহ নয়। প্রকৃত পক্ষে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল মোটেই স্বতন্ত্র বিল নয়। এটা ১৯৩৫ সালের ভারত শাসন আইনের পরিণাম Consequential bill, খৃষ্টান ও ইউরোপীয় শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে স্বতন্ত্র ব্যবস্থার অধিকার এর আগেই আমরা স্বীকার করে নিয়েছি; শুধু তাই নয়, সেদিন যে সম্বন্ধে নীরব থেকে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের দাবীকে শুধু আমরা দৃঢ় করেছি, তা নয়,—প্রত্যক্ষভাবে সমর্থনও করেছি। এর অনেক পূর্ব্বেই পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের ভিত্তিতে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল আইনে পরিণত হওয়া উচিত ছিল এবং সেইটাই হতো প্রকৃত পারম্পর্য্য। এতোদিন হয় নি ব'লে আজো হবে না,—এটা যুক্তি নয়।

স্মরণাতীত কাল থেকে এক শ্রেণীর হিন্দু বিশেষ এক শ্রেণীর হিন্দুর পাদোদক পবিত্র জেনে শুধু মস্তকে ধারণই করতো না—প্রবল বেগে গলাধঃকরণ করে নিজেকে কৃতার্থ জ্ঞান তো করতোই, সঙ্গে সঙ্গে পাদোদক পানের অব্যবহিত পরই আকাশের দিকে চেয়ে লক্ষ্যও করতো যে সত্যি তার জন্যে পুষ্পক রথ নেমে আসছে কিনা। পাদোদক পান এবং তার এই পরম প্রতিক্ষার কোনটাই সেদিন মিথ্যা ছিল না,—কিন্তু চিরদিনই তা সত্যি থাকবে, এ ভরসাও তো ছিল না। তেমনি এতদিন মুছলমান বা অবনত শ্রেণীর হিন্দুরা পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন চাননি—অতএব আজ চাওয়া অন্যায় হবে,—এমন যুক্তির দ্বারা বৃত্তি পাওয়া যায়,—কিন্তু জাতির মুক্তি সহজসাধ্য হয়ে ওঠে না।

পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনে জাতি দুর্ব্বল হয়ে পড়ে একথা অবশ্য স্বীকার্য্য কিন্তু পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের ফলেই হিন্দু মুসলমানের মধ্যে সংঘর্ষ সম্ভবপর হয়েছে,—এটা অত্যুক্তি তো বটেই মিথ্যাও।

এ্যামেরিকার সিভিল ওয়ার কেন হলো, একথা না হয় ছেড়েই দিলাম; যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন সত্ত্বেও আয়র্ল্যাণ্ডে ক্যাথলিক আর প্রটেষ্টাণ্ট অমন করে মারামারি করল কেন? জার্ম্মাণীর ফ্যাসিষ্ট আর কম্যুনিষ্টরা উন্মাদের মতো হত্যার আনন্দে মেতে উঠলো কেন,—ফরাসীর ভাঙ্গন ধরলো কেন? রিপাব্লিক স্পেন অসংখ্য দলে বিভক্ত হয়ে পরদেশীর সাহায্যে ফ্রাঙ্কোকে কেন বিলিয়ে দিল নিজেদের স্বার্থ ও দেশের প্রভুত্ব? ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের ফলে হলো দাঙ্গা, একথা মেনে নিলে সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই এ প্রশ্ন আসে যে, কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের যুক্তনির্ব্বাচন সত্ত্বেও ১৯২৬ সালে কলকাতায় দাঙ্গা হলো কেন? আর কর্পোরেশনে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা প্রবর্ত্তিত হওয়া সত্ত্বেও আজ কলকাতায় দাঙ্গা হয় না কেন?

হিন্দু মুসলমানে কেন দাঙ্গা হয়, কেন হিন্দুর রক্তের প্রতি মুসলমানের এই উগ্র আকর্ষণ আর মুসলমানের অস্তিত্বের প্রতি হিন্দুর এই বিজাতীয় বিদ্বেষ, উহা আলোচনা করবার এটা স্থানও নয়, কালও নয়। শুধু এইটুকু মাত্রই আজ বলবো যে, যে মহাপাপের ফলে আজ শুধু মুসলমানই

নয়, হিন্দুরও একটা অংশ, এবং সে অংশ একটা অতি বৃহৎ অংশ—যে কারণে সেই অংশ আজ হিন্দুর একটা শ্রেণী বিশেষের প্রতি বিদ্বিষ্ট হ'য়ে উঠেছে—ঠিক সেই একই কারণে মুসলমান আর হিন্দুর মধ্যে সংঘর্ষ। আজ যদি বাংলার অধিকাংশ মুসলমান একথা জিজ্ঞেস করে

"কেন তবে
আমারে ফেলিয়া দিলে দূরে অগৌরবে
কুলশীল মানহীন মাতৃ নেত্রহীন
অনাথা অজ্ঞাত বিশ্বে। কেন চিরদিন
ভাসাইয়া দিলে মোরে অবজ্ঞার স্রোতে,
কেন দিলে নির্ব্বাসন ভ্রাতৃকুল হতে।
রাখিলে বিচ্ছিন্ন ক'রে অর্জ্জুনে আমারে।
তাই শিশুকাল হ'তে টানিছে দোঁহারে
নিগূঢ় অদৃশ্য পাশ হিংসার আকারে
দুর্নিবার আকর্ষণে। কেন নিরুত্তর।
লজ্জা তব ভেদ করি' অন্ধকার স্তর
পরশ করিছে মোর সর্ব্বাঙ্গ নীরবে,
মুদিয়া দিতেছে চক্ষু। থাক্ থাক্ তবে।
কহিয়ো না, কেন তুমি ত্যজিলে আমারে।
বিধির প্রথম দান এ বিশ্ব সংসারে
মাতৃস্নেহ, কেন সেই দেবতার ধন
আপন সন্তান হতে করিলে হরণ
সে কথার দিও না উত্তর। কহ মোরে,
আজি কেন ফিরাইতে আসিয়াছ ক্রোড়ে।"

ভারতবর্ষ যদি আজ এই হারানো সন্তান ফিরে পেতে চায়, তাকে পেতে হবে অনুতাপের তপ্ত অশ্রু ফেলেই,—প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতার আস্ফালনের দ্বারা নয়। তাকে মাতা কুন্তির মতই বলতে হবে—

ত্যাগ করেছিনু তোরে
সেই অভিশাপে, পঞ্চপুত্র বক্ষে ক'রে
তবু মোর চিত্ত পুত্রহীন, তবু হায়
তোরি লাগি বিশ্ব মাঝে বাহু মোর ধায়
খুঁজিয়া বেড়ায় তোরে। বঞ্চিত যে ছেলে
তারি তরে চিত্ত মোর দীপ্ত দীপ জ্বেলে
আপনারে দগ্ধ করি' করিছে আরতি
বিশ্ব-দেবতার।" আমি আজ ভাগ্যবতী,
পেয়েছি তোমার দেখা। যবে মুখে তোর
একটি ফুটেনি বাণী, তখন কঠোর
অপরাধ করিয়াছি। বৎস, সেই মুখে
ক্ষমা কর কুমাতায়। সেই ক্ষমা, বুকে
ভর্ৎসনার চেয়ে তেজে জ্বালুক অনল
পাপ দগ্ধ করে মোরে করুক নির্ম্মল।"

আমি জানি, আজ যদি তথাকথিত তপশীল জাতি হিন্দু সমাজের ভেতর থেকে বেরিয়ে যায়, হিন্দুর সে ক্ষতি চিরদিনের মত অপূরণীয়ই থেকে যাবে। গোটা একটা শতাব্দী ধ'রে

হিন্দু-চিন্তা নায়কেরা একথা শুধু চিন্তা করেছেন, তা নয়, ধ্যান করেছেন। কিন্তু নির্ব্বোধ হিন্দু সমাজ একথা ভাবতে চায় নি, ভাবে নি। হিন্দুর আজ রাজ্য নেই, শক্তি নেই, সংহতি নেই,—তবু তার অত্যাচার আর অবিচার করবার মনোভাব ও সামর্থ্য সে হারায় নি। যারা আজ পর্য্যন্ত যে সমাজকে ধোপা-নাপিত বেহারার ব্যবস্থা করতে পারল না,—যার ছায়া আজো দেহ-মনকে অপবিত্র করে তোলে,—তারা যদি আজ অবিশ্বাসী হ'য়ে নিজেদের ব্যবস্থা নিজেরাই ক'রে নিতে চায়,—এর ভেতর অস্বাভাবিকতাও কিছু নেই,—আর ইহা অন্যায়ও হতে পারে না। দীর্ঘ দিন,—অতি দীর্ঘ দিন এই মৌন-মূক সর্ব্বহারার দল একটা মিথ্যা ও প্রচণ্ড আশায় মুগ্ধ হয়ে অপেক্ষা করেছে—আজ তাদের সে বিশ্বাস ভেঙ্গে গেছে—গেছে শিথিল হ'য়ে তাদের নির্ভরতা। কেন গেল, কেন এমন হলো,—এ প্রশ্ন আজ ঐ অনাদৃত দুর্গতদের কাছে ক'রে লাভ নেই; এ প্রশ্ন করতে হবে তাদের কাছে—যারা অপহরণ করেছে এদের পরিপূর্ণ বিশ্বাস, এদের অকৃপণ নির্ভরতা, এদের নির্ম্মল মোহমুগ্ধ প্রাণশক্তি। ঋষির ধ্যানগর্ভ বাণী একদিন পরুষকণ্ঠে মাতিয়ে শুনিয়েছিল,—

"রে মোর দুর্ভাগা দেশ যাদের করেছ অপমান,
অপমানে হ'তে হবে তাদের সমান।"

সেদিন মদমত্তের দল একথা উপেক্ষা ভরেই পরিহার করেছিল। কিন্তু আজ? আজ সত্যই—

"আসিছে নামিয়া ন্যায়ের দণ্ড
রৌদ্র দীপ্ত মূর্ত্তিমান।"

আজকের এই প্রতিবাদ অভিশাপগ্রস্থ সেই মহাপাপের বিকৃত বিলাপ। পূর্ব্বকৃত অপরাধের স্বীকারোক্তি,—দুর্ব্বলতার ক্লেদাক্ত মর্ম্মদাহ। তাই আজকের প্রতিবাদের ভেতর দম্ভ আছে,—প্রাণ নেই; কটূক্তি আছে,—মুক্তি নেই; আড়ম্বর আছে কিন্তু বীর্য্য নেই।

জাতীয়তা কাকে বলে এ তত্ত্বের অবতারণা না ক'রেও বলা যেতে পারে যে এতোদিন যদি এতোকিছু ক'রেও জাতীয়তা না যেয়ে থাকে,—এই সামান্য শিক্ষা বিলে জাতীয়তা যাবে না। প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা বিলে জাতীয়তা যায় নি, মাধ্যমিক এবং ভবিষ্যতের উচচ শিক্ষা বিলেও জাতীয়তা যাবে না। যা যাবার অনেক আগেই গেছে। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল বাঙ্গালীকে সাহেব করে নি, তাঁর কণ্ঠ থেকে মাতৃদত্ত ভাষা অপহরণ করে নি, তার নিজের জীর্ণ বস্ত্র কেড়ে নিয়ে কোট প্যাণ্ট নেকটাই ঝুলিয়ে দেয় নি? মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল কি বাঙালীকে আই-বি সেজে বাঙালীর সর্ব্বনাশ করতে প্ররোচিত করেছিল?

বিজাতীয় শাসনতন্ত্রে যাদের অরুচি নেই, বিজাতীয় শিক্ষার যারা ধারক ও বাহক, বিজাতীয় ভাষার অবাধ অধিকারে যারা পরম গর্ব্বিত,—ভাগ্যচক্রে তাদের মুখ থেকেই আজ জাতীয়তার পরম তত্ত্ব ও তথ্য শিখতে ও বুঝতে হবে। জাতীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট ছাড়া জাতীয় আইন হয় না। ইংরাজের অধীনে থেকে দামাল ছেলে কামাল, কিম্বা ইস্পাতে মোড়া ষ্টালিন জাতীয় শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করেন নি। মাথা নেই, তার মাথা ব্যথা। জাতি নেই, জাতীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট নেই, অথচ জাতীয় শিক্ষাটুকুর প্রতি বিলক্ষণ লোভ আছে। কাঁঠালের গোলায় আমসত্ত হয় না—এই পরম সত্যটুকু মেনে নিলে মহাভারত অশুদ্ধ হয়ে যাবে না। বিজাতীয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট পরিচালিত বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় জাতীয় শিক্ষার কোনদিন ব্যবস্থা করেছেন বা করতে পারেন, একথা আজকের কংগ্রেসী এম-এল-এরা বিশ্বাস করতে পারেন—কিন্তু কোন দিন কোন প্রকৃত কংগ্রেসী একথা বিশ্বাস করে নি। আর তাই যখনই, যে কোন রূপে জাতীয় আন্দোলন দেশের বুকে মাথা খাড়া করে দাঁড়িয়েছে, সর্ব্বাগ্রে এই গোলামখানার মাথায় পড়েছে তার প্রথম ও প্রধান আঘাত।

হিন্দুর অর্থ ও সাহায্যের বলেই বাংলা দেশে শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান ও ব্যবস্থা গড়ে উঠেছে, কাজেই হিন্দু-প্রাধান্য অবশ্য স্বীকার্য্য, এ যুক্তি দেখাতে যেয়ে যে কতখানি বিব্রত হ'তে পারেন—যুক্তিদাতারা তা ভেবে দেখবার অবকাশ পান নি। বর্ত্তমান কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পাঠ্যপুস্তক Benefit of British ruleএ ইংরেজ এ দেশের উপকারার্থে কি কি কাজ করেছে, তার বেশ লম্বা চওড়া ফিরিস্তি আছে। রেল-ষ্টিমার, রাস্তা ও গঙ্গার পুল থেকে আরম্ভ ক'রে, পোষ্টাফিস-টেলিগ্রাম কিছুই বাদ যায় নি; এতো করবার পর ইংরেজের কায়েমী স্বত্ব নেই, এই যদি জাতীয়তার দাবী হ'তে পারে—এর চাইতে অনেক কম করেও হিন্দু কোন্ যুক্তির বলে প্রাধান্য পেতে পারে—এ দাবীর যৌক্তিকতা প্রমাণ করতে আমার জাতীয়তাবাদী বন্ধুদের বিলক্ষণ বেগ পেতে হবে। এর উত্তরে আমার বন্ধু নৈষ্টিক হিন্দু সন্তান পণ্ডিত নরেন্দ্র দাস মহাশয় নিশ্চয় বলে বসবেন যে, ইংরেজের আবার টাকা কোথায়, ইংরেজ সবই করেছে আমাদের টাকা দিয়ে। যদি এ কথার প্রতিধ্বনি ক'রে মুসলমানেরা বলতে চায় যে দানবীর হিন্দুদের বড় বড় দানের অঙ্কটা তাদেরই দেওয়া খাজনা, সুদ, মক্কেলের নজর ও ডাক্তারের দর্শনী থেকে ফেঁপে উঠেছিল, নরেন বাবুর প্রবল বেগে স-শিখা-মস্তক আলোড়ন করা ছাড়া গত্যন্তর থাকবে না।

আলোচ্য মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলে সরকারী প্রভাব বাড়বে,—এও নাকি এ বিলের অন্যতম ত্রুটি। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলকে সমর্থন করবার যদি কোন কোন কারণ থাকে, তার মধ্যে সব চাইতে বড় কারণই হচ্ছে এই যে মুষ্টিমেয় কাঞ্চন-কুলীন (Plutocrats)দের হাত থেকে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা কেড়ে নিয়ে এই সর্ব্বপ্রথম একটা গভর্ণমেণ্ট, সে গভর্ণমেণ্ট যত ত্রুটিপূর্ণ হোক, যত দুর্ব্বল হোক, যত অপদার্থই হোক, তবু দেশের একটা শাসন ব্যবস্থার অধীনে আনবার চেষ্টা হলো। ব্যক্তি বিশেষ,—গুটি কয়েক ব্যক্তি সে বা তারা যত ভাল হোক, যতই কেন-না শক্তিশালী হোক,—তারা ব্যষ্টিই,—সমষ্টি নয়। গভর্ণমেণ্ট একটা জাতির সমষ্টিগত রূপ। সে যে কোন গভর্ণমেণ্টই হোক-না-কেন। আজকের বিজাতীয় গভর্ণমেণ্টও সমগ্র জাতির মানস-রূপ। জাতি আজ বিজাতীয় বলেই, এ গভর্ণমেণ্ট চলছে, টিকে আছে। জাত যেদিন নিজের সম্বিৎ ফিরে পাবে, যেদিন স্বরূপ জানতে পারবে—সেদিন স্বরাজ পাবার জন্য ইংরেজের দরবারে হাজিরা দিতে হবে না।

আজো না-আসা সেদিনের জন্য এবং দায়ে পড়ে সহ্য করা আজকের জন্যও সমভাবেই একথা প্রযোজ্য। দেশের শাসনব্যবস্থার আয়ত্তাধীন না হ'য়ে দেশের শিক্ষা চলবে কয়েকজন ব্যক্তির খুসি ও খেয়ালে,—একথা যারা মানে মানুক, আমরা মানবো না। অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা থেকে, ইউনিয়ন বোর্ডটি যদি শাসন ব্যবস্থার অধীনে চলতে পারে—শিক্ষাও চলবে। চলবে না—চালাতেই হবে। ব্যষ্টির খুসি ও খেয়াল চরিতার্থ করবার দিন আজ নেই।

অনাগত স্বাধীনতা ভবিষ্যতের সকল অসম্পূর্ণতা ও ত্রুটি শুধরে নিতে আজ আমাদের আহ্বান জানিয়েছে। যেদিন সে তার অজস্র পরিপূর্ণতা নিয়ে আমাদের মাঝে এসে আবির্ভূত হবে, সেদিন আর আমরা কোন বিল পাশ করতে চাইব না,—আমরা চাইব, সেদিন অভিযান। অশিক্ষা, কুশিক্ষা,—দুষ্টশিক্ষার বিরুদ্ধে অভিযান করতে। তাই শুধু শিক্ষা নয়,—সকল ক্ষেত্রে, সকল ব্যবস্থা, সকল মত ও পথ কেন্দ্রীভূত ক'রে আজ শাসন ব্যবস্থার অধীনে নিয়ে আসতে হবে এবং আজকে বাংলার বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিসভা এ কাজে অগ্রণী হয়েছেন দেখে সর্ব্বাগ্রে আমি আমার অভিনন্দন জানাচ্ছি।

মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থাপকদের মধ্যে কয়েকজন মুসলমান বেড়ে গেলে নাকি শিক্ষার অবনতি হবে; এ হেন যুক্তিও কেউ কেউ দেখিয়েছেন। যে দেশের জন সংখ্যার শতকরা ৫৪ জন মুসলমান, তারা নিজেদের শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার অবনতি ঘটাবার জন্য এতো আড়ম্বর ও ঘটা ক'রে

বিল পাশ করিয়ে নেবে, একথা বলে গম্ভীর মৌলিকতার জন্য পরম আত্মপ্রসাদ কেউ কেউ লাভ করতে পারেন,—কিন্তু একথার পেছনে কোন স্থির বুদ্ধি বা গ্রহণযোগ্য যুক্তি নেই। নিজের ভাল পাগলে বোঝে—আর মুসলমান বুঝবে না, এটা ভাববার মত মূঢ়তা দেখাবার এমন কি প্রয়োজনীয়তা থাকতে পারে? এতোকাল হিন্দুদের হাতে শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা থাকবার ফলে যদি মুসলমানের অমঙ্গল না হয়ে থাকে—এবং প্রত্যেকটি হিন্দুর স্থির ও দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস যে, তা হয়নি,—তাহলে কোন্ যুক্তির বলে তাঁরা প্রমাণ করবেন যে মুসলমানের কয়েকজন সভ্য বেড়ে গেলেই হিন্দুর সর্ব্বনাশ হবে?

দু'শো বছর ইংরেজের অধীনে থেকেও যদি হিন্দু বেঁচে থাকবার প্রাণশক্তি হারিয়ে না থাকে,—সাত শো বছর বিদেশী মুসলমানের গোলামী করেও যদি হিন্দু না মরে গিয়ে থাকে—আজ স্বদেশী ও স্বজাতি দু'চারজন মুসলমানের সংখ্যা বেড়ে গেলেও পৃথিবী রসাতলে যাবে না। শুধু তাই নয়, এক মায়ের পেটের ভাইদের মনান্তর হবার পূর্ব্বে পৃথক থাকবার ব্যবস্থায় যেমন সৌহার্দ্দ্য ও ভ্রাতৃত্বের বন্ধন অটুট থাকে, তেমনি আজকের এই ব্যবস্থা হিন্দু ও মুসলমানের দেশ ও জাতির প্রতি সমস্ত বুদ্ধি, কল্যাণকামনা বাড়াবে ছাড়া কমাবে না।

অন্যায় জেনেও দীর্ঘ দিন ইংরেজের অনেক অবিচার আমরা শুধু নীরবে সহ্য করেছি, তাই নয়, তার সমর্থন করেছি; পরাধীনতা যে জাত এত সহজে এতো দীর্ঘ দিন বিনা প্রতিবাদে সহ্য করতে পেরেছে এবং আজো করছে,—মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল সহ্য করা তার পক্ষে খুব কঠিন হবে না,—অন্ততঃ হওয়া উচিত নয়। জাতিগতা, সরকারী প্রভাব প্রভৃতি অজুহাত দেখানো হয়েছে। প্রকৃত পক্ষে ওগুলো প্রতিবাদের কারণ নয়। সরকারী প্রভাব থাক,—এ প্রস্তাব সকল দল ও মতের সম্মিলিত প্রস্তাব। গভর্ণমেণ্টের অধীনে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা হোক, ১৯৪০ সাল থেকে একথার কেউ প্রতিবাদ করে নি। গভর্ণমেণ্টের অধীনে হউক কিন্তু নাজেমুদ্দীন গভর্ণমেণ্টের অধীনে যেন না হয়। ১৯৪০ সালে নাজেমুদ্দীনের পরিবর্তে প্রতিবাদ উঠেছিল ফজলুল হক গভর্ণমেণ্টের বিরুদ্ধে। অর্থাৎ ইংরেজের গোলামী সহ্য হয় কিন্তু নাজেম-তমিজুদ্দিন-ফজলুল হকের বন্ধুত্ব সহ্য হয় না। এরা আরউইন সাহেবের পিঠ চাপড়ানো পাকে করেন গর্ব্ব অনুভব—কিন্তু দেশবাসী নাজেমুদ্দীন এদের কাছে অস্পৃশ্য।

এই মনোভাবই বাংলার সর্ব্বনাশ সাধন করেছে যুগে যুগে এবং আজো করছে। এই মনোভাবই গত এক বৎসর ধরে ঘাটে মাঠে বাটে প্রচার করছে যে বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিসভা অপেক্ষা ৯৩ ধারা-কাম্য অর্থাৎ নাজেমুদ্দীন-তুলসী গোস্বামী অপেক্ষা যে কোন টম-ডিক-হ্যারী ভাল। বাংলার এই বিকৃত ও গলিত স্বাদেশিকতা ও জাতিগতাই আজ কংগ্রেসকে হীনবল করে হিন্দু-সভার নেতা শ্যামাপ্রসাদকে করেছে বাংলার নেতা। জাতিকে করেছে দ্বিধা-বিভক্ত, মিথ্যা ও মুখোস পরা হিন্দুয়ানীর গায়ে জড়িয়ে দিয়েছে খদ্দরের পোষাকী ন্যাসন্যালিজম্।

কংগ্রেস দলের একজন নেতা শ্রীযুক্ত কিরণ শঙ্কর রায় সেদিন বক্তৃতা প্রসঙ্গে বলেছেন যে, আলোচ্য বিল রাজনৈতিক বিল। শ্রীযুক্ত রায় মহাশয় নিশ্চয়ই একথা বলবার পর নিজের মৌলিকত্বায় পরম পুলকিত হয়েছিলেন কিন্তু সবিনয়ে আজ আমি শ্রীযুক্ত রায় মহাশয়কে জিজ্ঞেস করবো—জাতীয় শিক্ষা পরিষদের কথা হয় তো তাঁর জানা নাও থাকতে পারে, কিন্তু সর্ব্ব-বিদ্যায়তনের কথা কি তিনি বিস্মৃত হয়েছেন? বিদ্যা-মন্দির পরিকল্পনা কি ছিল নিছক বাণীর পূজা?

শিক্ষা আর রাজনীতির সম্বন্ধ যে অঙ্গাঙ্গী, ওতপ্রোত, অবিচ্ছিন্ন—একথা কি আজ শ্রীযুত রায় মহাশয়ের নিকট বিশ্লেষণ করতে হবে? ইংরেজ যেদিন ইংরেজী শিক্ষা এদেশে প্রবর্ত্তন করতে এগিয়ে এলো, তার সেদিনের সেই শুভর পিছনে কি একান্ত ও নিস্পৃহ বিদ্যা ও শিক্ষার প্রতি অহেতুক মমতাই ভেসে উঠেছিল? নিজের রাজনৈতিক স্বার্থবুদ্ধি কি কিছুই ছিল না?

প্রাচীন ইতিহাসের অধ্যাপক শ্রীযুক্ত রায় মহাশয় তাঁর গবেষণার রহস্যময় লোক থেকে যদি বর্তমানের বাস্তব ক্ষেত্রে একবার নেমে আসতেন তাহলে তার বুঝতে বিলম্ব হতো না যে শিক্ষার সঙ্গে রাজনীতির সম্বন্ধ কত নিবিড়। আর এই সম্বন্ধ এত নিবিড় বলেই ইংরেজ সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর হাতে গড়া কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রিয় ঐতিহাসিক অধর চন্দ্র মুখার্জি ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাসের ভূমিকায় ইতিহাসের উদ্দেশ্য লিখতে গিয়ে বলেছেন যে ছাত্র-ছাত্রীদের নির্জলা রাজভক্তি গলাধ:করণ করিয়ে দেওয়াই তাঁর পুস্তকের অন্যতম উদ্দেশ্য।

সেদিন মি: অতুল চন্দ্র সেন বক্তৃতা-প্রসঙ্গে বলেছিলেন যে, Bengal unsettled the settled fact ; হাঁ, বাঙলা একদা বৃটিশ গভর্ণমেণ্টের কার্য্যে-পরিণত করা সিদ্ধান্তকে নাকচ করে দিয়েছিল। সেদিনের বাঙলা যে কাজ করেছিল, সেদিনের বাঙালী যা করতে পেরেছিল—আজকের বাঙলা ও বাঙালী তা পারে না, পারবে না। সেদিন বাঙলায় ডা: শ্যামাপ্রসাদ মুখার্জি ছিলেন না। বাঙলায় সেদিন হিন্দু সভার সৃষ্টি হয়নি। বাঙলা সেদিন ছিল অখণ্ড, অটুট, নব-ভাবধারা পরিপূর্ণ।

আজ ডা: শ্যামাপ্রসাদের বাঙলা সাম্প্রদায়িকতার হলাহলে আকণ্ঠ নিমজ্জিত। বাঙলার আজকের তথাকথিত কংগ্রেসীরা মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের প্রতিবাদ সভার অনুষ্ঠানে দেশের আকাশ বাতাস ঝঙ্কৃত করে তুলেছে। অনন্ত ভবিষ্যৎ-সম্ভাবনা-ভরা মহাত্মা গান্ধীর মুক্তি তাদের মন-প্রাণকে স্পর্শ পর্য্যন্ত করতে পারে নি, একটি মুখের কথা খরচ করেও তারা গান্ধীজীকে অভ্যর্থনা জানাবার অবকাশ পেল না। হিন্দু সভার সঙ্গে পাল্লা দিয়ে তারা সাম্প্রদায়িক জাতিয়তার অভিযান চালিয়েছে। এদের কৃতকর্ম্মের ফলে সারা বাংলা জুড়ে যে-কোন মুহূর্ত্তে দাউ দাউ করে আগুন জ্বলে উঠতে পারে; মুসলমান আজ এরা এতোখানি আচ্ছন্ন যে, একথা ভাববার পর্য্যন্ত অবকাশ এদের নেই। আত্মবিস্মৃত হয়েছে সমস্ত জাতি। ওরা জাতির সমগ্র চেতনা অপহরণ করতে বসেছে। আজ আমি কংগ্রেসী বন্ধুদের উদ্দেশ করে বলব—ও পথে জাতির মুক্তি আসবে না; জাতীয়তা ও স্বদেশিকতার নামে এই মিথ্যা সাম্প্রদায়িকতা দিয়ে জাতিকে বিভ্রান্ত করবার পথ পরিষ্কার করা হবে মাত্র।

জাতির কাণে আজ মুক্তির তূর্য্য জাগরণের গান গাইছে। অকাল-নিদ্রা তার ভাঙতে হবে, ভাঙ্গাতে হবে। আজ হিন্দু নয়, মুসলমান নয়, খৃষ্টান নয়,—হিন্দু, মুসলমান, খৃষ্টান, অবনত, উন্নত, অখণ্ড বাঙলার দুয়ারে মুক্তির পাগল-করা আহ্বান এসেছে। আজকে ক্ষুদ্র স্বার্থ, ক্ষুদ্র চিন্তা ভুলে যেয়ে অনাগত কিন্তু আসন্ন আগামীকালকে বরণ করে নেবার জন্য সকলকে প্রস্তুত হতে হবে। তুচ্ছ এর কাছে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল; সর্ব্বস্বের বিনিময়েও আজ হারাণো ভাইকে ফিরে পেতে হবে। যে মুক্তির বিনিময়ে মানুষ "ফাঁসির মঞ্চে গেয়ে যায় জীবনের জয়গান"—তার কাছে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল অতি তুচ্ছ,—অতি নগণ্য আর সব বিচার ও বিবেচনা।

গান্ধীজীর মন নিয়ে আজ এ সমস্যার সমাধান করতে হবে। তাঁর মত বলতে হবে যে, যদি সমবেত হয়ে মুসলমান কিছু দাবী করে,—সে দাবী অগ্রাহ্য করবার সাধ্য কারো নেই।

এই মানসিকতা নিয়েই আজ আমাদের এগিয়ে যেতে হবে। দৃষ্টি আমাদের প্রসারিত করতে হবে,—সীমাহারা দূরে—দূরান্তরে ছড়িয়ে দিতে হবে কল্পনার অজস্র গতি।

ঋষিকবি ব্রাউনিং-এর মতই আজ আমাদের বলতে হবে:

If we draw our circle premature
    Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for the quick return of profit,
    Sure bad is our bargain.

* * * * * * *

That low man aimed at a hundred
    His hundred soon hit,
That high man aimed at a million
    He loses an unit.

বৃহৎ ও মহৎ আকাঙ্খা ও আদর্শ সম্বল করে নবযুগের নূতন জাতির আজ আবির্ভাব হোক্—তার সঙ্গে থাকবে না ছাপ হিন্দুর ও তার সঙ্গে থাকবে না ছাপ মুসলমানের। সমস্ত সত্তা, সমস্ত চেতনা, সমগ্র পরিকল্পনা আচ্ছন্ন করে থাকবে তার একটি মাত্র কামনা, একটি মাত্র আদর্শ, একটি মাত্র লক্ষ্য—মুক্তি, সমগ্র জাতির —দেশের মুক্তি। এই মুক্তি কামনার মধ্যেই ডুবে যাবে সকল ঈর্ষা, সকল হিংসা, সকল পরশ্রীকাতরতা।

Mr. KAMAL KRISHNA ROY ; মাননীয় স্পীকার মহোদয়, আলোচ্য মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলটিকে Select Committeeতে বিদায় করবার উপস্থাপিত সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবের সমর্থনে কিছু বলবার প্রারম্ভে বিলটির বর্তমান স্বরূপের বিশ্লেষণের পর তাকে সকলের সাম্নে ভালভাবে ফুটিয়ে তোলার প্রচেষ্টা অপ্রাসঙ্গিক হবে না বোলে আমি মনে করি। তার বর্তমান স্বরূপ নিয়ে বিলটি প্রথম যেদিন আমাদের সাম্নে উপস্থিত হলো, সেদিন এটাকে দেখে এই কথাই মনে হয়েছিল—

মন্ত্রি অগাধ মগজ সিন্ধু
বারম্বারে সে সাংঘাতিক,
লভিলা তোমায় বঙ্গ মন্ত্রী
শিক্ষা বিল গো মাধ্যমিক।

খুঁজিয়া না পাই মন্ত্রের ভাষা
রচিতে তোমার বন্দনা পাঠ,
বাঁধিব কি সুরে বীণা তন্ত্রীরে
মূর্ত্ত্য করি সে বাগিণীর ঠাট্।

যতনে পরাণ তে-রঙ্গে রাঙান
হিন্দু ইসাই মুসলমানী,
আবরণ-বাসে সাজিয়াছ ভালো
ফুটিয়া উঠেছে অঙ্গ লাবণি।

নেহারি তোমার অভিনব বেশ
অনুপম ঐ গঠন মাধুরী,
মুগ্ধ বঙ্গ স্রষ্টার সাথে
বাখানে তাহার সৃজন চাতুরী।

অতীতে যেমতি মথিতে ক্ষীরোদ
মন্দারে করি মন্থন দাঁড়,
অতল হইতে উঠে উর্ব্বশী
হস্তে লইয়া সুধারই ভাঁড়।

মথিত কি আজি মন্ত্রি-মগজ
বিদেশী শাসন মথন দণ্ডে,
পরিষদ ঘরে হইলা উদয়
লইয়া কক্ষে ভোটের ভাণ্ডে।

চক্ষে বিচুরে না বোঝা চাহনি
বক্ষ সে ভরা নাবলা বাকে,
সেবার ছলিলে মূর্খ অসুরে
এবার বল সে ফাসাবে কাকে?

আসিলে যখন গোধূলি লগনে
দিবসের শেষে কি করিব বল,
আগমনী আর হলো নাকো গাওয়া
বিদায়ী পূরবী গাহিতে হলো।

হবুর সাধের স্বপন কুহেলি
গবুর জ্ঞানের সারাৎসার,
লহগো বিদায়ী শতেক সেলাম
সব সংস্কার নমস্কার।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, বর্ত্তমান আকারের বিলটিতে যা বলা হয়েছে, তার চেয়ে তার না বলার এবং আধো বলার আভাষ ইঙ্গিতই আরো মারাত্মক, আরো ছলনা ভরা। তাই বিলটিকে Select Committeeতে কমিটিতে কাঠামো পরিবর্ত্তন করার জন্য পাঠানোর একান্ত প্রয়োজন। যে বিল আইনে পরিণত হয়ে ভাবী বাংলার কৃষ্টির, ভাবী বাংলার সংস্কৃতির, ভাবী বাংলার ঐতিহ্যের গতি ও স্বরূপ নির্ণয় করবে সেই বিল আইনে পরিণত হবার পূর্ব্বে তাকে তত্বত: ইংরাজীতে যাকে Scientifically বলে, বিচার কোরে দেখা আমাদের প্রত্যেকের প্রয়োজন এবং কর্ত্তব্য এখানে আমরা বলতে, আমাদের সকল সময় স্মরণ রাখা উচিত যে পরিষদ ঘরে আমাদের ব্যক্তিগত কারো কোন সত্যিকারের অস্তিত্ব নাই; নির্দ্দিষ্ট নির্ব্বাচকমণ্ডলীর নির্ব্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিরূপেই আমরা এখানে এসেছি, এবং তাঁদেরই দেওয়া ক্ষমতার অধিকার বলে কোন আইন সম্বন্ধে মতামত প্রকাশ করবার অধিকার আমরা পেয়েছি। বিলটি একটি মামুলী বিল নয় যে সেটি সম্বন্ধে মতামত দেওয়ার ঝক্কি বা দায়িত্ব এত সহজে নেওয়া চলে। যে বিল আইনে পরিণত হলে বাংলার সমাজ জীবনের একটা বিরাট ওলট পালট নিয়ে আসবে, সেই বিলটিকে স্বরূপত: এবং তত্বত: বোঝবার জন্য সময় যে যথেষ্ট পাওয়া যায় নাই সে কথার বিরোধ করতে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়দের বিবেক সায় দিবে না,—যদি সত্যিকারের তাঁদের কোন বিবেক থাকে। তাড়াহুড়ো কোরে ভোটের জোরে বিলটিকে আইনে পরিণত করার চেষ্টার মূলে আর কোন উদ্দেশ্য সিদ্ধ হতে পারে, কিন্তু তার পশ্চাতে যুক্তি নাই। যুক্তির কষ্টিপাথরে ভালভাবে যাচাই না কোরে বিলটিকে আইনে পরিণত করলে বিলটির উদ্দেশ্য যদি শিক্ষার সুসংস্কার হয়, তবে সে উদ্দেশ্য ব্যর্থ হবেই; কারণ বিলটি ব্যর্থতার বীজ নিয়েই ভূমিষ্ঠ হয়েছে। (Hear, hear.)

এরই মধ্যে বাংলার এবং বাংলার বাইরের সর্ব্বজনমান্য যেসব মনীষি এবং শিক্ষাব্রতীরা আলোচ্য মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল সম্বন্ধে তাঁদের সুনিশ্চিত অভিমত প্রকাশ করেছেন, আমরা আশা করেছিলাম, তাঁদের সেই সুপরামর্শের সুযোগ গ্রহণ কোরে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়দের মগজে সুবুদ্ধির উদয় হবে, এবং তাঁরা বিলটিকে বর্ত্তমান আকারে আইনে পরিণত করবার অপচেষ্টা থেকে বিরত হবেন। কিন্তু দেখছি—চোরা না শোনে ধরম কাহিনী—প্রবাদ বাক্যটি সুদৃঢ় সত্যের উপরই প্রতিষ্ঠিত। হিতৈষী ও বরেণ্য শিক্ষাব্রতীদের উপদেশগুলি মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়ের বক্তৃতা বন্যার প্রবল প্রবাহে পরিষদ ঘরের বাইরে ভেসে যেতে পারে (laughter), কিন্তু স্মরণ রাখা উচিত যে পরিষদ ঘরের পরিবেষ্টনীর মধ্যেই সমগ্র বাংলা নিবদ্ধ নয়। (Hear, hear.)

বিলটির নাম দেওয়া হয়েছে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল, উদ্দেশ্য শিক্ষার কর্তৃত্ব, নিয়ন্ত্রণ এবং প্রসার। শিক্ষার নিয়ন্ত্রণ এবং কর্তৃত্ব সম্বন্ধে বিলে বিধানের অন্ত নাই—চলা ফেরা, ওঠা বসার প্রত্যেক পদবিক্ষেপে সরকারী কর্তৃত্বের যাঁতা কল জগদ্দলের মত চেপে বসে আছে। শিক্ষার প্রসারের কিন্তু একমাত্র বিধান হলো ২(১)খ ধারায় মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের সর্ব্বগ্রাসী মারাত্মক

সংস্থা। জুতো সেলাই থেকে চণ্ডীপাঠ পর্য্যন্ত দুনিয়ার বাদ কিছু নাই। সাধারণ শিক্ষা, ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষা, কৃষি, বাণিজ্য, ব্যবসা, চিকিৎসা—চাই কি অন্ধ, মূক ও বধিরের শিক্ষা, জেল ও reformatoryর শিক্ষাও মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার অন্তর্ভুক্ত হয়েছে। শিক্ষার reformation নিয়ে কিছু চিন্তা এবং চেষ্টা করবার পূর্ব্বে সাঙ্গোপাঙ্গসহ মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়গণ একবার যদি Jail Reformatory থেকে ফিরে আসতেন তাহলে বাংলা দেশের জনসাধারণ স্বস্তির নিঃশ্বাস ফেলে বাঁচতো। (Laughter.) মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার বিশ্বগ্রাসী সংস্থার বিরাট গহ্বরে ত দেখছি এই সসাগরা পৃথিবী এবং কল্পিত চতুর্দ্দশ ভুবন ঢুকে পড়েছে কিন্তু তার আর্থিক আয়োজনের ব্যবস্থার দিকে দৃষ্টি দিলেই সরকারের প্রকৃত মতলবটা দিনের আলোর মত সুস্পষ্ট হয়ে পড়ে। বর্ত্তমান আকারে বিলটি দ্বারা শিক্ষার সংস্কার হবে না,—হবে শিক্ষার সংহার। জাতীয়তার পরিপোষক বর্ত্তমান শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার প্রসার এবং বিস্তারের উপর আমলাতন্ত্র সরকারের বিষ নজর পড়েছে। সে শিক্ষার পরিপোষণ, প্রসার এবং বিস্তার বন্ধ করতে না পারলে আমলাতন্ত্র সরকার এবং তার সহায়ক মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর মসনদ অটল রাখা অসম্ভব। সাম্প্রদায়িক স্বার্থরক্ষার ধুয়ার অন্তরালে বিলের এই ঘোর অনিষ্টকর দিকটা একেবারেই চাপা পড়ে গেছে। তাদের কুশাসনের ফলে আমলাতন্ত্র সরকার দেশের মধ্যে একান্ত অপ্রিয় হয়ে পড়েছেন, আবার সেই অপ্রিয়তার চূড়ান্ত অবস্থা এনে দিয়েছে গত বৎসরের তাঁদেরই সৃষ্ট দুর্ভিক্ষ এবং মহামারিতে অগণিত নরনারীর অকাল মৃত্যু এবং সরকারের ঔদাসীন্য এবং অক্ষমতার পরিচয়। আমলাতন্ত্র সরকারের পরিপুষ্ট বর্ত্তমান লীগ মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীও খাদ্য-সঙ্কটের সমাধানে একান্ত অপারগ হওয়ায় মুসলমান সমাজে যথেষ্ট অপ্রীতিভাজন হয়ে আমলাতন্ত্র সরকারের চালবাজীতে ধরা দিয়েছেন। তলিয়ে দেখলে বিলটিতে এক আমলাতন্ত্র সরকার ছাড়া কি হিন্দু, কি মুসলমান কোন সম্প্রদায়ের কোন কল্যাণই সাধিত হবে না। যে শিক্ষার মূলে বাংলার বুকের উপর জাতীয়তা বোধের বিরাট সৌধ গড়ে উঠেছে তাকে ধ্বংস করাই এই বিলের উদ্দেশ্য।

জাতির আশা, জাতির আকাঙ্ক্ষা, জাতির ভরসা, জাতির ভবিষ্যৎ, জাতির স্বপ্ন, জাতির ধ্যান, জাতির নিভৃত সাধনা—মরণমগ্ন বাংলার মরা গাঙে ভরা জীবনের জোর জোয়ার নিয়ে আসা জীবন কাঠি যে জাতীয়তাবোধের উন্মেষণায় উপর নির্ভর করছে বর্ত্তমান আকারের এই শিক্ষা বিলকে জাতির সেই পরম সম্পদ নষ্ট করবার শয়তানি ষড়যন্ত্রের মূর্ত্ত বিগ্রহ বললেও অনুমাত্র অত্যুক্তি বা অন্যায় হবে না। তাই আমরা যাদের মতামতের উপর বিলটির আইনে পরিণত হওয়ার শেষ সিদ্ধান্ত নির্ভর করছে, সেটির বাস্তব স্বরূপ এবং উদ্দেশ্য সম্বন্ধে যদি সময়ে সজাগ এবং সচেতন না হই তবে বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ একান্ত বিপন্ন হবে। আমাদের আজকার অদূরদর্শিতার ফলে দুঃখ দারিদ্র্যভরা পরাধীন বাংলার বিদেশী শাসনের নাগপাশের দুশ্ছেদ্য বন্ধনকে চির অচ্ছেদ্য করে মীরজাফর ও উমিচাঁদের ন্যায় আমরা ভাবী বাংলার চির অভিশাপের কারণ হয়ে থাকব।

কৃষি আয়কর বিলের আলোচনার সময় আমি বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলকে বহু বিল্‌গর্ভা আখ্যা দিয়েছি; বাস্তবক্ষেত্রে দেখা যাচ্ছে এঁরা কোন না কোন একটা বিল প্রসব করতে না পারলে এদের যেন গর্ভকণ্ডুয়ন হয়। বিলের নামে এঁদের উর্ব্বর মস্তিষ্ক থেকে এক একটি যে অকাল কুষ্মাণ্ড প্রসূত হচ্চে (laughter) সেগুলি শুধু বর্ত্তমান নয় ভাবী বাংলাকেও চিরদিনের মত বসিয়ে যাচ্ছে। বর্ত্তমান বিলটা সমর্থনকারী সরকার পক্ষের মাননীয় সদস্যগণ এর গুণ ব্যাখ্যায় পঞ্চমুখ হয়েছেন। তাঁদের বিবেচনায় আমরা নাকি জাতির পরম কল্যাণকর এই বিলটিকে শীঘ্র শীঘ্র আইনে পরিণত হওয়ার পথে বাধার সৃষ্টি করে চলেছি, জানি না, জাতি বলতেই বা তাঁরা কি বোঝেন, আর জাতির কল্যাণ বলতেই বা কি বোঝেন। তবে এইটুকু বুঝি যে

এই বিলটিকে সভাই যদি তাঁরা জাতির কল্যাণকর বলেই মনে করে থাকেন তবে ব্যাধি বিশেষে বিশেষজ্ঞের দ্বারা সত্বর তাঁদের চিকিৎসিত হওয়া প্রয়োজন। (Laughter.) আমরা যারা কংগ্রেস দলভুক্ত তারা মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলকে যুদ্ধের কিম্বা তজ্জনিত দেশের বর্ত্তমান পারিপার্শ্বিক প্রতিকূল অবস্থার কথা তুলে ঠেকিয়ে রাখতে চাই না। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল ত দূরের কথা, আমরা বিশ্বাস করি যে এ অবস্থায় কংগ্রেস স্বাধীন ভারতের শাসনতন্ত্র রচনা করবার দায়িত্ব নিতে পারে; কিন্তু প্রয়োজন—সমাজ জীবনের যে পরিবর্ত্তন আনার চেষ্টা চলচে সেই চেষ্টার মূলে থাকবে জাতির জীবন স্পন্দনের সহিত সত্যিকারের যোগাযোগ। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয়কে জিজ্ঞাসা করি, জাতীয় জীবনের কোন কল্যাণ কামনার অনুপ্রেরণায় অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে তিনি এই বিলটিকে আইনে পরিণত করবার জন্য এত উদগ্রীব হয়েছেন? কে ক'বার সন্ধ্যা করবে, আর কে ক'বার নামাজ পড়বে—শিক্ষা-বোর্ডের সদস্যদের কয়জন হিন্দু হবে, আর কয়জনই বা মুসলমান হবে, তার ভাগ বাটোয়ারা নিয়ে লাঠালাঠি মাথা ফাটাফাটি—ইহাই কি জাতির সমস্যা? না জাতির সমস্যা—তার হাতে পায়ে গর্দ্দানে বাধা পরাধীনতার সুদৃঢ় শৃঙ্খলটাকে প্রচণ্ড মোচড় দেবার শক্তি মন্ত্রের সন্ধান দিবে কে বা কিসে—তার বুকের উপর শতাব্দীর বিদেশী শাসনের পুঞ্জীভূত লাঞ্ছনা-বেদনার স্তূপীকৃত আঘাত অপমানের গুরু গিরি গোবর্দ্ধনকে তুলে ধরে বিশ্বের দরবারে বাঁচবার অধিকারে সুপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করবে কোন সে কিশোর? তার বিদেশী ধনিক বণিক কপিল-শাপে অভিশপ্ত কোটি কোটি আত্মীয়-স্বজনের উদ্ধারকল্পে আকুল আগ্রহে, ব্যাকুল চিত্তে, দুর্জয় সাহসে, দুস্কর তপস্যায় বাধার হিমালয় ভেদ কোরে জাতির মুক্তি গঙ্গার উন্মুক্ত উৎসধারার উত্তাল তরঙ্গের অবিরাম আঘাতে মদমত্ত ক্ষমতাদৃপ্ত আমলাতান্ত্রিক সরকারী ঐরাবৎকে ভাসিয়ে দেবার মহাব্রতে ব্রতী হবে আজ কোন সে ভগীরথ, তার সমাজ জীবনের অক্ষমতার, দুর্ব্বলতার, অজ্ঞতা মূঢ়তার কুসংস্কার-ভণ্ডামির সঞ্চিত ক্লেদগ্লানির নির্দ্দয় দলন-মর্দ্দনে নিঃশেষে নির্গলিত শেষ কালকূট কণ্ঠে ধারণ কোরে নীলকণ্ঠ হয়ে আত্মপ্রসাদ লাভ করবে সর্ব্বত্যাগী আত্মভোলা কোন সে মহেশ? তার চলার পথের জমাট মোহ মেঘের ঘনঘটার ঘোর দুর্য্যোগে চির অমার সূচিভেদ্য অন্ধকারকে জ্বালিয়ে দিয়ে জাতির সুপ্ত হৃদয়ে জীবন রাগিণীর সুরসপ্তে ঝঙ্কার তুলতে বহ্নি বীণার সুরসাধনায় মূর্ত্ত দীপককে দীপ্ত করবে কোন সে গুণী, কোন সে যন্ত্রী?

মন্ত্রী মহোদয়কে জিজ্ঞাসা করি জাতির ইহাই না সমস্যা? তাঁর রচিত বিলের কোন ধারা উপধারার কোন ছত্রের কোন বাক্যে কোথাও কি তার আভাস ইঙ্গিতও মিলে? তা যদি না মিলে তবে তাঁর এই বিলে জাতীয়তাবাদী হিন্দু-মুসলমান বাঙালীর শুধু আজ নয় কোন দিনই তিনি সমর্থন পাবেন না। দুঃখের বিষয় আজ দলগত এবং সম্প্রদায়গত স্বার্থের রঙ্গীন চশমার ভিতর দিয়ে তিনি দেখতে পাচ্ছেন না বাংলার বুকের উপর তাঁরা আজ ঘটা করে' কি বিষ বৃক্ষই প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে উদ্যোগী হয়েছেন। যে বিলে বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনকে খর্ব্ব করবার, বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনকে পঙ্গু করবার, বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনকে নষ্ট করবার, বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনকে চির অসাড় করবার মৃত্যুবিষ তার ধারা উপধারায় ওতপ্রোতভাবে বিজড়িত আছে, বাঙালী স্বেচ্ছায় সে বিষ কোন দিন পান করবে না। তাঁর মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলটিকে বিবাদ-শিক্ষা বিল বা বঙ্গ-বধ-বিল আখ্যা দিলেই যোগ্য আখ্যা দেওয়া হয়। এই বিলটিকে তার নামের যোগ্য করতে হলে—

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. KAMAL KRISHNA ROY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, আজকে আমার বলবার পূর্ব্বে আমার শ্রদ্ধেয় বন্ধু নরেন্দ্র নারায়ণ চক্রবর্ত্তী (DR. NALINAKSHYA SANYAL: নরেন চক্রবর্ত্তী

আবার শ্রদ্ধেয় হলো কবে?) বিলের স্বপক্ষে যে যুক্তির অবতারণা করলেন সেটা শুনে আমার মনে হয়েছে—এ কি কথা শুনি আজ মন্থরার মুখে। এর আগেকার বিলটির সম্বন্ধে নরেন বাবু এই পরিষদের সভ্যবৃন্দকে কি বাণী শুনিয়েছিলেন আপনারা শুনুন, তারপর তাঁর বর্ত্তমান যুক্তির সারবত্তা সম্বন্ধে বিচার করুন। ১৯৪১ সালের ১৫ই সেপ্টেম্বর তারিখে তিনি বলেছিলেন—"আজকের এই সঙ্কট মুহূর্ত্তে এমন ধারা বিলের আলোচনায় জাতি বা দেশের কোন উপকার যে হতে পারে না, তা একটু চিন্তা করলেই স্পষ্ট বোঝা যায়। এই বিলের অনিবার্য্য প্রতিক্রিয়ার ক্রমবর্দ্ধমাণ হিন্দু-মুসলমান সমস্যাকে আরো বেশী তিক্ত, হিংস্র ও দুঃখময় করে তুলবে। হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যেবিরাট কলহ এবং পার্থক্যের সৃষ্টি করা হবে। এবং তার বিষময় ফল সম্বন্ধে যদি একটু চিন্তা করতেন তাহলে বুঝতে পারতেন আজকের দিনে এই রকম বিল উত্থাপিত করা সমীচীন হয়েছে কি না।"

তারপর আরো কতকগুলি কথা বলার পরে তিনি বলেছেন—"এম্নি কোরে জাতির শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে দ্বিধা বিভক্ত করার ইচ্ছাই বা মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলী এবং তাদের সমর্থকদের মনে জাগলো কেন? এর পিছনে যে মনোভাব, যে দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী ক্রিয়া করছে আমি তারই আলোচনা করব। আমরা জানি যুদ্ধ আরম্ভ হবার দুই বৎসর পূর্ব্বে এই সমস্ত বিলের কথা মন্ত্রীমণ্ডলীর সমর্থকেরা ভেবেছিলেন, এবং একে কার্য্যে পরিণত করতে চেয়েছিলেন। এবং জানতেন এক কথায়, যুদ্ধ হউক বা না হউক আগামী দুই তিন বৎসর পরে তাঁদের জনসাধারণের সম্মুখে যেতে হবে এবং একথা যদি প্রচার করতে পারেন যে জনসাধারণের জন্য তাঁদের আহার নিদ্রা নেই, তাদের সুখের জন্য এরা যথাসাধ্য ত্যাগ স্বীকার করছেন, ধর্ম্মের জন্য জান দিতে পর্য্যন্ত প্রস্তুত, তাহলে আবার নির্ব্বাচনের সময় ভোট মিলবে। এই শ্রেণীর বিলের পিছনে এই একমাত্র উদ্দেশ্য ছাড়া আর কিছুই নেই। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি সমস্ত জাতিকে পায়রার খোপের মত টুক্‌রা টুক্‌রা কোরে ভেঙ্গে কি কোন জাতি গড়ে উঠেছে? প্রত্যেক জাতিরই একটা নিজস্ব সত্তা আছে। তাকে water tight compartmentএ বিভাগ করা যায় না, ব্যক্তির স্বার্থ জাতির স্বার্থের উর্দ্ধে গণ্য হতে পারে না। যেমন একটি দেহকে যদি হাত পা মুখ এবং অন্য সমস্ত অঙ্গ প্রত্যঙ্গে বিভক্ত করা যায় সেই দেহ যেমন বাঁচতে পারে না ঠিক তেম্নি জাতীয় জীবনে যদি প্রত্যেক জিনিষটি খণ্ড খণ্ড করে দেখা যায় তাহলে সেই জাতি কখনই বাঁচতে পারে না।'

এবং এখানে আজ শুধু নরেন বাবুর বিপরীত আচরণেরই আমি উল্লেখ করছি না, তাঁর সঙ্গে ঐদিকে যে যে (pointing to the Government Benches) এই বিলকে সমর্থন করছেন গত মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের সম্বন্ধে তাঁদের কি সিদ্ধান্ত ছিল সেটা এখানে উল্লেখ করা আমি প্রয়োজনীয় বলে বিবেচনা করি।

ঐ বিলের সম্বন্ধে ভোট গ্রহণের তালিকায় বিলটি গ্রহণীয়তার বিরুদ্ধে যাদের নাম আছে তার মধ্যে রয়েছে—বাবু প্রেমহরি বর্ম্মণ, বর্ম্মণ শ্যামাপ্রসাদ, চক্রবর্ত্তী যতীন্দ্র নাথ, নরেন্দ্রনারায়ণ, গোস্বামী, মিঃ তুলসীচরণ, কুমার, মিঃ অতুল চন্দ্র, মণ্ডল, মিঃ যোগেন্দ্রনাথ। মুখার্জি, মিঃ তারকনাথ, পাইন, মিঃ বরদা প্রসন্ন।

এঁদের সকলকে জিজ্ঞাসা করতে ইচ্ছা হয় যে আপনারা একদিন এই বিলটাকে মারাত্মক বলেছিলেন ও বিলটাকে সংশোধন করবার জন্য উদগ্রীব হয়েছিলেন, আজ আপনারা কোন স্বার্থ প্রণোদিত হয়ে এই বিলটাকে আইনে পরিণত করবার জন্য এত ব্যস্ত হয়ে উঠেছেন? (MR. ABDU LATIF BISWAS! ওরা বলছেন সেদিন আর নাই।)

আমি এখন মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয় এবং তাঁদের সমর্থকদের জিজ্ঞাসা করি জাতির কল্যাণ কামনার কোন অনুপ্রেরণায় অনুপ্রাণিত হয়ে এই বিলটাকে আইনে পরিণত করতে উদ্যত হয়েছেন, এতে জাতির কোন স্বার্থসিদ্ধ হবে? এবং যদি স্বার্থসিদ্ধিই হয় তাহলে বিলটাকে

Select কমিটিতে পাঠিয়ে ভাল রকম সংশোধন করে তার পথটা সুগম করাই কি উচিত হবে না? বিলটাকে তার নামের যোগ্য করতে হলে এর উদ্দেশ্য এবং কাঠামোর আগাগোড়া পরিবর্ত্তনের প্রয়োজন। সেই পরিবর্ত্তনের প্রয়োজনীয়তা উপলব্ধি করে আমি বিলটাকে Select Committeeতে পাঠানোর সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব সমর্থন করচি।

Mr. ADWAITA KUMAR MAJI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল সম্বন্ধে বাবু নরেন্দ্র নারায়ণ চক্রবর্ত্তী যে জ্বালাময়ী বক্তৃতা করেছেন এবং সেই বক্তৃতার ভিতর তিনি যা বলেছেন তার সম্বন্ধে দু একটা কথা বলেই আমি আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করবো। প্রথমেই নরেন বাবু বলেছেন—এই শিক্ষা বিলের দ্বারা বাংলার জাতীয় কৃষ্টি ও স্বাধীনতার আন্দোলন ব্যাহত করা যাবে না। কিন্তু বিশ্বকবি রবীন্দ্রনাথ তাঁর শিক্ষা নামক পুস্তকে আয়র্ল্যাণ্ডের বিপ্লবের পর জাতীয় শিক্ষাকে কিভাবে পঙ্গু করে দিতে এংলো-স্যাকসন ছাঁচে ছেলেদের গোড়ে তোলবার জন্য চেষ্টা করা হয়েছিল, এবং সেই শিক্ষা দ্বারা সে দেশের জাতীয় শিক্ষাকে, জাতীয় আন্দোলনকে, দেশের স্বাধীন মনোবৃত্তিকে কিভাবে ব্যাহত করা হয়েছিল সেটা সুস্পষ্টরূপে দেখিয়াছেন। কাজেই নরেন বাবু যে বলেছেন যে এ বিলের দ্বারা বাংলা দেশের জাতীয় কৃষ্টি বা জাতীয় আন্দোলন যে ব্যাহত হবে না—সেটা ভুল কথা।

তারপর আর একটা পরম আশ্চর্য্যের কথা এই যে নরেন বাবু নিজেকে বর্ণহিন্দু বলে পরিচয় দিতে পর্যন্ত অপমান বোধ করেছেন এবং তিনি তপশীলভুক্ত জাতির জন্য অপরিসীম দরদ দেখিয়েছেন—যদিও তাঁর কাজকর্ম্ম বা আচরণের ভিতর দিয়ে তেমন কিছু পরিচয় এযাবৎ আমরা দেখতে পাইনি। তিনি আর একটা কথা বলেছেন যে, পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের দ্বারা জাতীয় স্বার্থ বা জাতীয় আন্দোলনকে ব্যাহত করা হয়নি। মহামানব গান্ধিজীর কথা বলেছেন—এই মহামানব ১৯৩৫ সালে ভারত শাসন আইন রচনা হবার সময় যখন তপশীল জাতির জন্য এই প্রদেশে ১০টি আসন দিয়ে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা প্রবর্ত্তিত হয় তিনি সেই প্রথা আমরণ উপবাস করেও তপশীল জাতির জন্য ৩০টি আসন ব্যবস্থা পরিবর্তে ব্যবস্থা করে যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন করেন। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে তপশীল জাতির জন্য যথেষ্ট সংখ্যক আসন দেওয়া হয় নাই বা এই প্রদেশের জনসংখ্যা অনুপাতে অথচ পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন ব্যবস্থা থেকে ১৯৩৫ সালে যখন ভারত শাসন আইন প্রণয়ন হয় তখন দশটির জায়গায় ৩০টি সিট্ এই বাংলা দেশের তপশীলভুক্ত জাতিদের বর্ণহিন্দুদের সঙ্গে যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন প্রথার ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন। আমি এই শিক্ষা বোর্ডে তপশীল জাতির অধিক সংখ্যক আসন নির্দ্দিষ্ট করে যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা সমর্থন করি।

বর্ত্তমান বিলে তপশীলভুক্ত জাতির জন্য বিভিন্ন কমিটিতে যে আসন ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে সে অত্যন্ত নগণ্য। কাজেই পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের দ্বারা তপশীলভুক্ত জাতির প্রয়োজনানুরূপ প্রতিনিধিত্ব হবে না। নরেন বাবু অনেক কিছু বলেছেন—মোস্লেম শিক্ষা বোর্ড যা হয়েছে তাতে যে সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা হয়েছে তার ফলে তারা যদি বাংলা ভাষাকে রূপান্তরিত করে আরবী ফার্সীর মিশ্রণ বহুল ভাষাতে ছেলেদের পড়াতে আরম্ভ করেন তা দ্বারা আমাদের দেশের স্বাধীনতা এনে দেবে, না নরেন বাবুর মতে জাতীয় আন্দোলনকে এগিয়ে দেবে? আজ না হলেও নরেন বাবুও (Dr. NALINAKSHYA SANYAL : Damn your Naren Babu.) অদূর ভবিষ্যতে হয়ত বুঝতে পারবেন যে এই বিলের দ্বারা আমাদের কি ক্ষতি হয়েছে। নরেন বাবু অন্যান্য যে সকল কথার অবতারণা গভর্ণমেণ্ট কর্ত্তৃক এই বিল আনয়নের স্বপক্ষে বলেছেন সে সম্বন্ধে কোন কথা বলা আমি প্রয়োজন মনে করি না। কেননা দেশের লোকেই বুঝতে পারবে যে নরেন বাবু কেন ঐসব কথা বলেছেন। আমি শুধু তপশীলভুক্ত জাতির জন্য বলছি—যেভাবে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা এই বিলে তপশীলভুক্ত জাতির জন্য ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে সেটা তাদের পক্ষে ক্ষতিকর।

এবং তাতে Houseএর মধ্যে ও Houseএর বাইরে তাদের ক্ষতি হবে। আমরা জানি—Scheduled Cast Education Committee যে রয়েছে তাহার recommedation গভর্ণমেণ্ট গ্রাহ্য করেন না। সামান্য stipend পর্য্যন্ত রীতিমতভাবে যথা স্থানে যথা সময়ে পেঁছে না। এর অধিক প্রমাণের প্রয়োজন নাই। কাজেই এই ধরণের অনুগ্রহের দান তপশীলভুক্ত জাতি চায় না, তাদের যা প্রাপ্য তা তারা দাবি দ্বারা আদায় করবে। এবং সেটা তারা করবে—এই ভারতবর্ষ যখন স্বাধীন হবে—সেই স্বাধীন ভারতে তারা তাদের দাবী আদায় করবে। Caste Hinduরা এখন বেঁচে আছে, এর পরেও তাঁরা বেঁচে থাকবে, এবং নিজেদের শিক্ষার জন্য তপশীল জাতির যা প্রয়োজন তা তারা আদায় করবে। এখন না কি এই বিলে হতে চলেছে—তাতে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাটা সম্পূর্ণরূপে আসবে under the official control যা কিছু হবে সবই হবে সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীদের ইচ্ছানুরূপ। যদিও বাইরে থেকে সদস্য নির্ব্বাচিত হয়ে যাবেন কিন্তু সরকারী কর্ম্মচারীদের ভোট ছাড়া কিছুই করা যাবে না। তারপর যে ব্যয় বরাদ্দ করা হয়েছে সমুদয় প্রদেশের মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা পরিচালনার জন্য সে এত সামান্য যে এই পরিকল্পিত শিক্ষা বোর্ড যদি কার্য্যকরীও হয় তবে তাহারা দেশের কোন উপকার হবে না।

আর দু'টো কথা বলেই আমি শেষ করবো। বাংলায় যদি বাঙালী জাতিকে বাঁচাতে চান, যদি শিক্ষাকে জাতীয়তা শিক্ষার সহায়ক করে গড়তে চান, তাহলে এই বিল Select কমিটিতে দিয়ে দিন। সেখানে যদি ভালে.ভাবে সাম্প্রদায়িক অনুপাত রাখতে চান তাহলে দেশের মধ্যে ঝগড়াঝাটি আসবে না। নৈলে আমাদের মধ্যে নরেন বাবুর মতন মনোভাবাপন্ন লোক সব আসবে। (A VOICE from the Government Benches. আসুবে, আসুবে, আসুবে)।

Maulvi AHMED ALI MRIDHA: Sir, I oppose the motions of my friends of the Opposition and support the motion of Hon'ble Minister.

At the outset I must tell you that the society is moving very rapidly from status to contract. As such the British empire now exists on a basis of contract. Contract presupposes the existence of confidence, as such the colonies exist as on confidence and contract in the British Commonwealth of Nations. They no more are under the tutelage of Imperialist England.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah are equally impatient to tell the world that India can no more be under the tutelage of the British Imperialism. In face of this our friends opposite are out to keep the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes under the perpetual bondage of tutelage of the coterie ruling the destiny of Secondary and University education in Bengal. The Britishers' slogan against self-determination of India is that Indians are not fit for self-government and our friends of the Hindu Mahasabha equally declare to say that in the field of education Mussalmans and Scheduled Castes can have no control and influence. If they come to live, they must live in the pockets of Dr. Syamaprasad and his friends and cannot pry into the secrets and cannot make a complaint and must not disclose a grievance. When there is a clamour and a pressure the venerable Doctor will concede only this far that he will admit men who will be ready to pass the test of *his* examinations and must come by *his* support. He and his brothers in law and brothers in faith will reserve to themselves not only the right of veto but also rights as on individual judgment, discretion and special responsibilities. They aver that in the field of education which is their ancestral stronghold, they have special responsibility. Here the responsibility is incapable of a division.

The Congress friends have a dubious mind. They are afraid of the combination of the fellow-sufferers—the Mussalmans and the Scheduled Castes. Common danger is the mighty leveller, Edmund Burke said. Such

a danger exists for the last half a century and the heavy foot of the University authorities, for that of the Managers of the high English schools, has kept pressed down the aspirations of the poorer section of the people and they could neither thrive nor prosper under the system of monopoly for that one of monotony perpetuated by the coterie of Banerjees and Mukharjees. No wonder that half the income of the University goes into the pockets of the coterie, but the Congress will now keep silent over the rottenness of the Augean Stable lest in the other field the lesson learnt here carries contamination in their field of politics where the hollowness of their own slogan is exposed and the Scheduled Castes as a community run over to the Mussalmans and form a majority on grounds of economic causes just to make it an unassailable body for the whole time.

The Mahasabha therefore is making a move with one motive and the Congress moves on a motive of its own and although in the outside world their slogans are of different colour and creed, they are working here as a team in combination. With the inauguration of the little shadow of Provincial Antonomy the eyes of the poorer people have been opened and they are now able to see through this game. They now realise that clerkship is no good job and the schools and colleges as they exist do not cater to their needs. Now that some degrees are being acquired by the poorer people, they are as much helpless as before and education has not given them a millenium. They require food—education does not give them that. They require clothes, they do not get it there. Colleges and schools do not teach them either agriculture or industries. Thousands of our brilliant young men are moving about and passing for as one, with stamps of education, but they are worthless as citizens of the soil incapable of producing anything adding to the prosperity of the country. Even a little of marketing is not possible by a University graduate. He cannot even measure a pot. He cannot have imagination to see how a piece of cloth is woven or how sugarcane is capable of producing molasses and sugar. He cannot conceive that his land can produce raw materials in plenty and he can convert them into articles which will remove the curse that he has to depend for a small article of daily need on foreign supply.

We on this side have the two-fold duties of relieving the white man of his burden and before doing so we just now want to relieve our semi-white friends of a part of their heavy burden also. They have been carrying the burden for over half a century, and they must be deemed to have been tired. They carry the burden on their single shoulders. We want to put our shoulder to the yoke to share the burden. In this aspect of the question our mission is holy.

They have borne the burden of education of the Province in all spheres almost single-handed. They in their position as zamindars started schools and now the schools are their paternal properties. Sir Ashutosh did a noble service for the University. The tiger of Bengal fought with other animals of the forest and achieved what he did, and we are not ungrateful. We see the monument of his glory, the University of Calcutta stands as a monument for that. Now a jackal with his cunningness calls it his heritage. We do not appreciate the zamindar's progeny or the cub of the tiger. We feel that Bengal's—I mean rural Bengal's blood is there to create all that we find before us either in the rural town or in the metropolis. Robbing was the process—robbing of the poor—that brought money in their lakhs and crores to give credit to a rich man in a village or a mufassal town or in metropolis. The administration of education was placed in charge of people who with their position ceased to have connection with people who in the ultimate end were the payers of revenues for the purpose. The poorer section permitted the richer section to so regulate and control education as they chose but, they in their ignorance could not know that education was monopolised by the section of people placed in trust. The

mass of the people now live in a vicious circle. They are damned as poor and a second time as a class without education. For that they are styled rustics unworthy of tackling the problem of education. We today realise that poverty is no crime and ignorance alone does not make a man criminal. There has been a criminal breach of trust by the richer section and the educated section for that. We are here to declare here and now that they are not trustworthy. The poorer section, the backward section have a right to receive the blessings of education. Among them are people who are able to direct education in such a line that the poor is as much able to acquire education and remove the darkness of ignorance by their own management. The Mussalmans and the Scheduled Castes will therefore share the responsibility to guide the policy of education and will evolve a rule so that education is expanded to the mute millions and ignorant millions, the dumb driven millions of the soil. It is sure that best of the learned people shall be appointed to discharge the duties of teachers and that the best of books will be selected for lessons and the best of appliances will be procured. We know the requirements; we shall not fail in our duties there. We may not permit a doctor by courtesy to offer as a good teacher either on ideology or on scientific theories but we shall nevertheless appoint the best doctors actually created so by reliable universities of the world to teach on all that is necessary for advancement of our boys. We love our boys and we are second to none in our love for the future generation. We shall arrange for their better education at any cost and they shall be given full facility to learn. Unlike the present, poverty and ignorance shall never more be permitted to be placed as a barrier to the admission of a student in his proper place and absence of patronage will no more be a handicap. Hatred of man by man will be a thing of the past. "Touch me not" spirit will be a spirit foreign amongst the teachers. This is the motto which has inspired us in coming forward. We shall see to propagation of education to all the cottages and every man. We shall remove all handicaps. Sectarianism in education shall be given a goodbye. Who are afraid of our management? Surely not the poor people, surely not Mussalmans and Scheduled Castes, surely not the right-thinking men, who are devoid of the "touch me not" spirit. The monopolists of the day who think that learning is meant for high castes and that they are the gods and others are pariahs and should not even attend to a *sloka*—are afraid—for their days are numbered. Their bigotry, their hatred will no more sell is the apprehension. They know very well that the Board which is being set up is not the teaching body and it is only a body of management of teaching and teaching institutions. They are afraid that the dirt and filth will no more count and will be thrown into the dustbin for that to be carried to Dhapa is their fear. I pity them. In spite of all, the atmosphere must be cleared of all base sectarianism now polluting the educational atmosphere, and spreading foulness around to the disgust of 98 per cent. of the people of the soil.

The Hon'ble Mr. Casey has helped in introducing better scavenging of Calcutta. He is out to help in cleansing the Augean Stables of Bengal, of all the dirt and filth of the present-day schools in Bengal.

Sir, we on this side would be not justified to invite a revolutionary measure in legislation in too great a haste in this time of year had we not been prompted by motives much nobler than what I have already spoken. The noblest of motive is with us and which is not within the conception of present-day educational stalwarts of our province. Placed as they are, they cannot conceive of what I mean to say now. This reform is essential and is urgent surely that we have to win the war against the savages of the East or the West.

Our present-day education is in a quagmire. It is narrow and one-sided. The Britishers were in need of clerks and they got the best class of them in the munsifs and magistracy. The degrees of the University

have given us them in plenty. There is now in superfluity. War emergency created avenues and our graduates are employed in civil supplies and all other sundry businesses. But what they will do after the civil supplies are no more required in controlled channels. Who is the fool not to notice that the schools and colleges forged hands capable of handling clerical jobs only. Our educational experts are capable of thinking in the line of forging clerks only and converting any young man, even a rustic's son, into a *bhadralok* able to imitate the habit of his boss and put on shoes and hat.

A Doctor of the Calcutta University, a zamindar born with a silver spoon in his lips, cannot conceive of better production from the soil and of converting raw products into an industrial element and cannot conceive of how sanitation and public health have gone down and how the poor economic condition is a handicap and is creating a vicious circle so that ill-health, disease and pestilences are taking a heavy toll on our life and energy and energy lost we stand so condemned and cannot acquire economic prosperity in agriculture, industries and trade. How an artificial barrier created in the way of propagation of education has created a cleavage between a class and a class and ultimately to a ruination of the society as a whole, we therefore must now have a change. A new atmosphere must be created and the needs and requirements of the mute millions of village-folk made known, better cultivation, better manuring, better drainage, better health conditions brought in, better economic life laid open to the poeple so that a better cultivator, better artisan, better trade and better technician can grow up by an expanded education in the secondary schools in the beginning and by development of the same in the higher studies in the University education. We in this aspect do dream of a better Bengal not worried by unemployment problem but a Bengal marching hand in hand with the people of the outside world. Such a conception is not possible with our present-day masters and such an idea is foreign to our present-day men in the field of education. We therefore require infusion of a new blood in the management and God willing we expect to have it in the contemplated Education Board where I believe thoughts of all intersets will henceforth find an expression.

We mean not only to break the monopoly but we break the monotony of forging clerks. Our moves are national, our moves are not sectarian, we reserve nothing to ourselves, our moves are not communual; we are inspired with best of intentions—intentions to have reforms of educational policies, education expanded in correct lines. We stand determined; we shall spend money; we shall spare nothing.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-7 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Tuesday, the 23rd May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 23rd May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 12 Hon'ble Ministers and 180 members.

STARRED QUESTIONS

(to which oral answers were given)

Financial assistance to Calcutta Dental College and Hospital.

*321. **Mr. C. M. THORMAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government (Medical) Department be pleased to state whether he is aware—

(*i*) that the Calcutta Dental College and Hospital is the only institution for the training of dental practitioners in Bengal recognised under the Bengal Dentists Act, 1939;

(*ii*) that in the Punjab the De Montmorency College of Dentistry at Lahore receives substantial financial assistance from the Punjab Government;

(*iii*) that the Calcutta Dental College and Hospital charges a high rate of fees for students in the absence of any financial assistance from Government;

(*iv*) that the College is in financial difficulties owing to fall in the number of students; and

(*v*) that the financial position of the College is such that it will have to close down unless substantial financial assistance is received from Government?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) (*v*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what steps are being taken by Government to prevent the cessation of dental education in Bengal; and

(*ii*) what financial assistance, if any, Government propose to afford to the Calcutta Dental College and Hospital to enable the College to carry on?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) (*i*) (*iii*) and (*iv*) Yes.

(*ii*) Government have no information.

(*v*) A representation to this effect has been submitted to Government.

(*b*) A capital grant of Rs. 6,000 has been made to the College to enable it to tide over its present financial difficulties.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that the Punjab Government gave a recurring grant of Rs. 70,000 to the Dental College at Lahore?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that owing to the fact that this college receives no financial assistance from Government it is unable to pay fees to its lecturing staff and the fees payable by the students are three times the fees paid by the students in the Medical College?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government is not aware of the fact, but enquiries will be made into the matter.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to consider the desirability of making a recurring grant to this Dental College?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government will certainly consider this matter.

Outbreak of diseases in Chandibarpur Union in Jessore and petition for a permanent dispensary.

*337. **Mr. P. BANERJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that (1) kala-azar, (2) malaria, and (3) dysentery have broken out in the Chandibarpur union, police-station Narail, district Jessore; and

(*ii*) that the death rate in this locality has gone up more than the birth rate during last few years?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, the Government are proposing to take in the matter?

(*c*) Is it a fact that the villagers of (1) Chandibarpur Union Board, (2) Durgapur Union Board, and (3) Shinga Union Board, police-station Narail, district Jessore, submitted a Memorial in May, 1942, to the then Hon'ble Minister through the Subdivisional Officer of Narail and the District Magistrate of Jessore, praying for a permanent dispensary at Shankarpur which is the central place of the above three Union Boards?

(*d*) If the answers to (*a*) and (*c*) are in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any step has so far been taken, or intended to be taken, by the Government in the matter?

(*e*) If no step has been taken, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing year by year from 1938 to 1942—

(1) the birth rate, and (2) death rate, of the Chandibarpur Union Board, police-station Narail, district Jessore?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*)(*i*) Malaria is fairly prevalent in the union. Incidence of kala-azar is, however, very low. There was no outbreak of dysentery in the union during 1943.

(*ii*) Yes.

(*b*) The following quantities of quinine have been supplied to the district of Jessore from 1st January, 1943, to 12th January, 1944.

Quinine sulphate—

For sale—2,111 lbs.
For free distribution—358 lbs.

Cinchona febrifuge—

Free—763 lbs.

Besides, a kala-azar grant of Rs. 1,000 has been made to the district board.

For the more expeditious treatment of malaria Government opened satellite treatment centres from existing dispensaries and also arranged for free distribution of quinine and cinchona on a wide scale.

(*c*) An advance copy of a petition, dated 31st May, 1942, addressed to the Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department through the Subdivisional Officer, Narail, was received by Government in September, 1942, but it is reported that the original petition was not received by the Subdivisional Officer, Narail.

(d) Regarding the establishment of a charitable dispensary at Shankarpur the local officers did not support the idea as another dispensary exist in village Nalda which is less than a mile from village Shankarpur.

(e) Does not arise.

(f) A statement showing the rates of birth and death during 1938-42 is laid on the Library Table.

Distribution of quinine in Gopalganj subdivision.

*338. **Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR:** (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether he is aware that quinine was supplied for distribution in the subdivision of Gopalganj in the district of Faridpur from 1st of December, 1943, to 31st January, 1944?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing—

(i) the quantity allotted for sale;
(ii) the quantity allotted for free distribution;
(iii) the names of persons to whom quinine was supplied with their local addresses and their medical qualifications, if any; and
(iv) the quantity supplied to each one of them?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (a) Yes.

(b) (i) 72 lbs.

(ii) 428 lbs. of quinine sulphate and 225 lbs. of cinchona febrifuge.

(iii) and (iv) A list is laid on the Library Table.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state when this quinine reached Gopalganj?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice. I cannot give the exact date.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state how long the local authorities took to distribute the quinine?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: As soon as the quinine reached the local officers, they started distribution.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state the month in which it was distributed?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice, but as soon as the quinine reached distribution started.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if he is aware that a military hospital for relief was started at that place?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes, it was started.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state the month in which it was started there?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice.

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD KHONDKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if it is a fact that it was only after the military hospital was started at that place that quinine was distributed?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: It is not a fact.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state the reason why this insignificant amount of 72 lbs. was reserved for sale to the public?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government thought that the people were poor and larger quantity of quinine should be handed over for free distribution.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state if he is aware that there was great public demand for quinine?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state what steps Government took to meet this demand?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government has made the maximum grant possible.

Babu ASHUTOSH LAHIRI: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state the actual amount that was allotted for free distribution and the amount which was actually distributed by the 31st January 1944?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: So far as our information goes the whole quantity was distributed.

Dr. ABDUL MOTALEB MALIK: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state who were the authorities to determine the amount of quinine required for the district?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: The Civil Surgeon in consultation with the Health Officer.

Re: Staff of Public Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police.

***339. Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing in respect of Muslims and non-Muslims the present strength of the—

(1) permanent, and
(2) temporary,

clerical staff in—

(1) lower, and
(2) upper divisions,

with—

(*i*) names,
(*ii*) present salaries, and
(*iii*) designations

in the Public Vehicles Department under the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Calcutta?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any permanent Muslim clerks have resigned since the introduction of the Communal Ratio Rules?

(*c*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what is their number; and
(*ii*) by which communities the resultant vacancies have been filled up?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) how many clerks have retired;
(*ii*) how many new posts have been created since the introduction of the Communal Ratio Rules; and
(*iii*) by which communities those posts have been filled up?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (*a*) A statement is laid on the Table.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) There was one vacancy which was filled up by a Muslim candidate.

(*d*) (*i*) Two.

(*ii*) Ten.

(*iii*) Five Muslims, four Caste Hindus and one member of the Scheduled Castes.

Statement referred to in reply to clause (a) of starred question No. 139.

Public Vehicles Department.

PERMANENT STAFF.

Sanctioned Strength.		Upper Grade.	Lower Grade.	Cashier.	Typist.	Total.
Motor Vehicles Branch	..	3	19	1	1	24
Tax Department	..	2	7	3	1	13
Hackney Carriage Branch	..	1	4	1	..	6

Motor Vehicles Branch.

Upper Division Clerks.

		Rs.
1.	Babu Susanta Kumar Bagchi (deputed to work in A.R.A.) ...	200
2.	Babu Promoda Ch. Sen Gupta ...	170
3.	Maulvi Abdul Bari ...	155

Lower Division Clerks.

1.	Babu Satish Ch. Roy (working in place of Babu Susanta Kumar Bagchi) ...	120
2.	Babu Sudhir Sashi Mitra ...	120
3.	Maulvi Golam Mohd. ...	120
4.	Babu Narayan Das Sarkar ...	110
5.	Abdul Hye ...	110
6.	Butto Kr. Chowdhury ...	107
7.	Lalit K. Sengupta ...	107
8.	D. N. Bose ...	86
9.	Tara Ch. Dutt ...	68
10.	Anadi Sett ...	60
11.	Quazi Abdul Zabbar ...	55
12.	Madan Mohan Gupta ...	45
13.	Narendra Nath Roy (deputed to work in C.T.O.)	107*
14.	Subodh K. Gupta (deputed to work in C.T.O.)	120
15.	Kanai Lal Pyne (deputed to work in C.T.O.) ...	104*
16.	Satadal Mukherjee (deputed to work in A.R.A.)	95*
17.	Azaharuddin Molla (deputed to work in A.R.A)	95*
18.	Benoy K. Banerjee (deputed to work in C.T.O.) ...	80*
19.	Abdul Latiff Khan (deputed to work in A.R.A.)	89*

*Substantive pay.

Cashier.

1. Satrughna Lahiri ... 120

Typist.

1. Anil K. Biswas ... 70

Tax Department.

Upper Division Clerk.

1. Provat Ch. Roy ... 170

Lower Division Clerks.

1.	Rashid Ali Khan ...	74
2.	Naresh Ch. Sen Gupta (deputed to A.R.A.) ...	74*
3.	Sarojendra Mohan Mitra (deputed to A.R.A.) ...	74
4.	Abdur Rahim Khan ...	55
5.	Bagish Bandhu Mutsudhi ...	45
6.	Trishita Chatak Ghosal ...	45
7.	Tushar Ranjan Majumdar ...	40

*Substantive pay.

Cashier—Upper Division.

		Rs.
1.	Dwarola Nath Saha	170

Cashiers—Lower Division.

1.	Ram Krishna Lahiri ...	60
2.	Sachindra N. Saha ...	60
3.	Malaya Chowdhury ...	40

Typist.

1.	Baduizzaman Sarkar ...	60

Hackney Carriage Branch.

Upper Division Clerk.

1.	Abani Mohan Sengupta ...	155

Lower Division Clerks.

1.	Moktar Ahmed ...	104
2.	Govinda Ch. Bhattacharjee (deputed to work in A.R.A.)	
3.	Bibhuti Bhusan Sengupta ..	62
4.	Durga Prasanna Mookerjee ...	45

Cashier.

1.	Mohendra Nath Chowdhury ...	66

Temporary Staff.

Lower Division Clerks.

1.	Kanai Lall Roy ...	40
2.	Prokash Ch. Chakravarty ...	40
3.	Sk. Rahamatullah ...	40
4.	Ziaur Rahaman ...	40
5.	Abdul Rashid Mia ...	40
6.	Kali Charan Das ...	40
7.	Usharanjan Biswas ...	45
8.	Nasirulla Khan ...	45
9.	Basarat Ali (in place of Narendra Nath Roy) ...	40
10.	Quazi Abdul Hossain (in place of Subodh K. Gupta) ...	40
11.	Matabur Rahman (in place of Susanta K. Bagchi) ...	40
12.	Ram Gopal Bose (in place of Kanai Lal Pyne) ...	40
13.	Abdul Haque Mia (in place of Satadal Mukherjee) ...	40
14.	S. Lahiri (in place of Azaharuddin Molla) ...	40
15.	Ajit K. Sengupta (in place of Benoy K. Banerjee)	40
16.	Ganapati Sen (in place of Naresh Ch. Sengupta)	40
17.	Benoy Krishna Mitra (in place of Sarajendra Mohan Mitra) ...	40
18.	Ganga Charan Dutt (in place of Govinda Ch. Bhattacherjee) ...	40
19.	Vacant for a Muslim candidate in place of Abdul Latiff Khan.	

Typist.

1.	Umed Ali Matabur ...	45

Cashier.

1.	Dilip K. Sengupta ...	40

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason why in the staff of the Motor Vehicles Branch only 5 per cent. of the appointments are held by Muslims?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: This department is in existence from before the introduction of the communal ratio rules and the officers then serving are still working in the department.

Appointment of clerks in Commissioner's Office, Chittagong.

***340. Mr. JAGAT CHANDRA MANDAL:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing for the period from 1941 to 1943—

(*i*) the total number of clerks appointed in the Chittagong Divisional Commissioner's Office; and

(*ii*) the number of them that are (A) Muslims, (B) Caste Hindus and (C) Scheduled Castes?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether the Communal Service Ratio Rules were observed in respect of those appointments; and

(*ii*) if not, why not?

MINISTER in charge of the REVENUE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath Mukerjea): (*a*)(*i*) The total number of clerks appointed since the introduction of the Communal Ratio Rules on 18th March, 1939, till the end of 1943 was 14 (4 permanent and 10 temporary).

(*ii*)

	Permanent	Temporary.
Muslim	2	5
Caste Hindu	1	4
Scheduled Castes	1	1
	4	10

(*b*) (*i*) Yes.

(*ii*) Does not arise.

Relief for famine-stricken people of certain places in Tippera.

***341. Mr. SHAHEDALI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Revenue Department be pleased to state whether Government have sanctioned any amount for the famine-stricken people of II, Naogaon Union, police-station Matlab, in the district of Tippera from 1st July, 1943, to December, 1943, by way of—

(*i*) agricultural loan;
(*ii*) test relief;
(*iii*) gratuitous relief;
(*iv*) gruel kitchen; and
(*v*) for distribution of standard cloth?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(*i*) what is the amount item by item;
(*ii*) whether any amount so sanctioned remains unspent even now;
(*iii*) if so, what is the amount (A) spent and (B) unspent;
(*iv*) whether any amount sanctioned under Test Relief was spent through the Tippera District Board;
(*v*) If so, what is the amount (A) spent and (B) unspent; and
(*vi*) who are the persons through whom the District Board spent the amount?

(c) If the amount has been spent through the Union Board, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state—

(i) the number of mates and their names employed by the President of Union Board for the work; and

(ii) the amount that was paid to each mate?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: (a) Yes, so far as items (ii), (iii) and (iv) are concerned.

(b) (i) Test relief Rs. 1,700, gratuitous relief and gruel kitchen Rs. 2,045.

(ii) Yes.

(iii) Test relief (A) Rs. 1,240-3 and (B) Rs. 459-13.

Gratuitous Relief—(A) Rs. 2,045 and (B) Nil.

(iv) Yes.

(v) (A) Rs. 1,240-3 and (B) Rs. 459-13.

(vi) The amount was spent through the Local Committee formed for the purpose with the approval of the Chairman, District Board. The work was conducted under the direct supervision of the District Engineer.

(c) Does not arise.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state when the money for test relief work was granted and when that amount was spent?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: For the dates I want notice.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether there was any death in the area in question due to starvation?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I want notice.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why there was this unspent balance of Rs. 459-13 though there was need for more money for the purpose?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not aware whether there was any need, but the fact remains that this amount was not spent.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether the District Engineer or any officer subordinate to him did go to the locality to distribute the amount?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The District Engineer did not distribute the amount, but he supervised it.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister contradict him if an hon'ble member of this House says that the District Engineer never went to the locality?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware of the fact that the District Engineer did not go to the locality and he did not send any man to supervise the work?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I am not aware.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any amount was paid to the mates and whether any receipt was taken from them?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I have got no definite information.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Sir, there is a definite question to this effect. Question (c) says "will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the number of mates and their names employed by the President of Union Board for the work; and the amount that was paid to each mate?" I want to know

whether the Hon'ble Minister made any enquiry if the Union Board distributed the amount to these mates and if so, what amount was paid to them?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I shall enquire.

Mr. SHAHEDALI: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that not even one-sixth of the amount was distributed in the locality? Is he also prepared to make an enquiry as to what was the amount that was given to the mates and whether any receipt was taken from them?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: I shall enquire.

Sj. MANINDRA BHUSAN SINHA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if the Famine Commissioner made any report on the workings of the famine test relief in Tippera, I mean any report of the extent of the money spent in Tippera?

The Hon'ble Mr. TARAK NATH MUKERJEA: The Famine Commissioner made it generally, but not with regard to any particular Union.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(answers to which were laid on the table)

Distribution of quinine and cloths in Chandibarpur Union of Jessore.

162. Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Subdivisional Officer of Narail, district Jessore, handed over to the President, Chandibarpur Union Board, blankets, *dhotis* and *saris* and quinine for distribution to the needy and the poor?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the names of the persons with villages to whom the clothes and quinine have been distributed with the dates?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether any complaint has been made by the villagers of the Chandibarpur Union Board to the Government through the Subdivisional Officer of Narail about the distribution of the articles?

(*d*) If the answer to (*c*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps have been taken or are intended to be taken in the matter?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Two statements are laid on the Library Table.

(*c*) No.

(*d*) Does not arise.

Number of attacks and deaths from cholera in Bengal during last five years and inoculation of people.

163. Dr. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJEE: Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) what has been the annual figure of cholera and death from it in Bengal during the last 5 years;

(*b*) how many persons were annually inoculated with prophylactic anti-cholera vaccine during the last 5 years;

(*c*) what is the agency in each thana for giving such inoculation and how many persons with what qualification and remuneration have been appointed through such agency;

(d) what steps were taken by the Government during the last 5 years to propagate among the village folk the utility of such inoculation, to increase the number of people inoculated and with what effect;

(e) what quantity of prophylactic vaccine was each year used by the Government for the purpose and from what sources it was obtained;

(f) whether the amount of vaccine now produced in Government and non-official laboratories in Bengal is sufficient to inoculate all the people of Bengal; and

(g) if not, what steps have been and are being taken by the Government to stimulate its production?

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: (a), (b), and (e) A statement is laid on the Library Table.

(c) Permanent Rural Public Health staff is one Sanitary Inspector and one Health Assistant per thana appointed by the District Boards. Additional hands are employed during times of epidemic by local bodies and Government. Regarding numbers, qualifications and remuneration a statement is laid on the Library Table.

(d) Pamphlets and posters and leaflets on cholera infection and anti-cholera inoculation were broadcast by the Director of Public Health through schools, rural Public Health staff, local exhibitions, *melas* and public gatherings. Public Health lecturers addressed the public at such places and performed demonstrations. Elementary Hygiene is taught in all primary schools.

(f) No, not all the people of Bengal at one time. Requirements for 1941 were met in full out of the Bengal Vaccine Laboratory production. Additional requirements for 1942 and 1943 were met by purchasing from outside the Province and from the local market.

(g) The staff and equipment of the Bengal Vaccine Laboratory have been increased and are being increased in order to stimulate production.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether in view of the abnormal percentage of deaths in the year, 1943, any arrangement was made for curing the persons attacked with cholera?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Yes; epidemic doctors were appointed wherever cholera broke out in epidemic form.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what was the result of such arrangements?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is too vague a question.

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: Government took every possible step to cambat the epidemics.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Is it a fact that everybody who was attacked with cholera died?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question does not arise.

Duty allowances in High Court.

164. Dr. SANAULLAH: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to state how many "duty allowances" are here in the—

(i) Original side; and

(ii) Appellate Side of the High Court?

(b) how many of them are enjoyed by—

(i) Muslims;

(ii) Hindus; and

(iii) others?

(c) Is it a fact that retentions or extensions are given to the employees who are due to retire in the—

(i) Original side; and
(ii) Appellate side of Hon'ble High Court?

(d) How many of the employees who are enjoying the retentions or extensions are—

(i) Muslims;
(ii) Hindus; and
(iii) others?

MINISTER in charge of the JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (The Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur): By the courtesy of the Hon'ble the acting Chief Justice, I am able to inform the member as follows:—

(a) (i) Eleven.
(ii) Thirty-three.

(b) (i) Six (all in the Appellate Side).
(ii) Thirty-six (25 in Appellate Side and 11 in Original Side).
(iii) Two (all in Appellate Side).

(c) Yes. Each application for extension of service is considered on its merits and an extension is granted only in the case in which the services of an employee are required in the interest of public service.

(d) (i) Nil.
(ii) Sixteen (all in Original Side).
(iii) Four (all in Original Side).

Medical treatment of security prisoner Srijut Nanigopal Sen.

165. Mr. PUSPAJIT BARMA: (a) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(i) that Srijut Nanigopal Sen of Khalisakota, district Barisal, now a security prisoner in Midnapore Central Jail, has been suffering for a long time;
(ii) that he was treated in the Medical College Hospital for some time;
(iii) that now his condition in Midnapore Central Jail is serious; and
(iv) that his mother has petitioned to the Hon'ble the Chief Minister to release Nanigopal so that he may be under Ayurvedic treatment?

(b) If the answer to (a) (iv) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state Government decision in this matter?

MINISTER in charge of the HOME DEPARTMENT (The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin): (a) (i) to (iii) The prisoner was suffering from several ailments. Treatment in the Jail Hospital has cured most of these and he is making slow but steady progress.

(iv) and (b) Such a petition was received but has been rejected.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: With reference to the answer "Treatment in the Jail Hospital has cured most of these and he is making slow but steady progress", will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what were the ailments?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: His main complaints were inability to pass his stools without an enema, epigastric pain, acidity, heart-burn, extreme weakness and inability to walk, loss of weight, neurasthenis and a lump in the right iliac region.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: It is stated that most of these have been cured. May I know what remains uncured?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: He is only neurotic and shakes all over when excited. The right illiac lump is still present. The other ailments have been cured.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if any expert has been consulted and, if so, what is his opinion?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: He is getting medical attention and medical experts have also treated him, but as to names I ask for notice.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state if he is aware that Nanigopal Sen sometimes shows signs of progress and again relapses into a serious state of health?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No. On the other hand, the report is that he is making slow but steady progress.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that Nanigopal Sen was treated in the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir, in 1941 for appendicitis.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that since his transfer from the Medical College Hospital his mother has been repeatedly petitioning for Ayurvedic treatment of her son?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Yes, Sir. That question has been replied to. I refer the honourable member to answer (*a*)(*iv*) and (*b*).

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: In view of the fact that Nanigopal Sen has not yet recovered and that he has been suffering for a very long time, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason for rejecting the petition for having him treated by the Ayurvedic system of medicine?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already stated that he is making slow but steady progress and he is well on the way to recovery. He has also gained in weight, his weight has considerably improved.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister please tell us what is the present state of his health?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I said that he is cured of most of his ailments except that he is slightly neurotic and there is an iliac lump still present.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what is his present weight?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: His present weight is 105lbs., *i.e.*, a gain of 7lbs.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: May I know what was his weight when he was first interned in jail?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: 110lbs.

Sj. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: In view of this reply, namely, that when he was admitted into jail his weight was 110lbs. and at present his weight is 105lbs., will the Hon'ble Minister consider it desirable to have him treated otherwise as prayed for by his mother?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: I have already pointed out that he is well on the way to recovery. All his ailments have been cured. His weight was 110lbs. It dropped to 98lbs. and now he has gained in weight and it has gone up to 105lbs., *i.e.*, a gain of 7lbs. So I say he is well on the road to recovery.

Mr. NISHITHA NATH KUNDU: In view of the fact that prisoners are sometimes released on grounds of illness, does not the Government consider it desirable that he should be released?

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: No, Sir. He is well looked after and all his ailments have disappeared and as a matter of fact he is getting attention from experts. He was even transferred to the Medical College Hospital for treatment of appendicitis and there is no question of his being ill now.

Enquiry regarding present situation at Dacca.

Mr. JOGESH CHANDRA GUPTA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I through you ask the Leader of the House, Sir Nazimuddin, who has just returned from Dacca to let the House know the present position there, and the steps that he has taken and if possible to assure us that the ugly scenes at Dacca will soon be at an end?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: As soon as I arrived at Dacca I arranged to meet the members of the Peace Committee. Before that I naturally discussed the situation with the local officials. In my discussion with the Peace Committee we tried to find out what steps we could take to put a stop to the unfortunate incidents that are taking place and owing to the fact that in Dacca for the last two or three years these riots have been taking place the Peace Committee have adopted every step that can be undertaken in the past to meet the situation. Some of those steps they are going to take up this time also. Some were not found effective and we are not resorting to them. I have told them that as far as the Police arrangements are concerned the numbers of Police pickets are going to be increased and the members of the Peace Committee are sitting with the Police authorities to arrange where additional pickets should be posted. I also told the members of the Committee that Government are most anxious that these things should be stopped as soon as possible. We have tried every method that is possible in the past and it appears now that the only way in which we can tackle the situation is by imposing collective fines in areas in which the incidents take place.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Stop the Secondary Education Bill By so doing you will be creating communal harmony.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I do not know if Dr. Sanyal suggests that these riots are due to the Secondary Education Bill. If this is so, then unfortunately he is indicting his own community. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Hindus are being oppressed by this Bill.) But I feel, Sir, that it is the desire of the members of this House that any one who possesses any influence with the people of Dacca, whichever community they may belong to, will use and exert that influence in putting a stop to these unfortunate incidents and I will make an appeal to all the people, to all the members particularly, to kindly use their utmost influence to stop this because not only innocent lives are being lost but it is causing untold misery and damage to the people of the town of Dacca.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: May I ask one or two questions? I do not want to enter into any discussion. Naturally the Hon'ble Chief Minister will not be prepared to enter into any detailed discussion of the matter. I would just ask him if he would enlighten the House as to whether any investigation has been made as regards the cause of the outbreak at Dacca this time, particularly in view of the fact that the Hon'ble Chief Minister was not quite accurate, in my opinion, in telling the House that for the last two or three years these riots had been continuing. So far as I remember since 1942 there has been hardly any outbreak of the nature which has sullied the fair name of Dacca. Why is it that riots on a fairly big scale broke out this time and in view of the steps that the Hon'ble Chief Minister has taken does he think that the root cause of the outbreak this time has been removed?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I think, I am speaking from memory, but I am correct—that there have been incidents of the kind which have happened this time and they are not really riots but individual assaults on people, in 1941, 1942 and 1943. I think I am certain of that because I can convince Mr. Basu if he likes later on from records. Actually speaking, they are not riots; they are assaults on individuals mostly, that is all.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Whatever they are, what is the cause?

Mr. SPEAKER: Let us come to the ordinary business of the House scheduled for today, viz., discussion of the motions as well as amendments relating to the Secondary Education Bill.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Dr. GOBINDA CHANDRA BHAWMIK: Mr. Speaker, Sir, কাল নরেন্দ্র নারায়ণ চক্রবর্ত্তী যে জ্বালাময়ী বক্তৃতা করেছেন তার সম্বন্ধে দু' চারটে কথা বলতে চাই। তিনি যখন কাল বক্তৃতা করেছেন তা শুনে আমরা আশ্চর্য্যান্বিত হয়েছি। তিনি এখন নিজেকে Caste Hindu বলতেও লজ্জা বোধ করেন। এখন তাঁকে একটা question জিজ্ঞাসা করি। তিনি কি? তিনি তাঁর পিতা-পিতামহকে অস্বীকার করেন নাকি? তিনি যে হিন্দুদের ভোটেই এখানে এসেছেন—তাদের কাছে যেতে চান কি না? তিনি যদি সত্যিকারের Caste Hindu বলতে লজ্জা বোধ করেন তাহলে তাঁর করতে হবে—এই সিট ছেড়ে দিয়ে, তিনি নিজেকে Caste Hindu বলুন বা non-Caste Hinduই বলুন বা অন্য কিছুই বলুন—যদি তাঁর কর্ম্মজীবন আমরা আলোচনা করে দেখি তাহলে এমন কতকগুলি অপ্রিয় আলোচনা হবে যা নাকি না হলেই ভাল ছিল, কিন্তু তাঁর অস্বাভাবিক আচরণের দ্বারা বাধ্য হয়ে কিছুটা আলোচনা আমাদের করতে হচ্চে। প্রথমে তিনি ছিলেন হিন্দু মহাসভার একজন কর্ম্মী (Mr. NARENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA: ৩০৲ টাকা মাইনের।) দ্বিতীয়তঃ Assemblyতে এসেছিলেন, আমাদের দলেই প্রথমাবধি ছিলেন, তারপর দলত্যাগ করে ঐ দলে গিয়ে ভিড়েছেন। (Laughter.) কাল তিনি যে বক্তৃতা করেছেন সেটা শুধু তাঁর পক্ষেই সম্ভব, অন্য কারো দ্বারা সম্ভব নয়। আজ সারা বাংলার Caste Hindu তাঁর কথার প্রতিবাদ করছে তা বোধ হয় তিনি জানেন। তাই আমি তাঁকে আহ্বান করি—তিনি একবার পাবনা গিয়ে তাঁর Constituencyকে বুঝিয়ে বলুন যে তিনি যা করছেন সেটা করা ভাল, এবং তারা যদি তাঁকে সম্মতি দেয় তবে তিনি যা করছেন তাই করুন। আমাদের আপত্তি নাই।

গত বৎসর ৩০ লক্ষ লোক মারা গেছে। এখনো দুর্ভিক্ষের করালছায়া বর্ত্তমান, আষাঢ়-শ্রাবণ মাস নিকটবর্ত্তী হয়েছে—তখন যদি আবার নতুন করে দুর্ভিক্ষ দেখা দেয় তাহলে দেশের যে কি ভীষণ অবস্থা হবে—বাংলার মন্ত্রী মহোদয়রা হয়ত তা কল্পনাও করতে পারেন না, কিন্তু আমরা মফঃস্বলের লোক, আমরা জানি। এখনি যেখানে ৭৸০ আনা ধানের দাম বেঁধে দেয়া হয়েছে কিন্তু মফঃস্বলে ১১৷৷০ টাকা দরে লোকেরা কিনছে। এই যেখানে অবস্থা, আইনের দ্বারা সমস্ত জিনিষ control করার চেষ্টা সত্বেও যেখানে লোক খেতে পাচ্ছে না, সেখানে সকল লোকের অবশ্য-প্রয়োজনীয় যে বিষয় সেটার ব্যবস্থা সুষ্ঠুভাবে না করে মাননীয় মন্ত্রীর এরকম বিল আনা ঠিক হয় নাই। This Bill is the result of party manœuvring. This Bill is not really meant for the welfare of the people, either of the Hindus or of the Muslims. আমি challenge করে বলতে পারি, বিলের ধারাগুলি পড়ে, যে এটা কি হিন্দু কি মুসলমান কারো পক্ষেই ভাল নয়। আমি অবশ্য প্রথমেই বলতে চাই—মাননীয় মন্ত্রী মহোদয় অনুগ্রহ করে শুনবেন—বাংলা দেশের গত বছরের সেন্সাস রিপোর্ট দেখে বলছি এ দেশে বিশ বৎসর পর্য্যন্ত লোকসংখ্যা হলো ৩ কোটি ১৫ লক্ষ ৪০ জন। তার মধ্যে.......................
৩৮ লক্ষ ১৩ হাজার। তার মধ্যে হিন্দু হচ্ছে ১ কোটি ২২ লক্ষ। মুসলমান এক কোটি ৮০ লক্ষ। ....(Noise and interruption.)...................

আপনারা কি চান প্রাইমারী Education যে কমে যাচ্ছে সেইটাকে বাড়িয়ে তোলা—না Secondary Education সম্বন্ধে ঝগড়া এনে শিক্ষাকেই ব্যর্থ করতে চান? দ্বিতীয় কথা বলবো —যেটায় মন্ত্রী মহোদয়েরও বোধ হয় মতভেদ হবে না। ইংরেজ রাজত্বের জন্য বাংলা দেশের হিন্দুরা দায়ী নয়, কিন্তু বাংলা দেশের মুসলমানদের প্রতি যখন অবহেলা হয়েছে এবং যখন এদেশ ইংরেজের শাসনাধীনে এসেছে তার মূলে বাঙালী হিন্দুরা সাহায্য করেছে। এবং সেই প্রায়শ্চিত্ত করবার জন্য বাংলার বহু Caste Hindu প্রাণ দিয়েছে এবং দেবে। যেখানে হিন্দুরা চাকরীর লোভে কায়েমী বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদকে সাহায্য করেছিল, মুসলমান তখন ইংরেজের সহায়তা করেনি। পরবর্তী সময় যখন তাঁরা ইংরেজের সংস্পর্শে এলেন তখন তাঁরা সহযোগিতা করতে দাঁড়িয়ে গেলেন, কিন্তু এখন এমন সময় যখন আমাদের দরকার একত্রে দুই সম্প্রদায় দাঁড়িয়ে পরস্পরের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করার। আমাদের দেশের শিক্ষা প্রবর্তনে ইংরেজের শুধু কেরাণী সৃষ্টি করাই উদ্দেশ্য ছিল। তবু আজকের বাংলা দেশে হাই স্কুল এবং এম. ই. স্কুল যতগুলি হয়েছে তাদের সংখ্যা হলো ৩,৭৮৫। একথা বোধ হয় মন্ত্রী মহাশয়ও স্বীকার করবেন যে এগুলির শতকরা ৯০টি হিন্দুদের দ্বারা প্রতিষ্ঠিত এবং এজন্য খরচ হয় এক কোটি সাতানব্বই হাজার টাকা; এর ৮০ per cent. হিন্দুরাই দেয়। অথচ হিন্দুরা নাকি অনেক অন্যায় করেছে। যাক, আজ মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের যদি সত্যিকারের উন্নতি করতে আমার মুসলমান বন্ধুদের বাস্তবিকই আকাঙ্ক্ষা হয়ে থাকে তাহলে তাদের কর্তব্য হবে—পাড়াগাঁয়ে যেয়ে অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যা, সামাজিক সমস্যা প্রভৃতি, যার ফলে জন-সমাজের আজ এত দুর্দ্দশা সেগুলি উপলব্ধি করুন। মুসলমান ও হিন্দুদের মধ্যে ঝগড়া না করে এইটেই করা উচিত। আমরা যেমন বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যতন্ত্রকে ঘৃণা করি, সেই রকম এদেশে যদি কোন ধনী লোক গরীবের উপর অত্যাচার করে সে ধনী হিন্দু হোক বা মুসলমান হোক তাকে সমান ঘৃণা করা। আপনারা বলতে পারেন—হিন্দুরাই বিদেশী রাজত্ব স্থাপনে সাহায্য করেছে,—স্বীকার করি। কিন্তু তারা এ পর্য্যন্ত ভাল কাজও তো অনেক কিছু করেছে আর আপনারা ৭ বৎসর এসেছেন এই Assemblyর member হয়ে, আপনাদের সংখ্যা হলো ১১৯ জন, তাঁরা শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে সমষ্টিগত বা ব্যক্তিগতভাবে কে কি করেছেন, ক'টা স্কুল স্থাপন করেছেন, কটা মাদ্রাসা খুলেছেন? (Mr. Md. ISRAIL: অনেক, অনেক।) মাদ্রাসার মোট সংখ্যা হলো বাংলায় ৯১৪। তার মধ্যে ১১৫টা হলো senior মাদ্রাসা। এক লক্ষ ছেলে মাদ্রাসায় পড়ে। মুসলমান সমাজে প্রায় ৩ কোটি লোক আছে, তার মধ্যে মাদ্রাসায় পড়ে মাত্র ১ লক্ষ ছেলে! কাজেই আমি বলছি—আপনাদের শিক্ষার জন্য তীব্র আকাঙ্ক্ষা হওয়া উচিত; কিন্তু আপনারা যে বিল নিয়ে এসেছেন কেন এটা আনা হচ্ছে হিন্দু এবং মুসলমান সমাজের কলহ নিয়ে। এখানে প্রায় তিন কোটি মুসলমান এবং ২ কোটি ৮৫ হাজার হিন্দু, 45/55 P. C.। এখানে পাকিস্থানের ঝগড়া খাটে না। আমি স্পষ্টই বলছি একথা এখানে খাটে না। বর্ত্তমানে যদি মুসলমান সমাজ এখানে হিন্দুদের exploit করতে চায় হিন্দু সমাজ তা করতে দেবে না। আর হিন্দু সমাজও যদি মুসলমান সমাজকে exploit করতে চায় মুসলমান সমাজ তা করতে দেবে না। আজকার দিন হবে reciprocityর দিন।

আজ যে Billটা হয়েছে এর মধ্যে তাতে দেখতে পাই বোর্ডের মেম্বরদের ১৩টি elected এবং দশটি হলো nominated. . . . . (Noise and interruption.) আর যদি President Governmentএর থাকে তাহলে গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে ভোটাধিক্য নিশ্চিত। কাজেই এই Secondary Education Bill is nothing but the Writers' Building Daptarkhana Education Bill. Governmentএর হাতে, Ministerial Partyর হাতে অর্থাৎ যাঁদের হাতে ক্ষমতা থাকে তাঁরাই যা যা ইচ্ছা করতে পারবেন। এই এক

বৎসরে যা দেখেছি—ওরা অনেক কিছু করতে পারেন বটে। (A VOICE: কি দেখেছেন বলুন না ?) আপনারা ঝগড়া বাঁধিয়ে দিতে চান, দিন, কিন্তু I appeal to you all—যদি সত্যিকারের National Education Board করেন তবেই Secondary Education এদেশের উপকারে আসবে। তা না হলে আপনাদের এ বিল আনাটা নিরর্থক হবে। এই বলে Select Committeeতে বিলটা দেওয়ার প্রস্তাব আমি সমর্থন করছি।

Mr. ABDUL KARIM: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had no intention of taking part in the discussion before us but for some provoking observations of my friends opposite.

Sir, the Bengal Secondary Education Bill has had a chequered career during the last 7 years. It had attempted several times to pass through the legislative anvil without any success. It had to pass through several Select Committees, Expert Committees and it was handled by as many as three Hon'ble Ministers of Education. But nowhere could it find anything but temporary shelter. The history of the Bill with all its stumblings had been elaborately and lucidly explained by the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge in his introductory speech. He had made a full statement on the subject and met all objections against the Bill so far made by the so-called educationists from interested quarters. I need not dilate further on those points.

Sir, I would like to confine myself to some of the hackneyed charges which are being systematically levelled against the proposed measures by different members of the Opposition.

They all sang to the same tune. In doing so, they have indulged in so many irrelevancies for hours together that they have set up a parliamentary record of long-winded frivolities. The only motive behind those speeches appears to be an attempt to waste the time in anticipation of some opportune moment for some tactical move to sabotage the Bill by other than parliamentary methods.

Sir, coming to the Bill itself it appears to me that the main criticism against the measure can be said to have centred round the following points, namely,—

(1) it is of a communal character and as such it is what they call anti-national;
(2) it is going to retard the development of Hindu culture and interest for which the Hindus have contributed so much;
(3) it does not contemplate the control of education by the educationists but by the Government.
(4) there is no well thought-out or well-planned scheme or programme in the Bill.

Regarding the first point I have only to say that not only we in this House but the whole world knows what our friends opposite mean by "Nationalism". Their pretences have been clearly explained by my friend Mr. M. B. Mullick the other day. Sir, in the benches adorned by the Congress Party, both official and suspended, are supposed to sit some of the shining lights of nationalism and yet they can see nothing worth condemning in the attitude and the conduct and activities of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee who is an embodiment of communalism in the most aggressive form. On the contrary, they give him and his followers their wholehearted and passionate support. When such men utter the word "Nationalism" they insult the nation itself and also the world's intelligence. If the Muslims are communal, it is a defensive communalism and if we are accused for defending our national rights we glory in that accusation. I am glad to find, Sir, that there are some Hindus who have the honesty and the courage to call a spade a spade. In a paper of which an honourable

member of the Opposition, Mr. Bankim Chandra Mukherji, is the Editor, an article from a well-known Hindu recently appeared in which he said: আমলাতন্ত্রকে শিক্ষা কর্তৃত্বের মোটা বখরা দিতে ডাঃ শ্যামাপ্রসাদ প্রমুখ হিন্দু নেতাদের আপত্তি ছিল না, নিজেদের দেশের মুসলমান ভাইদের সমান বখরা দিতেই তাঁহাদের ছিল ঘোরতর আপত্তি। তাহাদের বর্ত্তমান তীব্র আন্দোলন ও মুসলমানদের এই পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনের উপরই বিষ উদগীরণ করিতেছে।

Again he said: হিন্দু নেতারা বিলের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদে জাতীয় স্বার্থ রক্ষার যতই আওয়াজ উঠান, আসলে তাঁদের প্রতিবাদও হিন্দু সাম্প্রদায়িক স্বার্থ রক্ষার জন্যই। সেইজন্য তাঁহারা এই রবও তুলিয়াছেন যে অন্য কোন ব্যবস্থা যদি কিছুতেই না হয় তো অন্ততঃপক্ষে হিন্দু প্রভৃতির জন্য আলাদা বোর্ড এবং মুসলমানদের জন্য আলাদা বোর্ড গঠন করা হোক। ইহাতেই তাঁহাদের জাতীয়তার খোলস হইতে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার আসল সাপ বাহির হইয়া পড়িয়াছে।

Sir, this is not uttered by any Muhammadan or any of the members belonging to this side. This is a paper edited by a member of the Opposition.

Sir, the principle of the Bill is said to be communal in character because it seeks to introduce separate electorates This policy is condemned as communal and as betraying a separatist tendency. But, Mr. Speaker, I invite you and this House to observe what happens elsewhere. A number of so-called Muslims are encouraged to foregather on a purely Muslim platform and organise a purely Muslim body under the name "Muslim Majlis". No Hindu participates and that is also a separate Muslim organisation. But its sponsors are not condemned as communal though they too have set up a separate communal body for Muslims only. Why this difference in attitude? Because apparent separatism of such Muslims suits the Hindu policy as they are to be used for fighting the Muslim League from a different front. Had those Hindu nationalists been honest and sincere, they would have condemned all sorts of separatism and asked the so-called nationalist Muslims to join the Congress instead of erecting another separate platform. Let me tell them, Sir, that such tricks are now too well-known and will not deceive anyone.

Sir, reservation of seats with joint electorates is worse than no representation. Innumerable instances in support of this contention may be mentioned. We need not even go outside this House for an example. Sir, we have one honourable member who happens to be a Muslim but who has been returned from a joint constituency with the help of Hindu votes and what has been the effect? He dares not follow a policy which may annoy our Hindu friends. Thus we have a Muslim member who must play to the tune which the Hindus call. This is the effect of joint electorate.

Sir, references have also been made to separate electorates in the Dacca University. Some Opposition speakers have gone so far as to attribute the causes of the communal disturbances at Dacca to the existence of separate electorates in the Dacca University. May I ask them why the Muslim students in the Calcutta University came out of the colleges during the *Sri* and *Padma* and *Bandemataram* agitation? Was it due to any such bogey of separate electorates in the Calcutta University? Sir, in the Calcutta University there are neither separate electorates in the various bodies nor communal reservation in appointments. There everything is perfectly nationalistic. Why then did Muslim students revolt and there were so many clashes between the Hindu and the Muslim students?

Sir, much capital has been made of the biassed and misleading statement of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *ex*-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca and it was held up before the public as a specimen of the so-called nationalistic views of an educationist though he could not make out any case that the standard of education imparted there was in any way inferior to that of

the Calcutta University, or that the average product of that University would not compare favourably with that of any other Indian University. But, Sir, the sound and unbiassed rejoinder to that statement by no less a person than Sir A. F. Rahman, another *ex*-Vice-Chancellor of the same University could not be accepted as it was not supposed to contain anything other than platitudes. Why? Because in the course of his statement he said:

"The Dacca University Act amongst other things guarantees the proportion of the two communities, Hindus and Mussalmans and provides for separate electorates for their representation. Every evil, real or imaginary, is traced to these provisions and in the name of academic sanctity they are condemned in violent language. * * * * * *
The Dacca University was intended to be a model for later Universities in India and I claim that it has abundantly justified that hope. * * * May be there have been mistakes but then which human being, which institution is perfect. It is a travesty of truth to ascribe the mistakes to the communalism of the Mussalmans, and the achievements to the nationalism of the Hindus or recklessly condemn one provision in the Act for all the ills from which the institution has suffered in recent times. * * * But it is a perversion of truth to insinuate that in Dacca the riots, strikes, the murder of two Muslim students within the University compound and the tension between the communities are all due to the University Act itself. It is an absurd suggestion."

Sir, is this House aware that Sir A. F. Rahman is an educationist of much greater experience of the Universities in India? Before he came to the Dacca University he was closely associated with the University of Aligarh and he was also a member of the Punjab University Enquiry Commission. Later he was a member of the Federal Public Service Commission and as such acquired an attitude of detachment and impartiality which Dr Majumdar had no chance of cultivating. Furthermore, Sir A. F. Rahman is the product of the liberal atmosphere of Oxford whereas Dr. Majumdar's orbit is of much narrower scope. I also understand that Dr. Majumdar is now an aspirant for a chair in the Calcutta University which is in the gift of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. This House will now easily realise the value to be attached to Dr. Majumdar's jeremiad.

Now we come to the question of Hindu and Muslim interest and culture. It is said that under the existing system both these cultures have developed side by side. We have not to go far to find out how far this has been done. Some of my friends of the other side of the House who can wax eloquent on Sri Krishna's *chakra* for hours together, fail to spell or pronounce names of their Muslim colleagues correctly and properly. This is how we have developed our culture side by side under the Hindu domination in the Calcutta University. If we now want to have equal proportion of real representation in the Education Board a section of our Hindu friends begin to cry hoarse that their culture would be endangered. On the other hand it is Muslim culture which is mortally threatened if Secondary Education continue to be dominated by the Calcutta University. There is no denying the fact that Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee is the prime mover in the present agitation against the Secondary Education Bill. Dr. Mookerjee is also a pillar of the All-India Hindu Mahasava. The Secretary of that organisation Mr. Kharphande, as reported in the *Statesman* in the course of his speech at Karnool in a public meeting on the 28th of the April last said "India belongs to the Hindus and in future it would belong to their children". He also appealed to all Hindus to teach their children that the land belongs to them and they would rule it. He also declared that the development of this idea in every child was itself a part of the programme of Hindu Mahasava.

Sir, are we to understand that Dr. Mookerjee and his followers in Bengal apprehend that they would not be able to carry out this programme

of organisation if so many independent Muslims are in the proposed Secondary Education Board? I expect a straight answer from Dr. Mookerjee.

Sir, it is argued that the Hindus have contributed a great deal to the development of education in this country. But I cannot understand what they mean by it. If they have spent for education in the province that itself does not constitute a ground for not allowing the Muslims to have anything to do in the shaping of the educational policy of their children. Sir, are we to understand that because they have made monetary contributions their vested interests are not to be disturbed in spite of strong popular demand for the reform of Secondary Education? I would request my friends not to carry this point too far, as has been explained by my friend Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakravartty yesterday in his marvellous speech because the same analogy may be cited by the British in India who may claim that having done so much for and sunk so much capital in this country they should be allowed to continue their domination.

Sir, regarding the contention about the absence of educationists on the Board and the support of education for the reform I can only say that this has no leg to stand upon. There are ample provisions in the Bill for the representation of educationists. What they really cannot tolerate is that representatives of Muslim educationists like, Headmasters, Principals and others would not be elected by a majority of Hindu votes for obvious reasons. After all if a Muslim educationist comes through Muslim votes he remains an educationist and the method of election does not alter the fact that he is an educationist. Why then this insistence on joint electorates and opposition to separate electorates?

But, Sir, our friends opposite have peculiar notions of who is an educationist and who is not, for instance, one *ex*-Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University Dr. R. C. Majumdar is an educationist because his views suit them but another *ex*-Vice-Chancellor like Sir A. F. Rahman cannot be an educationist because he holds other views. Mr. A. K. Chanda, an ægrotat decree-holder of the Oxford University, must be an educationist because he voted against the Bill in the Calcutta University Senate but Dr. Zuberi, Principal of the Islamia College, cannot claim to be an educationist because he could not vote with them in the Senate. Mr. N. R. Sarkar can deliver his verdict on the Education Bill today as an educationist from President's Chair of the University Institute Hall but the Hon'ble Mr. Shahabuddin though an *ex*-Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University has no right to utter even a single word about it. Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas of the Calcutta High Court is an educationist but Mr. Hamidul Haque Choudhury, an Advocate of the same High Court, must not speak on educational matters. Mr. Bokainagari can become an educationist overnight and declaim against the Secondary Education Bill but the representative of the Dacca University Mr. Fazlur Rahman cannot be said to know anything about education. Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu can be an educationist because he supports the statement of Sir P. C. Roy and the vested interests of the Hindus but the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan has no right to be an educationist. It is no use multiplying instances of opposition's inconsistencies. Even the Leader of the Opposition Mr. Fazlul Huq is an educationist today on account of his dilatory motion for dropping the Bill. But he was not so sometime ago when he himself introduced the Bill with a lengthy speech in its support. This is the psychology of the Opposition.

Sir, as for the argument that the Bill does not lay down any well thought out educational policy the question does not arise. It is for the Board when created to evolve its own policy, it is not for Government to tie the Board down to any specific policy enunciated from beforehand. To have done so would have been to deprive the Board of its scope on a vital issue. I am quite sure the Opposition is fully aware of this but they are raising the slogans merely to cloud the issues.

One word more and I have done. My friend Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas and some others spoke at length on unity. But I do not know if they have realised the meaning of the word "unity" which presupposes separate entities. The sooner they recognise it the better for all concerned. In order to be able to do so they must change their outlook and angle of vision. It would not do if they change, if I am permitted to use the language of a prominent speaker, from the acute angle to the obtuse angle. It must change to the right angle.

But it is too much to hope that our friends opposite will ever deviate into the right outlook on anything that concerns Muslims. They really do not want unity on a recognition of the rights of the Muslims as a separate entity, they want Muslims to merge themselves with the Hindus as their camp followers. But let them know, Sir, that this is an idle dream. Muslims would much rather perish than agree to a merger. A Syamaprasad may thunder and his Congress Myrmidons may echo his communal cry but our caravan of equity, justice and fairplay to all shall proceed on not only for days together, if necessary for months together.

Dr. SHARAT CHANDRA MUKHERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলটি Select Committeeতে পাঠাবার জন্য যে প্রস্তাব হয়েছে তা সমর্থনে আমি কিছু বলতে চাই। সুদীর্ঘ অধিবেশনের শেষের দিকে একখানি শাণিত খড়্গের মত নব রূপায়িত মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলখানি আমাদের স্কন্ধের উপর আসিয়া পড়িয়াছে। এই বিলখানি যে অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজনীয় ইহা সর্ব্ববাদিসম্মত। ১৯৪০ সাল হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া বর্ত্তমান মর্ম্মান্তিক মুহূর্ত্ত পর্য্যন্ত বহুরূপীর মত নানা রঙ্গে রূপান্তরিত হইয়া আসা যাওয়া করিয়াছে কিন্তু আজ পর্য্যন্ত কোন মীমাংসা হয় নাই। গত কয়েক বৎসরে মন্ত্রিসভা তিনবার পরিবর্ত্তিত হইয়াছে এবং নবগঠিত কর্ম্মসচিবগণ এই বিলখানাকে সোনা এবং রূপার কাঠির মত, তাঁদের খেয়ালমত নাড়াচাড়া করিয়া কখনও ভয় দেখাইয়াছেন, কখনও আশান্বিত করিয়াছেন। পূর্ব্বেকার বিলখানি মনযোগের সহিত আলোচনা করিলে সুস্পষ্ট বুঝা যায় ইহার উদ্দেশ্য দুইটি প্রধান, যাহা বিলের মধ্যে সন্নিবিষ্ট আছে। শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে কি করিলে ভাল হইবে সে বিষয় ইহাতে কিছু নাই। কে এবং কাহারা মাধ্যমিক বিদ্যালয়গুলিকে পরি-চালিত করিবে সেই কথাই ইহাতে আছে। একটু তলাইয়া দেখিলে বুঝা যায় ইহার একটি উদ্দেশ্য, ইচ্ছা না করিলেও মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার মূলে কুঠারাঘাত করিয়া শিক্ষা জগতে একটা বিশৃঙ্খলা আনা এবং দ্বিতীয়তঃ হিন্দু জাতির, বিশেষ করিয়া শিক্ষিত উচ্চবর্ণ হিন্দুদিগের কণ্ঠরোধ করা, অথবা সাধারণ ভাষায় উহার "কোর্ব্বানি"।

হিন্দু শিক্ষিত সম্প্রদায়ের উপর এই অপূর্ব্ব জাতক্রোধের কারণ কি, আমার ক্ষুদ্র বুদ্ধিতে আমি বুঝিতে অক্ষম। ইংরাজ রাজত্বের প্রথম যুগের ইতিহাস আলোচনা করিলে জানা যায় যে তৎকালীন মুষ্টিমেয় কতকগুলি হিন্দুই, কোম্পানী এবং সরকারী ইচ্ছার বিরুদ্ধে আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করিয়া ভারতবর্ষে তথা বাংলায় শিক্ষা পদ্ধতির প্রচলন করেন। বারবার আন্দোলন ও সংগ্রাম করিয়া সেই শিক্ষা পদ্ধতির কিছু কিছু উন্নতি সাধন হয় এবং সর্ব্ব প্রথমেই তাঁহারা শিক্ষালাভের সুযোগ গ্রহণ করেন। কোম্পানি এবং পরে সরকার বাহাদুর যখন বুঝিতে পারেন যে, স্থানীয় কতকগুলি শিক্ষিত ব্যক্তি না হইলে সরকারী কর্ম্ম পরিচালনা করা অসম্ভব তখনই কেবল ১৮৩৫ সালে, সেই উদ্দেশ্যে দেশে কতকগুলি গোলাম সৃষ্টি করিবার জন্য সরকার ইংরাজী শিক্ষার প্রচলন করেন। এই সময় বারানসীতে সংস্কৃত কলেজ ও কলিকাতায় মাদ্রাসা প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিল। কিন্তু তার প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য ছিল, এমন পণ্ডিত ও মৌলবী সৃষ্টি করা যাহারা ইংরেজকে নিজেদের আইন বুঝাইয়া দিতে পারিবে। তখন বিলাতে ঊনবিংশ শতাব্দীর প্রথমেতে, এই বিশ্বাস ছিল যে জনসাধারণ শিক্ষালাভ করিলে রাজদ্রোহী হইয়া উঠিবে। ১৮৩১ সালে Parliamentary

কমিটির সম্মুখে সাক্ষ্যদান কালে Major-General Sir Lionel Smith ইংরাজী শিক্ষায়তন সম্বন্ধে বক্তৃতা দেন যে, "ইংরাজী শিক্ষার ফলে ভারতবাসীর মনে একদিন আত্মকর্তৃত্ব লাভের বাসনা জাগিবে এবং তখন আমাদের ভারতবর্ষ হইতে চলিয়া আসিতে হইবে।" এইরূপ রাষ্ট্র মনোভাবের বিপক্ষে সংগ্রাম করিয়া ইংরাজী শিক্ষার প্রচলনে হিন্দুরা যত্নবান ছিলেন। তদানীন্তন কয়েকজন বিদেশী অথচ উদারমতাবলম্বী শিক্ষকের প্রভাবে বাংলা দেশের অনেক লোক উচ্চ শিক্ষালাভ করে; যাঁহাদের নাম এখনও ইতিহাসে স্বর্ণাক্ষরে লিখিত আছে। এবং এই শিক্ষার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তাহারা বুঝিতে পারে যে, শাসনপ্রথা যেভাবে চলিতেছিল সেইভাবে অগ্রসর হইলে দেশের অবস্থা অতিশয় শোচনীয় হইবে, জনসাধারণের মনোবৃত্তি সংকীর্ণতর হইবে, দেশের অধিকাংশ লোকই অশিক্ষিত থাকিয়া যাইবে এবং দেশের দৈন্য সর্ব্বপ্রকারে বাড়িয়া চলিবে।

তৎকালীন সুবিখ্যাত যুবক শিক্ষক Henry Lewis Divian Deroxioর Fakir of Jangive কাব্যের সুরশব্দে প্রাণ মাতান কবিতাটি সকলের প্রাণে স্বদেশ প্রেমের সাড়া জাগ্রত করে ইহার একটি পদ:—

My country! in the days of glory past,
A beauteous halo encircled round thy brow,
And worshipped as a deity thou wast,
Where is the glory, where that reverence now?

একজন বিদেশী ইংরাজের কণ্ঠে এইরূপ গীত ধ্বনিত হওয়ায় তখন হইতেই দেশের শিক্ষিত জনসাধারণ দেশের স্বাধীনতার কথা চিন্তা করিতে আরম্ভ করে। তখনকার ইতিহাসে হিন্দু ব্যতীত অন্য কোন সম্প্রদায়ভুক্ত ব্যক্তির নাম পাওয়া যায় না, অন্তত: বাংলা দেশে ত নয়ই। হিন্দুদের আপ্রাণ চেষ্টাতেই বাংলা দেশে ইংরাজী শিক্ষার প্রচলন হয়। তাহারা এই অমূল্য সুযোগ গ্রহণ করিয়া নিজেদের শিক্ষিত ও উন্নত করে; এবং তাহাদেরই তপস্যা, সাধনা, পরিশ্রম ও পরিকল্পনার ফলেই আজ আমাদের এই অবস্থা। হিন্দুরা দেশের অকল্যাণ করেন নাই কল্যাণ সাধনই করিয়াছেন। সুতরাং তাঁহাদের নিকট সকলের কৃতজ্ঞ হওয়া উচিত। সে সময়ে, অপ্রচুর হইলেও যতগুলি শিক্ষায়তন সৃষ্টি হইয়াছিল তাহা নির্ব্বিচারে সকল সম্প্রদায়ের জন্যই উন্মুক্ত ছিল। আমরা শিশুকাল হইতে যে সমস্ত বিদ্যালয়ে পাঠ করিয়াছি কোন স্থলেই সম্প্রদায়গত বিধিনিষেধ দেখি নাই। আমার মনে পড়ে আমাদের minor schoolএও হিন্দু-মুসলমান সকল জাতি, এমন কি সাঁওতাল পর্য্যন্ত আমাদের সহপাঠি ছিল। এক সঙ্গে বসতাম, খেলতাম ও একই সঙ্গে লেখাপড়া শিখতাম।

ইহা সত্য যে, হিন্দু বিশেষ করিয়া বর্ণহিন্দুগণ সকলে ছিলেন সর্ব্বাপেক্ষা বুদ্ধিমান, শিক্ষার জন্য ছিল তাঁদের একটা অতৃপ্ত আকাঙ্ক্ষা এবং একটা প্রচণ্ড সংস্কার; তাই তাঁহারাই শিক্ষা বিস্তারে অগ্রণী ছিলেন এবং সুযোগমত শিক্ষাও গ্রহণ করিয়াছিলেন। সরকার বাহাদুর বা বিদেশীয় বণিক সম্প্রদায় তাহাদের কার্য্য পরিচালনার জন্য শিক্ষিত সম্প্রদায়কেই কাজে লাগাইত। এবং ইহার অশুভ ফলের প্রতিক্রিয়াবশত: চাকুরীজীবি প্রত্যেক মানুষের মনে বিজাতীয় দাস মনোভাবের সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে।

১৮৮৮ সাল পর্য্যন্ত হিন্দু বা মুসলমান বিদ্বেষ বলিয়া কোন কিছুরই অস্তিত্ব ছিল না। ভারতীয় কংগ্রেসের চতুর্থ অধিবেশনের পরে হিন্দু ও মুসলমান পরস্পরকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করিবার চেষ্টা সুরু হয়। ভারতে হিন্দু ও মুসলমান দুইটি স্বতন্ত্র জাতি বড়লাট ডাফরিন স্বয়ং এই মতবাদ প্রচার করেন। ধর্ম্মে বিভিন্ন হলেও হিন্দু-মুসলমান দুই যে এক জাতিভুক্ত, একই পিতামাতার সন্তান একথা তিনি বা তাঁহার অধস্তন ব্যক্তিরা স্বীকার করলেন না।

হিন্দু-মুসলমান বিভেদের চেষ্টা পূর্ব্বেও একবার হইয়াছিল। কয়েক বৎসর পূর্ব্বে জামালুদ্দিন নামে একজন মিশরীয় ধর্ম্মপ্রচারক ভারতবর্ষে আসিয়া শিক্ষিত মুসলমানদের কর্ণে Pan Islamismএর মন্ত্র দিয়া যান। ইহারই ফলে মহম্মদ ইউসুফ বঙ্গীয় ব্যবস্থা পরিষদে ১৮৮৩ সালে স্বায়ত্ত-শাসন প্রথা প্রবর্ত্তনের আলোচনাকালে মুসলমানদের জন্য সভাসংখ্যা সংরক্ষিত করার জেদ করেন। এবং ইনিই নারীর ভোটাধিকার দানের স্বপক্ষেও মত প্রদান করেন। Statutory Civil Service প্রথা উঠাইয়া নিম্নতর দক্ষ কর্ম্মচারীদের উহাতে নিয়োগ ও একই সময় বিলাতে ও ভারতে Civil Service পরীক্ষা গ্রহণের বিরুদ্ধে অধিকাংশ সভাই মত দেন। হিন্দু সভা তিন জন এর অনুকূলে মত প্রকাশ করেন। মুসলমান সভায় Sir Syed Ahmed Khan ও অপর একজন ইহার বিরোধিতা করিয়া বলেন যে ভারতে Civil Service পরীক্ষা গ্রহণের ব্যবস্থা হ'লে হিন্দুরাই সব পদ অধিকার করিবে, মুসলমানদের প্রতি সুবিচার করা হইবে না। ইহার ভিতরেই সরকারের বিভেদের প্রচেষ্টার সূত্র আমরা বারবার লক্ষ্য করি।

বিস্তারিতভাবে আলোচনা করিয়া দেখিলে স্পষ্ট জানা যায় যে, হিন্দুরা কোন দিনও মুসলমানের উন্নতির পথে বাধা দেয় নাই। ইহার জন্য দায়ী তাহারা নিজেরা এবং মূলত: দায়ী সদাশয় গভর্ণমেণ্ট। তবে হিন্দুদিগের প্রতি এত অবিশ্বাস ও বিদ্বেষ আসিল কেন? মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে একটা পৃথক ও সুচিন্তিত ব্যবস্থা হওয়া সম্বন্ধে সকলেই একমত। Sadler Commission Reportএ ইহা সুপারিশ করা হইয়াছে, যদিও বিলখানি তাঁহাদের মত অনুযায়ী প্রস্তুত হয়নি। কেবল হিন্দু ও মুসলমানের সংখ্যা নির্ণয় ও সরকারী আধিপত্যের চেষ্টাই হইয়াছে। শিক্ষার উন্নতিকল্পে, শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে অভিজ্ঞ ব্যক্তিদেরও পূর্ণ অধিকার দেওয়া হয় নাই। পাছে মুসলমানদের সংখ্যা ৫০ হইতে ৪৯ এ নামিয়া যায়। যে শিক্ষার ফলে একটা সুশিক্ষিত আদর্শ জাতি সৃষ্টি আমরা কামনা করি সেই শিক্ষা বিভাগ বণ্টননামার ফলে শতধা বিচ্ছিন্ন করিয়া শ্রেষ্ঠস্থানীয় জ্ঞানী ব্যক্তিদের সুপরামর্শ হইতে নিজেদের স্বেচ্ছায় বঞ্চিত করিয়া বর্ত্তমান সরকার জাতি, সম্প্রদায় ও সারা দেশের যে কি পরিমাণ সর্ব্বনাশ করিতে কোমর বাঁধিয়াছেন এ কথা কি একবার স্থিরচিত্তে চিন্তা করা উচিত নহে? কংগ্রেসের প্রথা অবলম্বন করিয়া সেই নীতিতে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইয়া আমরা কিছুতেই ইহা সমর্থন করিতে পারি না।

আরও গভীর পরিতাপের বিষয় এই যে হিন্দু নামধারী ইংরাজের অপূর্ব্ব সৃষ্টি Scheduled Castes সম্প্রদায় কতকগুলি স্বার্থান্ধ ব্যক্তি এবং কয়েকজন বর্ণহিন্দুও ভাগবিভাগের কুহকে পড়িয়া এবং বর্ত্তমান "লীগ মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর" প্ররোচনায়, অন্ধভাবে নিজেদের জন্য পৃথক ব্যবস্থা করিতে প্রস্তুত হইয়াছেন। শুধু প্রস্তুত নহেন একেবারে উন্মাদ। কোনও যুক্তি তর্ক তাঁহাদের কাছে স্থান পায় না। তাঁহারা বলেন Caste Hindu সম্প্রদায়ই নাকি তাঁহাদের উন্নতির পথে বাধা দিয়া চিরদিন নির্য্যাতীত করিয়া রাখিয়াছে নহিলে তাঁহারা এতদিন এক একজন মনিষী হইয়া পড়িতেন। তাই আজ তাহারাই প্রতিশোধ লইতে চান। তাঁহাদের বিবেচনায় এই বর্ণহিন্দু সম্প্রদায়কে অবনমিত ও তাচ্ছিল্য করিয়া হিন্দুধর্ম্মকে মিথ্যা অপবাদ দিয়া ভবিষ্যতে তাঁহারা কোথায় দাঁড়াইবেন এ কথা কি একবার তাঁরা চিন্তা করিয়া দেখিয়াছেন? নিজেদের সর্ব্বনাশের জন্য, আত্মবিলোপ করিয়া, আত্মপ্রসাদ লাভ কি একটা বড় লাভ? আমি বলিতেছি যে ভবিষ্যতে এই প্রকার ভুলের জন্য তাঁহাদের চিরদিন অনুতাপ করিতে হইবে। বর্ণহিন্দু বা হিন্দুগণ ইহাতে পৃথক হইলে তথাকথিত লীগ বন্ধুগণ তাহাদের মুষ্টিগত করিয়া হয় তাহাদিগকে মর্কটের মত নৃত্য করাইবেন, অথবা নির্বিচারে সমস্ত নির্য্যাতন তাহাদেরই উপর

কেন্দ্রীভূত হইবে। আমি দেখিয়া আশ্চর্য্য হই যে এমন একটা আত্মঘাতী মনোভাব কেমন করিয়া শিক্ষিত জনসাধারণের মাথায় আসিতে পারে?

সাম্রাজ্যবাদী সরকার যখন চাহেন ভারতবর্ষ তথা বাংলা দেশকে সহস্র ভাগে বিভক্ত করিয়া তাহাদের মেরুদণ্ড ভঙ্গ করিয়া পঙ্গু করিয়া রাখিয়া দিতে; দেশের অধিকাংশ জনসাধারণ যখন একতার বন্ধনে একটি সুষ্ঠু জাতি গঠিত করিয়া দেশকে স্বাধীন করবার জন্য লালায়িত; পৃথিবী যখন সর্ব্বতোভাবে প্রগতিশীল; মহাযুদ্ধের অবসানে যখন নূতন জগৎ সৃষ্টির পরিকল্পনায় মহাজনগণ ব্যস্ত; বাংলা দেশে সেই সময় মুসলমান ও তপশীলভুক্ত হিন্দুর এক ভগ্নাংশ, আত্মহত্যা করিবার জন্য ছুরিকা শানাইতেছেন—ইহা অপেক্ষা মর্ম্মান্তিক দুঃখের বিষয় আর কি হইতে পারে তাহা বুঝিতে পারি না।

এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল সম্বন্ধে দেশব্যাপী আন্দোলন চলিতেছে। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সদস্যগণ তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করিয়াছেন। দেশের সর্ব্বজন-পূজিত বিদ্যোৎসাহী মহাজনগণ ইহার বিপক্ষে হস্তোত্তোলন করিয়াছেন এবং দেশ যখন মহামারি, দুর্ভিক্ষ ও বিকট দৈন্য দ্বারা নিষ্পেষিত, এই অশুভ মুহূর্ত্তে বাংলা দেশে এই সর্ব্বনাশী শিক্ষা বিল প্রণয়ন কি না করিলেই নয়? ভাবিয়াছেন কি ইহার ফলে লাভবান হইবে কে? মুসলমান না তপশীলভুক্ত অমুসলমান? লাভবান হইবে ইংরাজ—সাম্রাজ্যবাদ জয়যুক্ত হইবে। বাংলাদেশ গভীরতর অন্ধকারে নিমগ্ন হইবে।

ভারতবর্ষ শাসনের জন্য ইংরাজ গভর্ণমেণ্টের প্রধান নীতি হ'ল ভেদনীতি। Divide and rule অর্থাৎ জনসাধারণকে শতধা বিচ্ছিন্ন করিয়া তাহাদের ভিতর সদাসর্ব্বদা দ্বন্দ্বের সৃষ্টি করিয়া তাহাদের দুর্ব্বল করিয়া দেওয়া। ইহা আমরা সকলেই জানি। আমাদের দেশে অতীত কাল হতে সম্প্রদায় ও জাতিগত বিদ্বেষ বর্ত্তমান। ইহা যে রাজনীতি ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের উন্নতির পথে কত কঠোর অন্তরায় ইহা আমরা সকলে অনুভব করি। ইহারই সুযোগ বুঝিয়া ইংরাজ সরকার, এই সাংঘাতিক ভেদনীতির উপর তাঁহাদের সমস্ত শক্তি প্রয়োগ করিয়াছে। আমাদের দেশের এই সামাজিক ব্যাধি দূর করিবার জন্য মহাত্মা গান্ধী প্রাণপণে চেষ্টা করিয়া আসিতেছেন। তাঁহারই মৃত্যুপণ করিয়া প্রয়োপবেশনের ফলে আমাদের হতভাগ্য ৩০ জন তপশীলভুক্ত ভাই আজ এই পরিষদের সদস্য। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয়, মাত্র এই ৩০ জন তপশীল-ভুক্ত সদস্য অন্যাসীভাবে এক সাথে মিলতে পারে নাই। আমি জানি তাঁহাদের প্রত্যেক জাতি পরস্পরকে বিশ্বাস না করিয়া ঘৃণার চক্ষে দেখেন। এবং সকলকে ছাড়িয়া বিদ্রোহ করিয়াছেন নিজের ধর্ম্ম, সমাজ এবং বর্ণহিন্দুদের উপর।

আমার একান্ত অনুরোধ সকলে সুস্থ মস্তিষ্কে সুচিন্তিতভাবে দেশের মুখ চাহিয়া যথার্থ কল্যাণের পথ বাছিয়া লউন।

Maulvi ABDUR RAZZAK: সভাপতি মহোদয়, আজ কয়েক দিন যাবৎ মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের গুণাবলী ও দোষত্রুটি সম্বন্ধে উভয় পক্ষ হইতে পরিষদে বিস্তর আলোচনা হইয়া গিয়াছে এবং মাননীয় মন্ত্রী সাহেবও বিলের উপকারিতা সম্বন্ধে সুদীর্ঘ এক বক্তৃতা প্রদান করিয়াছেন। কিন্তু পরিতাপের বিষয় মুসলমানী ধর্ম্মশিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে একবারও কাহারও মুখে একটু শব্দও শুনা গেল না। মাননীয় মন্ত্রী সাহেব বিলের ডেফিনেসনে Secondary Educationএর যে ব্যাখ্যা করিয়াছেন তাহাতে স্পষ্টভাবে বোঝা যাইতেছে যে মুসলমানী ধর্ম্মশিক্ষাই এই বিলের অন্তর্ভুক্ত রহিয়াছে এবং মাদ্রাসার যে বিশ্লেষণ করিয়াছেন তাহাতেও স্পষ্ট লেখা রহিয়াছে, সিনিয়র মাদ্রাসাসমূহ Secondary Educationভুক্ত মৌলবী ও মৌলানা সাহাবান আলেম, ফাজেল ও টাইটেল ক্লাশ পড়িয়া যাহা বর্ত্তমান ইউনিভারসিটির আই-এ, বি-এ, ও এম-এ, ক্লাশের সমান

বোর্ড তাহা পাশ করিয়া মেট্রিকুলেসন ক্লাশের সার্টিফিকেট মাননীয় মন্ত্রী সাহেবের ডিপার্টমেণ্ট হইতে প্রাপ্ত হইবেন, ইহাই হইল চমৎকার, গৌরবের বিষয় এবং তাহাতে মন্ত্রী সাহেবের ধর্ম্মশিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে যে অভিজ্ঞতা আছে তাহা জানিতে কাহারও বাকী রহিল না। বিলটি আলোচনা করিলে দেখা যায় কেবলমাত্র কয়েক জন মুসলমান মেম্বারের পদলাভ করা ভিন্ন কৃষি, শিল্প ও বাণিজ্য শিক্ষার বাধ্যতামূলক ব্যবস্থা করিয়া সমাজ হইতে বেকার-সমস্যা দূরীভূত করা হইবে অথবা ধর্ম্মশিক্ষা বিস্তার দ্বারা মুসলমান ছেলেদের চরিত্রের উন্নতি সাধন হইবে তাহার লেশমাত্র এই বিলে দেখা যাইতেছে না, বরং মুসলমান সমাজের ধর্ম্মশিক্ষার ব্যাঘাত ঘটিতেছে। অধিকন্তু প্রাইমারী শিক্ষা হইতে কোরাণ শরিফ শিক্ষা বাদ পড়িয়া যাওয়ায় মুসলমানের ধর্ম্মশিক্ষার মূলে কুঠারাঘাত হইয়াছে। স্পীকার মহোদয়, এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল দ্বারা মুসলমান ধর্ম্মের যে গুরুতর ক্ষতি হইবে তাহাতে বিন্দুমাত্র সন্দেহ থাকিতে পারে না। কারণ এই বিলেতে একটি মহিলা কমিটির ব্যবস্থা রহিয়াছে। স্পীকার মহোদয়, আমি আপনার যোগে গভর্ণমেণ্ট সমর্থক মুসলমান মেম্বার মহোদয়গণকে জিজ্ঞাসা করিতেছি যে খোদাতালা মানুষের হেদায়েতের জন্য ১ লক্ষ ২৪ হাজার পয়গম্বর পাঠাইয়াছিলেন তাহাতে একজনও মহিলা ছিলেন না। কিন্তু আজ লীগ মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর আমলে মুসলমানের মহিলাদিগকে পাকিস্থানের অংশ গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে এবং জীবনের উন্নতির জন্য শিক্ষালাভ করিতে হইবে। এই নানাবিধ অজুহাতে কোরাণ শরীফের কঠোর নিষেধ থাকা সত্ত্বেও মুসলমান মহিলাদিগকে বেপর্দ্দা করা হইতেছে। কেবল শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রেই যে ইহা করা হইতেছে তাহা নহে। আর একটি ঘটনার কথা এই পরিষদে উপস্থিত করিতেছি। সেদিন করাচী ক্লাবে বল-নৃত্য চালু সম্বন্ধে যে ভোটাভুটি হইয়া গেল সিন্ধুর লীগ প্রধান মন্ত্রী স্যার গোলাম হোসেন হেদায়েত উল্লা যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা করিয়া সভাস্থলে প্রস্তাবটিকে পাশ করাইয়াছেন এবং অনেক যুবতী ভোট ক্যানভাস্ করিতে লিপ্ত হইয়াছিলেন। বল্-নৃত্য মানে হইতেছে পর নারী ও পর পুরুষে পরস্পরের কোমর ধরিয়া নৃত্য করণ; ইহাকে পাকিস্থানের আর এক পদ অগ্রসর ধরিয়া লওয়া যাইতে পারে।

স্পীকার মহোদয়, ১৯৪২ সালে যে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল রচনা হইয়াছিল তাহাতে ওল্ডস্কীম সিনিয়ার মাদ্রাসাগুলিকে বিলের গণ্ডির বহির্ভুত করা হইয়াছিল। কেন না ভূতপূর্ব্ব প্রধান মন্ত্রী মাননীয় মৌলভী এ. কে. ফজলুল হক সাহেব মুসলমানের ধর্ম্মশিক্ষার উন্নতিকল্পে একটি আরবী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করিবেন বলিয়া ঘোষণা করিয়াছিলেন। সেই অনুযায়ী তিনি একটি মাদ্রাসা কমিটি গঠন করিয়া তাহার রিপোর্ট সংগ্রহ করতঃ অতি সত্বর তাহা কার্য্যে পরিণত করিতে সংকল্প করিয়াছিলেন। কিন্তু, দুঃখের বিষয় খোদার কি মহিমা, তিনি মন্ত্রিত্ব হইতে অবসর গ্রহণ করায় ঐ পরিকল্পনা লুপ্ত হইয়া মুসলমানের ধর্ম্মশিক্ষার অবসান হইল। ইহাই হইল পাকিস্থানের প্রথম সোপান। এই শিক্ষা বিল দ্বারা যে যে শিক্ষা বোর্ড গঠন হইবে তাহাতে অধিকাংশ মেম্বর থাকিবে অমুসলমান, এবং মুসলমান যাঁহারা থাকিবেন তাঁহাদের মধ্যে অনেকেই মুসলমানের কোরাণ, হাদিস, ফেকা, ওসুল, আকায়েদ ইত্যাদি বিষয় মোটেই অবগত নহেন এবং দু-একজন প্রকৃত মুসলমান এখানে থাকিয়াও কিছু করিতে পারিবেন না। ইহাতে যে মুসলমানের ধর্ম্মশিক্ষা বাংলা দেশ হইতে বিদায় গ্রহণ করিবে তাহাতে কোন সন্দেহ থাকিতে পারে না। বর্ত্তমানে মুসলমান সমাজে কাদেয়ানি, সিয়া, বর্ণচোরা সিয়া, নামজাহা, খারেজি, রাপেজি নানাবিধ ফেরকা ঢুকিয়া আহালেছুন্নতে জমায়েতের তরিকাকে লুপ্ত করিতে যেভাবে বদ্ধপরিকর হইয়া পড়িয়াছে তাহা কাহারও অজানা নাই। বাংলার বর্ত্তমান লীগ মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর মুরব্বি হইতেছেন মিঃ জিন্না, তিনি নিজে একজন সিয়া। ১৯৩৮ সালে কলিকাতা মহম্মদ আলী পার্কে লীগের বিশেষ অধিবেশনে মিঃ জিন্না উচ্চ কণ্ঠে ঘোষণা করিয়াছিলেন যে মুসলমান সমাজকে এক

শ্রেণীর মৌলানা, মৌলভীর বিশ্রী ত্রাস হইতে মুক্ত করিতে পারিয়াছি। এই বলিয়া তিনি আত্মপ্রসাদ লাভ করিয়াছিলেন। বাংলার বর্ত্তমান মন্ত্রিসভা মি: জিন্নার ইঙ্গিতে চলিতেছে। তিনি যাহা বলিবেন তাই শুনিতে বাধ্য হইবে। মি: জিন্নার পাকিস্থান লইয়া ভারতের সিয়া সম্প্রদায় তোড়জোড় আরম্ভ করিয়া দিয়াছে। প্রত্যহ খবরের কাগজে দেখা যাইতেছে সিয়া দলের প্রতিনিধি মি: জিন্নার নিকট প্রতিবাদ করিয়াছে যে যদি ভারতে পাকিস্থান স্থাপন হয় তবে আহালে-ছুন্নতে জমায়েতের পাকিস্থান স্থাপন হইবে, সিয়া জমায়েতের কোন অস্তিত্ব থাকিবে না। তদুত্তরে মি: জিন্না বলিয়াছেন যে পর্য্যন্ত সিয়া জমায়েত রাজী না হইবে সে পর্য্যন্ত পাকিস্থান হইবে না, ইহাই হইল মি: জিন্নার মনোভাব। শিক্ষা বোর্ডের অমুসলমান ও সিয়া এই দুই প্রভাবের বশে পড়িয়া ছুন্নতে জমায়েতের শিক্ষার কি উপায় হইবে তাহা ভাবিয়া ঠিক করা কঠিন; এমতাবস্থায় এই বিল সিলেক্ট কমিটিতে যাওয়া একান্ত প্রয়োজন ইহাতে বিলের দোষত্রুটি দূরীভূত হইবে, অন্যথায় ওলামা পার্টির পক্ষ হইতে আমি যে এমেণ্ডমেণ্ট দিয়াছি তাহা শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী সাহেব স্বীকার করিয়া লইলে ইহার কিছু সংশোধন হইতে পারে। তিনি এই এমেণ্ডমেণ্ট স্বীকার করিবেন বলিয়া মনে হয় না। কারণ বাজেট আলোচনায় গ্রামোফোন রেকর্ডে কোরাণ শরিফ পড়া বন্ধ করায় যে কাট্-মোসান দিয়াছিলাম, মুসলমান ধর্ম্মে প্রকাশ্য নিষিদ্ধ বা হারাম হওয়া সত্ত্বেও মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী তাহা স্বীকার করিয়া লইতে পারিলেন না। সুতরাং এই বিলের এমেণ্ডমেণ্ট স্বীকার করিয়া লইবেন তাহা আশা করা কঠিন। আমার suggestion হইল এই যে Secondary Education এর মানে 1st year class পর্য্যন্ত, অর্থাৎ প্রথম হইতে দশ বৎসরের course, প্রাইমারী 4 class বাদ দিলে ছয় বৎসরের কোর্স Secondary Educationএর মধ্যে গণ্য করিলে কোন আপত্তি থাকিতে পারে না, বাকি আলেম্, ফাজেল, ও টাইটেল এই ছয় বৎসরের কোর্স ইসলামিয়া ইউনিভারসিটির আওতায় থাকিলে ধর্ম্মশিক্ষার কোন ব্যাঘাত হইবে না। আলেম সমাজ হইতে তাহার কোন আপত্তি উঠিবে না, যতদিন পর্য্যন্ত ইউনিভারসিটি স্থাপন না হইবে ততদিন বর্ত্তমানে যে বোর্ড manage করিতেছেন তাঁহারা ঐ ছয় class-সমূহকে manage করিবেন। ইহাই হইল মোটামুটি আমার এমেণ্ডমেণ্টের সার মর্ম্ম। স্পীকার মহোদয়, আপনার যোগে আমি পরিষদের সকল দলের সদস্যদের নিকট এই আবেদন জানাইতেছি যে, যে কোন প্রকারেই হউক না কেন, কোন সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে মনোমালিন্য সৃষ্টি না করিয়া যাহাতে হিন্দু মুসলমানের ঐক্য থাকিতে পারে সেইভাবে এই বিল পাশ হওয়া একান্ত প্রয়োজন। কেন না, জাপানী শত্রু আমাদের দ্বারদেশে উপস্থিত এই সময় বিবাদ-বিসম্বাদ করা শোভা পায় না। স্পীকার মহোদয়, বিগত কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশন এমেণ্ডমেণ্ট বিল পাশ করিবার পূর্ব্বে খুব তোড়জোড় হইয়াছিল যে কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশন বিল পাশ হইলে, কর্পোরেশন মুসলমানের হাতে আসিয়া যাইবে; কিন্তু উক্ত বিল পাশ হওয়া সত্ত্বেও সাবেক মি: সি, আর দাশের সন্ধি এখনও বলবৎ রহিয়াছে, তাহার কোন পরিবর্ত্তন দেখিতেছি না। কেবল অবাঙ্গালী মেয়র হওয়া ভিন্ন আর কিছুই দেখা যাইতেছে না। বিগত মেয়র election এ লীগ, কংগ্রেস, মহাসভা pact হইয়া মেয়র নির্ব্বাচন করা হইল তাহাতে পাকিস্থানের কোন ব্যাঘাত ঘটিল না। সাধারণত: ডি: বি: ইউনিয়ন ইলেকশনে পর্য্যন্ত লীগ, কংগ্রেস, মহাসভা pact হইতে দেখা যাইতেছে। কিন্তু কেবল নিজেদের দলগত চাকুরী ও মন্ত্রিত্বের গদি বহাল রাখিতে হিন্দু মুসলমানের বিবাদ, ও মুসলমানে মুসলমানে বিবাদ এবং সমাজ গেল, ইসলাম বিপন্ন, ধ্বনী শুনিতে পাওয়া যায়।

এবার দুইটি ট্যাক্স আইন পাশ হইবার পর সর্ব্বসাধারণ লোক বুঝিতে পারিয়াছে মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর প্রকৃত স্বরূপ এবং বাকী যাহা কিছু বুঝিবার আছে পাঞ্জাবের ঘটনায় তাহা বুঝিয়া লইবে, কাহাকেও বুঝাইয়া দিতে হইবে না। কায়েদী আজম্ সাহেব পাকিস্থানকে ঠাণ্ডা বাক্সে

শাস্তিভঙ্গ করার জন্য যে কাশ্মীরে লইয়া গিয়াছেন তাহাও সকলে বুঝিতে পারিয়াছেন। স্পীকার মহোদয়, মাননীয় মন্ত্রী সাহেবের অবস্থা দেখিয়া ফেরাউনের গল্পটি মনে পড়িল। ফেরাউন যখন খোদাই দাবী করিতে মনস্থ করিলেন তখন তিনি তাঁহার প্রধান মন্ত্রীকে জিজ্ঞাসা করিলেন সে উত্তর দিল সময়সাপেক্ষ, যে পর্য্যন্ত ধর্ম্মশিক্ষা লোপ পাইয়া লোক নাস্তিক, অর্দ্ধনাস্তিক না হইবে ততদিন কেহই আপনাকে খোদা বলিয়া স্বীকার করিবেন না। তখন হইতে ধর্ম্ম-শিক্ষাগারকে ছলে, বলে, কৌশলে ধ্বংস করিতে আরম্ভ হইয়া গেল। এবং কিছুদিন পরে যখন দেখা গেল যে দেশ ব্যভিচার, নাস্তিকেতে পরিপূর্ণ হয়ে গেল, তখন ফেরাউন খোদাই দাবী করিয়া বসিলেন। সিয়া-প্রভাবান্বিত মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী সেই উদ্দেশ্যে নাকি বাংলায় ধর্ম্মশিক্ষাকে এই বিলের আওতায় ফেলিয়াছেন তাহা সুদূরপরাহত।

আমি মন্ত্রী সাহেবকে সাবধান করিয়া দিতেছি যে কেবল ফেরাউন নহে, আরও নমরুদ ও সাদ্দাত বড় বড় ব্যভিচারী পৃথিবীতে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়াছিলেন বলিয়া ইতিহাস সাক্ষী দিতেছে কিন্তু সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তাহাদের ধ্বংসের কারণও লিপিবদ্ধ রহিয়াছে। বর্ত্তমান জিন্নাবাদের ধ্বংসের প্রথম সূত্রপাত পাঞ্জাবের মালেক খিজির হায়াৎ খাঁ বলিয়া মনে হইতেছে। তিনিই বাদসা হারুণ রসিদের ন্যায় আহালে ছুন্নতে জমায়েতের ধর্ম্ম রক্ষা করিতেছেন বলিয়া মনে হইতেছে। স্পীকার মহোদয়, মোওতাজলা মতবাদ অনুরক্ত মামুদ বিন রসিদের কথা আপনার যোগে মাননীয় মন্ত্রী সাহেবকে জানাইয়া দিতে চাই। তিনি আদেশ করিলেন খালক, এ, কোরাণ মতবাদের বিরুদ্ধে কেহই প্রচারকার্য্য চালাইতে পারিবেন না। বাগদাদ আহালে ছুন্নত অল জমায়েতের কেন্দ্রভূমি। সুতরাং প্রথমে শত সহস্র আলেম মামুদের বিরুদ্ধে দণ্ডায়মান হইলেন। কিন্তু এক দিকে লোভের মোহনীয় মূর্ত্তি আর এক দিকে প্রচণ্ড পীড়ন, এই উভয়ের মধ্যে পড়িয়া অনেকেরই উৎসাহে ভাটা পড়িয়া গেল, কিন্তু এমাম আহমদ বেন হাম্বাল দৃঢ় পদে দণ্ডায়মান হইয়া যেরূপ নৃশংস অত্যাচার নিপীড়ন গ্রহণপূর্ব্বক কোরাণ ও হাদিসের এক কথায় নবীয় সুন্নতের মর্য্যাদা রক্ষা করিয়াছিলেন ইতিহাসে তাহা বিরল; তবে ভারতে জিন্নায়ী উৎপাতের কবল হইতে সরিয়ৎকে রক্ষা করিতে যাহারা সংকল্পবদ্ধ হইয়াছেন এমাম সাহেবের সেই পূত কাহিনী তাহাদের অন্তরে যথেষ্ট প্রেরণা ও বল যোগাইবে ইহাই আমার বিশ্বাস।

(The member having reached the time-limit resumed his seat.)

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.)

(After adjournment.)

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion for circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion that has been so ably moved by my esteemed friend Mr. Atul Chandra Sen.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan deems it a scandal that no less than eight previous Bills as calculated by him have been wrecked on the rock of the University's opposition and even the ninth wonder launched by him has met with a hurricane of opposition from that quarter. In his exasperation he has therefore declared that the policy of executing a decree with the consent of the judgment-debtor has failed. He has only omitted to say that the decree was based on a false claim and therefore consent could not be obtained. The question rather arises whether a learned body is bound to consent to what appears to them an educational fraud because it is going to be practised for the ninth or say even for the ninety-ninth time? If not, the further question arises: is the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, a genuine educational measure—such a measure for the advancement of secondary education as can ensure at least the realisation of the constructive ideas of the Sadler Commission? Now,

Sir, if you turn to the very Statement of Objects and Reasons of the Bill, you will find it conceived in a spirit of definite hostility towards the existing system. It begins with a concern for the expansion of secondary education in this Province during the last thirty years and characterises it as far too rapid and unplanned. But what were the ideas that moved the Commission into making their weighty recommendations for the reorganisation, not wrongful conversion, of Secondary Education in Bengal? The opening words of the relevant chapter of the Report of the Commission will bear repetition:—

"Those who have at heart the welfare of Bengal, and wish the whole community to advance in unity of purpose and in economic power, feel strongly that the country needs more and better education; and that no boys and girls should be shut out, either by the straitened means of their parents or by the remoteness of their home, from access to the training which is best adopted to their capacity and designed to prepare them most effectively for citizenship and livelihood" and in this view they observed:—

"The country is in urgent need of more schools and more colleges, but the schools should teach better and the colleges should give a more thorough preparation for life. To restrict education would be unjust and short-sighted."

Now, while in the opinion of the Commission to restrict education will be unjust and shortsighted, the so-called popular Ministry of Bengal has chosen to bring forward a Secondary Education Bill inveighing against "rapid expansion" of schools during the last 30 years when every advanced country has been making strenuous endeavour to make secondary education universal if not entirely free. Is the Hon'ble Minister aware that there is a country known as the United States of America where for 28 years beginning from 1890 they multiplied their secondary schools at the rate of "a high school a day"? If expansion had been much too quick in Bengal during the last 30 years, surely its first ominous signs would have attracted the attention of the University Commission and the Commission would have anxiously commented against it instead of putting in a plea for "the urgent need of more schools" and for making such education more accessible. Since the time the Sadler Commission reported that Bengal stood in need of more schools and better education, right up to 1937-38, our middle schools for boys under the unitary control of the Education Department increased at the rate of 1 school for 345 additional pupils. If that was no unhealthy development, why should the expansion of boys' high schools that developed during the same period under the ægis of the Calcutta University at the rate of 1 school for additional 383 pupils should be considered unduly rapid or unjustified? In the last published Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1932-37) it may be seen that while there has been an increase of 336 high schools for boys all over India outside Bengal with an increased enrolment of 102,079 pupils, *i.e.*, at the rate of 1 school for about 304 additional pupils, in Bengal there has been an increase of 105 schools for additional 46,699 students, *i.e.*, 1 school for every 444 additional pupils. The whole theory of undue expansion here in Bengal is, therefore, a figment of prejudiced mind and is absolutely unfounded in reality.

It is said, again, that it is not expansion so much as expansion in an unplanned manner that is in question. And who says so? Either Messrs. Tamizuddin Khan and company whose community had a very small hand in the development of secondary education or those whose duty it was to plan, but who never cared to do so lest they would have to find more money from state funds for a better-planned system of secondary education. In a country where the Education Department has taken very little part in planning the expansion of secondary education, and has been largely concerned with maintaining the very limited number of highly expensive Government schools—"models that have ceased to inspire"—the extension of secondary and in particular of the high schools, has ever had to follow

the natural line of development dictated by local needs and local resources. Wherever there were a sufficient number of men interested in secondary education and one or more generous persons could be found to bear the expenses of building, equipment and starting a middle or high school such a school came to be established with no bar to anybody's admission. For no private, *i.e.*, non-government school had ever been heard to refuse admission to students when student's fees were the main or only stay of such schools. Had admission been refused to students on the score of caste or creed surely a Mukund Bihari Mullick would not have been found here today to shower abuse on the existing secondary system of Bengal and speak ill of this caste-ridden country in good English and in perfect oblivion of the 20 extra seats that were presented to his confreres by the Caste Hindus in this very House. On the other hand, for a department, whose Inspectorate approved almost everyone of these additional institutions, to turn round now and say that there has been ill-distribution may be an intelligent move to bring about such well-distribution as is taking place in the primary sphere to the detriment of the Hindu students, but, however, it may go down with those who are ignorant about the real position in the countryside, to all those who are acquainted with the educational situation here it is nothing but an attempt to give a bad name to the secondary system just to hang it or misappropriate it for communal purposes.

So much about the difference in approach and objective between the Commission and the authors and supporters of the Bill.

Now, what about the character with which the Commission desired to invest the Board of Secondary Education and what special purpose they thought it should serve in the framework of administration in this country? They frankly intended that it should serve as "a makeweight against a central body of officials", and being itself autonomous should preserve "the freedom of initiative of the educational institutions". Let me put it, Sir, in their own words:—

"In view of the special needs of Bengal we do not hesitate," observed the Commission, "to recommend the adoption of the plan of a Board in preference to that form of organisation which has been adopted in the English Board of Education. The latter is in practice a body of permanent officials graded in a hierarchy of ranks and acting under the orders of a Minister who is a member of a Government which is responsible to Parliament. In England, however, the most influential of the secondary schools are wealthy foundations which, though they do not any longer stand outside the system of public education, are virtually independent and could resist successfully any action of the Board of Education which threatened their freedom of initiative. In Bengal there are no Indian educational institutions which correspond to those great endowed schools and could maintain their independence against mistaken interference on the part of a body of officials. The safeguard of public opinion therefore, which in English administration is in part secured by the virtual autonomy of the great secondary schools, must be provided for in some other way in the administration of secondary education in Bengal." "There should, therefore, be in the educational administration of Bengal some influence which will serve as a makeweight against the otherwise preponderating influence of a central body of officials. We believe that such a makeweight will be found in the authority of the representative Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education set in the framework of the central administration." That was to be the distinctive character of the Board according to the Commission.

How such a Board should be constituted, what should be the most prominent and the least prominent features of it? Admitting at the outset that "the universities have a valid claim to a share in the responsibility of influencing and guiding the institutions which impart the education preparatory" to the university courses the Commission laid down that there should be as many as seven university representatives in a body of 15 or 18.

In other words, they thought that from 35 to 50 per cent. of the seats ought to go to the universities. Instead, only 10 representatives including the two Vice-Chancellors have been allowed to the universities out of a body of 53. But look at the other aspect: in lieu of one representative of the Legislature in a body of 15-18 as recommended by the Commission, as many as 10 out of 53 representatives have been allowed by the Bill to the Legislature. And what an audacity on the part of Sir P. C. Roy that he has chosen to characterise the Board as less academic and more political! Surely the old savant ought to acquire a new sense of proportion from such a new-fledged educational expert as Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, lately of the Faridpur Bar. On the new and major political factor introduced in the constitution of the Board, viz., the communal electorates, I shall speak later. Only I would answer here in passing one point urged by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, viz., that separate electorates have come to stay in the larger sphere of politics, why must separate electorates then be opposed in educational organisation? Now, Sir, will it be believed that an Englishman as late as in 1940 remarked in one of his books on India that "separate electorates must go"? Assuming that separate electorates have come to stay, is it not a fact that Ulster has come to stay in Ireland but is there any obligation on the rest of Ireland to cry amen? Moreover what may find place in politics, may be misplaced dirt in education and it is not true, even if a Muslim League Minister of Education so asserts, that education is a narrower field than politics—education which has the task of building a man and not the mountebank of a politician.

Now, let us see how the essential conditions for the reorganisation of secondary education have been ensured. The Commission said, "such reorganisation is impossible except on two conditions. It must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion and it must be accompanied by greatly increased expenditure". Not knowing that D. I. R. might dispense with the necessity of goodwill, they even averred that "such a reorganisation will be successful in proportion to the goodwill with which it is viewed by the public at large" and without having that new idea of responsible Government that merely cavils at evils and tries to avoid the expenditure necessary to remedy them, observed: "Government will have to pay a larger proportion of substantially larger expenditure if the evils we have described are to be remedied and the reforms we have advocated are to be carried through" and went actually to suggest that "to make the system of secondary education in Bengal thoroughly efficient an annual expenditure over and above fees of not less than Rs. 150 lakhs will have to be undertaken in the future". A quarter of a century after the Commission reported, the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, has been introduced in the Bengal Legislature and the Bill provides for an initial fund of 25 and an ultimate fund of 50 lakhs. With such insignificant financial provision for the Board, it is only natural that the Commission's idea to encourage the schools to come under the Board by promise of generous aid must fail and hence every formula of coercion has been devised to compel the schools to come under the Board. In the circumstances the "intolerable situation" which the commission envisaged would arise were the whole secondary system transferred to the control of the Department of Public Instruction, with a certain prospect. Rejecting the idea of setting up the unitary control of the Department of Public Instruction the Commission observed:—

"The funds at its command are inadequate to enable it to keep even the Government high schools up to a proper standard of staff and equipment, and fall far short of what is needed for the effective assistance of the aided schools. Its resources are so limited that it cannot offer inducements to all privately-managed high schools to come under its guidance and inspection. The Department would be unable to provide the grants-in-aid which are needed if the weaker schools are to be raised to a proper level of efficiency. It would, therefore, be faced with an intolerable situation. Its choice

would often lie between depriving a locality of its sole and slender opportunities of secondary education and granting recognition to a school which had little claim to be recognised."

Such is the great inconformity of the mischievous ideas behind the new Bill with the formative ideas and invaluable recommendations of the Sadler Commission. No, Sir, it is no measure intended or able to assist and develop secondary education in Bengal. With ill-concealed antipathy it is devised to secure a strangle-hold, as Miss Dutta Gupta appropriately remarked, on the secondary schools of Bengal so that schools, established in the main by the minority community in the Province and financed in a very large measure by the fees and contributions paid by them, may either be killed or so controlled as to convert them to the use of the minority of students of the majority community to the exclusion of the majority of the students of the other community or communities now receiving secondary education in them. The ultra-communal machinery and the scheme of control in details can leave no room for doubt in that respect. That with no aid but simple recognition, or even with nominal aid there must be hyper-control, external as well as internal, no such idea ever inspired the Sadler Commission. It is a mischievous idea of recent origin inspired by bureaucratic lust of power now reinforced by communal greed. And in pursuance of it with an immediate aid of 25 lakhs—almost what the Government spends in its niggardliness at present—it is proposed to control, i.e., acquire the ownership, as it were, of the whole organisation of secondary education in Bengal. For, location, continuance, internal administration, fee-rates, admissions, free places, communal percentage of students, teachers and committee members, nearly everything will be controlled and regulated. But the great ministerial exponent of hyper-control would resent Central control if the Sargent scheme of crores come to be implemented with Federal aid. Says the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan in his Note of Dissent to the Sargent Report:—

"Whatever additional assistance may still be necessary to implement this scheme," *i.e.*, the Sargent scheme, "should be given by the Centre in a spirit of friendly helpfulness and not for the purpose of control. In our view such help should best be given by way of subvention to the Provincial Governments and not as direct grants-in-aid to the institutions concerned. We do not mean, however, that there is no room whatsoever for the setting up of Central educational bodies. Such bodies established for the purpose of co-ordination, maintenance of uniform and adequate standards and prevention of overlapping will be useful. But they can and should be advisory in character."

Why cannot the same argument apply to this Government's proposal to develop secondary education in Bengal—secondary education which even after the passage of this Bill will in the main be financed by fees and private contributions and will neither be universal nor free? Why must it suffer control unto death to get mere recognition or a bagatelle of aid?

Conscious that the Bill will not stand the test of a comparison with the principles enunciated and the recommendations made by the Sadler Commission, the Minister-in-charge of the present Bill is anxious to invoke only the doctrine of Estoppel. The Muslim League in opposition may demand an enquiry and if any enquiry be conceded by the Government of the day, the League coming back to power may not consider it a moral obligation to pursue the enquiry but others in Opposition are bound to stand by whatever they may have proposed when in power even if their erstwhile proposals come to be largely amended and amended in essentials by those replacing them in office. Such is the Muslim League logic, again, reinforced by European-Christian dialectic that anybody not even a party to an alleged compromise, can amend the terms of that compromise as he likes and then can insist on the other party to stand by the vitiated compromise and the volated terms. In accordance with such logical ideas and political morality it is alleged that the present Secondary Education Bill is the

identical Bill that was introduced in 1942 with only a few changes; and in all insincerity it is claimed that the changes are of a minor character. The truth, however, is that the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, who came to nurse other people's baby and duly killed it, presents only its stuffed body. Or changing the figure it may be said that he presents a counterfeit coin with a large admixture of alloy. Figures of speech apart, may we ask where was the pretence made in the Bill of 1942—a compromise measure with very many weak points as it was—to set up a Board of Secondary Education and yet to reserve the power in the hands of the Government to declare what was not secondary education and thus to oust the jurisdiction of the Board? Where was the dishonesty in the 1942 Bill as has been practised in the present one to propose to institute the final examination in secondary education and yet not to mention the Matriculation Examination by name to avoid the question raised by the Sadler Commission of compensation to that much-maligned institution known as the Calcutta University? Where again, was the attempt made in the 1942 Bill to impose on the Board a President appointed at the sweet will of the Government, to present him as the executive authority of the Board and yet to make him independent of the Board? Where again was made in the 1942 Bill the attempt to constitute different expert committees on communal basis and with powers only to make recommendations for the ultimate decisions to be taken by a communally-elected Executive Council or by such a Board? Where again was the precious performance, the proposal to constitute a Board of Secondary Education and an executive Council in the name of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission on thoroughly communal lines with communal representatives elected by separate communal electorates? No, Sir, the pernicious features of the present Bill are too many and too important to lend support to the claim that the present Bill is substantially the Bill of 1942. In one respect this Bill is definitely more reactionary than the Bill of 1940. For, whatever, the paid agents of Sir Nazimuddin may say to villify Mr. Fazlul Huq it is true that the Bill of 1940 did not provide for communal electorates. Truly speaking in the conception and constitution of the Board, the Executive Council and some of the Committees the present Bill is a new Bill based on new principles on which it is absolutely necessary to take the verdict of the country and consult the views of the educational bodies and the various educational interests. The question really at issue is not whether a Board of Secondary Education is desirable or necessary. That question has long ago been concluded by the recommendation of the Sadler Commission. The question at issue really is whether a Board of Secondary Education should be an autonomous educational body as recommended by the Commission or a subservient organisation to carry out the policy and programme of the Government of a majority party not democratically but communally elected. The question at issue really is whether the Board of Secondary Education should be an educational organisation *par excellence*, or a packed body, packed with officials, nominated and political elements? Decision on such all-important and vital issues can justly be taken only after ascertaining the views of the country and fully consulting public opinion.

The present Bill proposes not only a departure in the constitution of the machinery to control, organise and administer secondary education in this country, but also new contents of secondary education. Ever since the Anglicists supported by Macaulay won in their controversy with the Orientalists, education in modern India came to be organised on a purely secular basis with a common, though not national, programme. Although Macaulay himself considered, under a wrong estimate of the strength of the Indian character, that the proudest day for the British Government would come when the Indians thoroughly anglicised would demand self-government, the British administrators generally speaking came to consider it as a truly evil day when the demand came to be voiced. Since then religious atmosphere in educational institutions came to be considered as deserving

of encouragement to counter nationalist ideology. Not without a long view therefore the cause of the general primary schools was sacrificed to the cause of the denominational primary schools (maktabs) when at the suggestion of the Government of India the Bengal Government decided in 1912, *i.e.*, soon after the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, in favour of the introduction of religious instructions in the primary schools. The result was a submersion of general primary schools by *maktabs*. The comparative figures of the increase of primary schools and *maktabs* between 1917 and 1937 would show that as against 360 general primary schools, 19,191 *maktabs* were added to the primary institutions in Bengal and thus primary education here received quite a new orientation.

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Rai Chaudhuri, your time is up.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, I shall take at least another fifteen minutes. I was told by the Hon'ble Speaker that I would have forty-five minutes for my speech.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: An agreed list has been handed to me by the Chief Whip of the Government Party, and according to that list you were to speak for thirty minutes only. I can give you five minutes more time, and I hope you will finish by that time.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, please let him have a little more time.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In the agreed list handed to me time has been fixed for each speaker. In the case of Mr. Rai Chaudhuri I am prepared to give him more time if he wants, but in that case I shall have to curtail one speaker from your side. Yes, Mr. Rai Chaudhuri.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: If Pakistan in action in Bengal can now be trusted to ensure the repetition in the secondary sphere of what happened and is happening in the primary stage, our rulers, constitutional as they profess to be, will no doubt be immensely satisfied.

There is an idea, Sir, prevalent in certain quarters that it is the right of the majority or politically-dominant community in a modern state to control education and educational organisation in its own way and no minority can be tolerated to carry on its educational programme independently and without interference from the state. It is a fanatic's idea appropriate to the middle ages or a Fascist idea of the current times but civilisation and democracy nowhere made such a claim. England till the early part of the 19th century imposed disabilities on the Catholics, but hardly claimed to control or interfere with Catholic educational institutions for centuries past. In the 16th century Henry VIII confiscated the church lands but we have yet to know that England on turning Protestant claimed fifty per cent. control or seats of the Catholic institutions. The Netherlands were the cockpit of Protestant and Catholic fight, but instead of fighting in the educational field they avoided conflict by developing parallel educational institutions beginning with the schools and ending with the Universities. What is the history of educational development in the self-governing British Dominions even where there are deep religious and cultural differences? It is a history not certainly of state control far less of communal control, but an opposite story of statutory protection or concession of autonomy in educational organisation. Take, for instance, Canada. The constitutional provision as embodied in section 93 of the British North America Act which was quoted by my honourable friend Mr. P. N. Banerjee last night, ensuring educational freedom to the Catholic French Canadians and protection to their schools in Upper Canada and *vice versa* to the Protestant minority in Quebec and elsewhere is well-known. But what is not so well-known perhaps is how education organised in that dominion on divergent religious lines, has through non-interference on the part of the State and

natural forbearance of the different communities secured peaceful development and even progressive elimination of differences. The "classification of Canadian universities," says Principal Wallace, "in their historical development, into the four categories of French-speaking colleges, Anglican Colleges, non-Anglican Protestant colleges, and State universities is somewhat arbitrary and inadequate. It accentuates differences, which, it is true, are historically significant but are not so apparent under the conditions of our time." "With the exception of the Roman Catholic French-speaking universities, the support of the churches has now almost disappeared; and religious tests for staff or students have completely disappeared. But a certain quality is left" mind you, still left. "It still remains true, however, that the distinctive quality of French-Canadian higher education is in literary values, artistic appreciation, and religious philosophy." "Notwithstanding the fact that wider functions have been assumed by the institutions of Anglican origin they have left their imprint on Canadian life in the link which they have created and have maintained with the Oxford and Cambridge College traditions." The universities which were under the wing of the Presbyterian Church such as—Dalhousie and Queens —have similarly maintained their Scottish tradition, while the provincial universities draw their inspiration from and are indebted for their pragmatic outlook to the American Universities. If unitary state control, external and internal, with the idea of one community or political party dominating in the educational sphere were attempted there would have been clash and conflict instead of confederation and harmonious development of education in the great self-governing Dominion.

What, again, is the story of educational development and cultural reconciliation in South Africa? There the British and the Boers ceased to fight within our recollections, but instead of fighting for supremacy in the educational field they agreed to differ and develop on their particular lines. It is the concession of autonomy and not an attempt to impose external and internal control that prevented cultural clash and ensured peaceful educational development with the result that "the most striking feature of higher education in South Africa today" as Sir John Adamson, the late Director of Education, Transvaal, remarks "is dualism, the duplication of University institution". "Dualism has been made more complete by the decision of the authorities, that Africans is to be the medium of instruction at Pretoria, English remaining the medium at Johannesburg."

"The position at the present time (1938) is as follows: firstly, there are the four independent and autonomous universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand and Pretoria (in the order of their origin). Secondly, there is the Federal University of South Africa, consisting of the five constituent colleges." "Roughly three-fourths of the students were to be found in 1936 in the four autonomous universities, and the remainder, in the five constituent colleges of the federation."

While such is the organisation in the sphere of higher education quite contrary is the policy and programme in the sphere of school education which is financed by the State. Primary and secondary education which is universal and financed from the provincial fund in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State admits of no sectarian or doctrinal teaching at all, not to speak of religious practice, even in that comparatively speaking more homogeneous area in the Union of South Africa.

Truly speaking, Sir, where there is difference of culture and religion educational organisation can either be strictly secular, national and unitary coupled with a determination to leave religion inside the Home and the Church or it has to take parallel lines of development in different cultural environments. The Hindus have always recognised that in our country or province of different faiths the first is the only desirable alternative. If the Muslims now want to import religion and religious practice in the sphere of education the Hindus and others may legitimately demand that autonomy

and self-governance in the educational sphere which has been conceded in Canada or South Africa. As it will mark a new departure in our educational administration and outlook—departure exceedingly regrettable from the nationalist point of view, yet departure which Muslim communalism must promote—it can only be made after taking the country into our confidence. But on no account a cockpit in the name of unified control can be suffered to be created for mutual fight, with fifty per cent. or more with one mandate ranged on one side and fifty or less per cent. with a different mandate ranged on the other within one and the same organisation. A communally elected body can only mean accentuation of discord and dispute, recrimination and wrangling and infiltration of external politics into arena of education. It can only deal a death blow to education but can never vitalise or develop it. It will even mean less culture and more barbarism, less religion and more riot, as has been singularly the case in the Dacca University notwithstanding the alleged "indiscipline" noticed "in practically every university" by an apologist of communal electorates in the University of Dacca. Through its inherent and singular weakness such a scheme as has been formulated in the present Bill, therefore, stands self-condemned. If it is assumed, however, as has been assumed in framing the constitution of the Board in the present Bill, that only Muslims chosen by Muslims are competent to represent Muslim educational interests, if such an assumption again is upheld as an axiom by the majority community here, then the case for separate Boards with option to the schools to get affiliated to either of them, with option to the guardians to get their wards admitted to any school recognised by either of them, must be unanswerable. That is the only logical conclusion to which arguments for separate electorates will lead. Let the framers of the present Bill pause and consider the issues they have raised and let them place those issues before the country. If the Muslims inside and outside the Legislature are found to insist on communal representation and separate electorates then there must be separate Boards for the regulation, control and development of secondary education—a Muslim Board of Secondary Education just as there is a separate Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education and a separate Board for Hindus and all those who—even including such Muslims as—do not believe in a communal Board but are anxious to carry on their education under the supervision of a Board constituted entirely on non-communal and academic lines and devoted to sound educational principles.

It is a counter-demand that we make not of our own choice but forced as we are to make it by the ultra-communal attitude and proposals of the present Muslim League Government in Bengal and it is the only demand that we can make in conformity with our desire to keep education free from communal *milieu* and ensure a non-communal Board of control for general secondary schools. Those who wish to get their wards educated in schools affiliated to a Board constituted on communal lines whether Muslim or Scheduled Castes or even Caste Hindus in alliance with the Muslim League, will be free to do so and similarly Hindus in general, Christians and even Muslims who want non-communal supervision and control of education will be free to have their wards educated in schools affiliated to the non-communal Board. There will be a perfect freedom in educational choice with no prospect of communal conflict in the sphere of education and possibility of victimisation on communal grounds. And with separate autonomous Boards will come that peace in the educational sphere which alone can ensure educational progress and which peace, disturbed by the anxiety to secure communal hegemony, must endanger.

With these words, Sir, I resume my seat. (Applause from the Opposition benches.)

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose all the motions for circulation of the Bill as well as for reference of the Bill to the Select Committee.

Sir, during these days we have heard and we have been hearing the condemnation and denunciation of the Bill inside this House and outside, in the Calcutta parks and in the University Institute and other places. We have also heard that capital has been made of the two statements—one by Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy and the other by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, the *ex*-Vice-Chancellor and the *ex*-Professor of History of the Dacca University. Sir, the opponents of the Bill are condemning it as communal and sapping the very foundation of the secondary education in Bengal. Before examining the nature of the Bill and before examining whether the Bill is communal in its nature and is likely to sap the very foundation of the secondary education, it will be proper to ascertain who these critics and the opponents of the Bill are. One having a cursory view of the protest meetings, the organisers of the protest meetings and the main speakers, feel sure that these opponents of the Bill are no other than the Caste Hindus of Bengal, who though they form not more than 15 per cent. of the population of Bengal try to assert that they alone can speak for Bengal, and they and they only represent Bengal and the remaining 85 per cent. of the population are to take orders from them and carry out their behests. Here I may mention, Sir, that apart from these Caste Hindus there are some who are very reasonable and who maintain that this Bill is not an unreasonable one.

Sir, these Caste Hindus are occupying the key position in the field of education and it is they who are controlling the secondary education through the agency of the Calcutta University. The representatives of the Caste Hindus like the Mukherjee, Banerjee and Co. with the help of their sycophants and pet dogs consider the Calcutta University as their private property and when they find that attempts are being made to take away the secondary education from the clutches of the Calcutta University with a view to develop it and lead it through proper channel, this vested interest has raised alarm. The Caste Hindus apprehending that the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes will get by the passing of this Bill a portion of their legitimate rights and control in the Secondary Board are rending the sky asunder by their loud protest and condemning the Bill as communal.

Sir, these gentlemen call the Bill communal as communal representation has been provided through separate electorate in the Bill. I fail to understand why the Bill has been termed to be communal in character only because separate electorate has been provided in it. We have seen that in a country like ours genuine representatives of a community can be sent through separate electorate only. If the reservation of seats with joint electorate is provided the representatives of a community sent through joint electorate cannot speak out their minds, if majority of its voters belong to another community. The community having a majority of votes will undoubtedly elect their "yes" men from the other community. Circumstanced as we are joint electorate will undoubtedly mean and prove detrimental to the Muslims where, if I am permitted to use the phraseology of Dr. Sanyal, I can say the Caste Hindus like proverbial monkeys have enjoyed and are trying to enjoy the rights and privileges in every sphere of life. If no separate electorate is provided, the Caste Hindus will return Muslims who will certainly be their "yes" men. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Have you fixed the monkey's gland?) (Laughter.)

Sir, in order to prove the baneful effect of separate electorate the grand old man Sir P. C. Roy and Dr. R. C. Majumdar have been brought to the arena of controversy. Sir P. C. Roy in his statement has thrown a challenge to show an instance where in case of a university or an educational body separate electorate has been provided. Most probably Acharya Roy forgot the constitution of the Dacca University and that is why he has thrown his challenge unguardedly.

Afterwards I believe, Sir, that when this mistake is detected a statement from Dr. R. C. Majumdar was procured. This statement, Sir, is most

unfortunate and coming as it does from an *ex*-Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, capital has been made of it. So, Sir, the statement is to be examined with particular care and reference to the time and place.

I maintain, Sir, that the statement of Dr. Majumdar whom my friends Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu and Mr. Atul Chandra Sen have placed in the position of their Hero has been procured to support the opponent of the Bill and to cure the defect of the statement of Sir P. C. Roy. Sir, when critically examined the statement of Dr. Majumdar cannot approach the semblance of truth.

Sir, Dr. Majumdar served the University of Dacca first as the Professor of History and then as the Vice-Chancellor but during his long career there we have never heard any idea which pervades his statement in any statement and speech of his there. We heard his speeches as the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University in its court meetings and he always eulogised the university and the academic attainments of its scholars. He never suggested there that the atmosphere of the university had been vitiated by communalism. He has never said there that the communal electorate was a thing unsuitable to any educational body. If he has never said that while he was in the Dacca University all impartial judges would safely presume that he never was of opinion that communal electorate was detrimental and his present statement was due to his anxieties to keep the secondary education in the hands of the Caste Hindus and to retain it under the control of the Calcutta University where the Caste Hindu rule prevails. If any one throws the suggestion that Dr. Majumdar did not say this while at Dacca though he felt it, the only answer to him will be that in that case Dr. Majumdar may rightly be called an opportunist and his opinion ought to be considered as worthless.

Sir, here I cannot but refer to a statement published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* the other day of a personage of unquestionable integrity and honesty, a personage whose life-long service in the cause of education has earned for him a reputation which has never been sullied by communal consideration. He is no other than Sir A. F. Rahman, the *ex*-member of the Federal Public Service Commission whose long service in the University has given him a position to speak with authority regarding the Dacca University. His statement regarding Dacca University made the position of Dr. Majumdar ridiculous and the statement of Dr. Majumdar unworthy of consideration. By making the statement Dr. Majumdar has made himself the object of pity.

Sir, here I like to mention one incident that occurred in the Calcutta University where there is no communal electorate during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. It is nothing but the acceptance of Sree and Padma as the crest of the Calcutta University by the redoubtable Dr. Mookerjee as the Vice-Chancellor in the teeth of opposition of the Muslim students and Mussalmans. The Muslim students boycotted the foundation day ceremony as a protest, but Dr. Mookerjee remained unmoved, unshaken. Sir, the agitation went on and Dr. Mookerjee and coterie rule remained stiff. Because in the University there was no Muslim who can shake him off. If the Muslims had sufficient number of Muslims elected through separate electorate Dr. Mookerjee would not have dared to accept Sree and Padma as crest—a move towards cultural conquest of the Muslim who are monotheist and cannot brook the idea of idolatry.

Now I like to say regarding my friend Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu whose speech gives out bad taste and bad smell. He has ridiculed the Hon'ble Education Minister for criticising the statements of Dr. Majumdar and Sir P. C. Roy. This sort of speech I again maintain betrays a colossal ignorance, bad taste and want of culture and refinement. His ridicule of

the Hon'ble Education Minister has been supported by some other members of the opposition which reminds me of the Bengalee saying:—

চোরের সাক্ষী গাঁট কাটা।

Sir, Mr. Kundu and others without advancing sound arguments several times quoted their authorities—Dr. Majumdar and Sir P. C. Roy. This is nothing but Hero Worship, blind Hero Worship without rhyme or reason. This sense of Hero Worship has blinded Mr. Kundu and he lost his control over his tongue when he found the Hon'ble Minister to criticise Dr. Majumdar and Sir P. C. Roy—Mr. Kundu's gods of education.

Sir, before I sit down I like to refer to one statement said to have been made by the leader of the official Congress in the conference held in the University Institute under the presidency of Mr. N. R. Sarker. The leader of the official Congress is reported to have said there:—

যে প্রদেশে স্যার আশুতোষ মুখোপাধ্যায়, আচার্য্য ব্রজেন্দ্র নাথ শীল, রামেন্দ্র সুন্দর ত্রিবেদী, রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় জন্মিয়াছেন, সেই দেশে তমিজউদ্দিন খাঁ৷ ফজলুর রহমান্, মহম্মদ ইস্রাইলও শিক্ষায় উপদেশ দেন ইহাই আশ্চর্য্য।

Sir, I think the statement requires no comment to show how vain, how self-conceited, how impertinent the speaker is. Sir, only background under his speech is that the very idea that the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes are going to have some share in the administration of the secondary education has turned him mad. He might have sucked the blood of his simple and innocent tenants in his big zamindary which the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Mr. Fazlur Rahman and Mr. Israil have not done but can I ask him in all fairness in which respect he is more qualified than the Hon'ble Mr. Khan, Mr. Fazlur Rahman and Mr. Israil to speak on education and Education Bill? May I ask him in which way he is connected with education and educational problems of Bengal? I do not like to compare him with the Hon'ble Mr. Khan who, I believe, is far above him. As regards the other two, may I ask him whether he is aware that Mr. Fazlur Rahman is connected with the education of Bengal since he left the college and that Mr. Fazlur Rahman is closely connected with the Dacca University and is a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University. As regards Mr. Israil, he is connected with half a dozen high schools, high madrasahs and senior madrasahs, some of which have been founded mainly with his efforts and there he sits in the Committees either as a President or as Secretary. Living in a house of glass, he should not attempt to throw stone at others. I pity him, Sir, when I find that an oppressive landlord in him has run mad at the sight of the Bill.

Sir, the Caste Hindus have been nervous unnecessarily. Their selfishness and self-interest have blinded them. Sir, in their selfishness they are ridiculing the Hon'ble Education Minister and other supporters of the Bill as having no *locus standi* to speak on education but they have found out a veteran educationist in the person of Mr. Bokainagari to speak against the Bill, to speak on education. This is the very right case where the opponents of the Bill may be referred to with reference to Mr. Bokainagari as—হবু চন্দ্র রাজার গবুচন্দ্র মন্ত্রী।

Now, in conclusion, I shall say, "Oh Selfishness, Oh Self-interest, you have blinded them, you have blurred their vision". I say, "Cry, cry and cry hourse, the caravan will pass".

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, I rise to support the motion that has been moved by my esteemed friend Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas.

Sir, before I proceed with the Bill I want to make some observations with regard to the culture of Hindus, Muslims and Scheduled Castes of Bengal. I say that before the Aryans came from Central Asia there were

some people in India who were known as Dravidians and they had a culture of their own. That was a culture quite different from the culture which the Aryans spread all over India, and this culture was destroyed by the Aryans. Subsequently the Aryans became Hindus and these Hindus in ancient times professed Vedic religion. Very late they became Hindus, and when the Muhammadans conquered India these Hindus lost their culture to some extent and the Muhammadan culture continued for six hundred years undisturbed. Then came the British people from England: they also conquered India and tried to spread their culture for about two hundred years. And now the present culture is an admixture of Scheduled Caste culture, Caste Hindu culture, Muslim culture and European culture. So, if we fight for the real culture of a particular community, it will be an absolutely foolish and bogus thing. No real communal culture exists in Bengal—it is an admixture of all the cultures.

Then, Sir, my Muhammadan friends have got a very great respect for their own culture. I do not like to say anything against that. But the thing is that if they want to preserve their culture which existed in the 15th century, then that would be a foolish thing, because the present culture is an admixture of all cultures. So, if they want to go back to the 15th century, that will be foolishness. That culture cannot be revived, but if they still want to revive it, all right, let them go on reviving it, we have no objection, but they have no right to break or destroy or demolish the culture of the other communities. You can have your culture anywhere you like, but what right Mr. Tamizuddin Khan has got to change the culture of the Scheduled Castes and the Caste Hindus and of the Europeans? I would like to tell the House that even the Europeans have to some extent imbibed Indian culture and to that extent they have lost their own culture. I may tell the House that a European I.C.S. after having been for 25 years in India went to England and while passing through a London street he was addressing a motor driver as "Hallo, taxi-wallah!" The taxi-wallah got enraged because he was not accustomed to that sort of address in England, and he at once retorted, "What do you mean by this?" This particular I.C.S. having been in India for 25 years directly or indirectly imbibed some sort of Indian culture and forgot that that culture would not do in England. So I say that by coming in contact with many kinds of people in India even the Europeans have been forced to change their culture to some extent. Sir, my point is this: my Muhammadan friends have been living in India for the last six hundred years, so they cannot say that they must have their ancient culture quite intact. That would be quite foolish. So what is needed is good education which is conducive to the welfare of all classes of the people, not only of the Muslims, not only of the Scheduled Castes, not only of the Caste Hindus but of all the communities alike.

Sir, we find that in the constitution of the Board only five seats have been given to the Scheduled Castes. Now, Sir, if we come to the question of the basis of representation, may I ask the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, what is the basis of representation? It has been proved beyond doubt that it is not education, it is not literary qualification: it is the counting of heads. If you accept the principle of counting heads, why should the minority community be losers. I know that your literacy is 6 per cent., so also is the percentage of literacy amongst my community. So far as literacy is concerned, the Scheduled Castes are sailing in the same boat with the Muslims. If the basis of representation be education, I should say that only the Europeans should get all the seats because they are cent. per cent. literate. The Caste Hindus are semi-literate. In Bengal, we know, 65 per cent. of the Vaidyas are literate; 64 per cent. of the Brahmins are literate; 63 per cent. of the Kayasthas are literate; 33 per cent. of the Subarna Baniks are literate and 8 per cent. of the Namasudras are literate. And then 6 per cent. is the average for Scheduled Castes and 6 per cent. is also the average for Muslims including both Shias and

Sunnis. Now may I ask the Hon'ble Minister for Education, what right has he to take 50 per cent. of the seats for his own community and give us only 5 seats? When the representation is based on population, the Scheduled Castes should get at least 10 seats, if not more, on that basis. Therefore, Sir, as a member of the Scheduled Castes community I cannot support this Bill. Let 12 seats be given to the Caste Hindus, but we must have 10 seats.

The other point, which you must note, is that you have not only neglected in this Bill the interest of the Scheduled Castes but you have also omitted to say what the Caste Hindus have done in Bengal with regard to education. I think most of the Muslim members who are present here today would not have a fair education and would not have been in a position to voice their grievances in this Assembly had there not been Caste Hindus to establish the majority of schools and colleges in Bengal. Most of the money for education came from the pockets of the Caste Hindus: most of the time that was necessary for building up this educational structure all over Bengal was spared by the Caste Hindus: most of the energy which was required for the educatio.ı of Bengal came from the Caste Hindus. And now you are trying to become a "Poddar" with others' wealth. That is the position in Bengal.

Sir, Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty said that he was ashamed to call himself a Brahmin or a Caste Hindu. I know that my honourable friend hails from a very respectable Brahmin family of Pabna. Sir, Brahmins of Bengal have preserved and even from time immemorial it is the Brahmins who have conducted the educational institutions. (Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: What about the Scheduled Castes.) My dear Singha, wait a bit. (Laughter.) At the present day there are Vice-Chancellors. A Vice-Chancellor is at the head of all educational institutions, but in ancient times the Hindus had their Kulapatis. These Kulapatis had 10,000 students at their disposal whom they fed and gave education. A Brahmin who could feed and who could give education to 10,000 students was known as a Kulapati or a Vice-Chancellor. (Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Was he a Brahmin?) Yes, neither a Namasudra, nor a Khatriya nor any other caste. A Kulapati in ancient India was a Brahmin.

Then, Sir, Mr. Chakrabarty does not like to call himself a Brahmin. (A voice from the Opposition Benches: Then call him a Maulvi.) No, I won't call him a Maulvi, until he gives up his religion and embraces the Holy Islam. I will call him a Brahmin because he hails from a very respectable Brahmin family. Sir, I think he will forego the name of his forefathers. I do not understand how he can say like this. A gentleman born of a Brahmin family—the Brahmin family which has got great traditions in Bengal—he says that he is ashamed to call himself a Caste Hindu. I undestand that by doing something which is against Hindu law he has been guilty in calling himself a Hindu. He has married his maternal cousin and that is why he says that he is ashamed of calling himself a Caste Hindu——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. I will not allow that.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, he is afraid of calling himself a Caste Hindu and so he ought to have embraced Islam long long ago. If we study his political career, we shall find that he began his life as a paid canvasser of the Hindu Mahasabha. Then all on a sudden he became a favourite of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the late President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and on a Congress ticket he was returned to the Assembly. Then he left that camp and joined the Bose Group. After a short while, he deserted the Bose Group and he has now joined the Government party.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. I think you should not make any personal attack.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: I am not making any personal attack. I am only placing facts before you about his career politically and religiously.

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, I want five minutes more.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You will get only one minute more.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Sir, we find that there are 96 Hindus in the Assembly and out of these 96 Hindus only 7 Caste Hindus and 17 Scheduled Caste Hindus, i.e., 24 Hindus are supporting this Bill and you see, Sir, that 72 Hindus are opposing it. Then again out of 122 Muslims about 40 Muslims are opposing this Bill. So you see, Sir, that it is against the principle of democracy; if a particular party's interest is jeopardised by a Bill, it should not be passed. I appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of this Bill that he should consider that the number of seats that have been allotted to Scheduled Castes has been very scanty and he should consider it. Unless the Scheduled Castes' demand is met we cannot support this Bill. (Applause from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. MONMOHAN DAS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, education is one of the most important problems with which the Scheduled Caste people are vitally concerned and I feel it my duty to speak our views, I mean the views of the Scheduled Castes, so far as the Secondary Education Bill is concerned This Bill is not a new one. This Bill has evoked bitter criticisms and storm of protests from its very inception under the slogans that this Bill is based on uneducational and reactionary policy, and that this is a retrograde measure. This is one of the glorious legislations and still this Bill would not draw the sympathy of the Opposition and of a particular section at their instance. Sir, since the year 1940 till today whenever any attempt was made to proceed with the Bill, exactly similar criticisms and protests were heard that the Bill has been drafted on the way of communal representation and of official control, and no constructive suggestion has been made on the Bill so far as the improvement of the secondary education is concerned.

Sir, before I speak on the other side of things, so far as the criticisms are concerned, I should like to point out the defects and the difficulties which we are now going to face. The first important fundamental question which appeals to me is the question of the adequate facilities for the education of the Scheduled Castes, but I regret to point out and draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister for Education that no such provision has been made in the Bill so far as fund is concerned.

Sir, most emphatically I should say that had there been no provision of fund in the Government of India Act for the education of the Scheduled Castes, all our cries would have gone to the wilderness. May I refer to the agreement that was arrived at at Poona between the leaders of the Depressed Classes and the Caste Hindus in which it will be found that in respect of educational grants there should be an adequate sum earmarked for the education of Scheduled Castes. But in the Bill I find, there is no provision so far as secondary education is concerned. In the absence of such a provision what should be our attitude. The Secondary Education Board will be an autonomous body. Time will come when the Scheduled Caste Committee on Secondary Education when constituted will have no voice. Whether it will be simply an advisory body or whether its opinion will be really accepted, there is no indication in the Bill.

Sir, I would refer to one other aspect of the matter. Government has provided a certain amount as recurring annual grant for the education of Scheduled Castes. So far as I remember a scheme has been prepared for spending the recurring grant allotted this year. In case no provision is made for secondary schools then I am afraid, Scheduled Caste education so far as secondary education is concerned may fail in many respects. So

from this point of view I should appeal to the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education to consider these things so that the defects may be remedied. Otherwise we should have to meet with much difficulties.

Now, Sir, the other point which appeals to us most is the question of representation of Scheduled Castes on the different bodies. First of all, I would like to point out that no proper provision has been made for the representation of Scheduled Castes. We find that in the main Board which is composed of 53 members, there will be only 5 representatives of Scheduled Castes including the Special Officer for Scheduled Caste Education. Our representation is therefore very poor. With regard to other committees so far as I remember there is no representation of Scheduled Castes in the Finance Committee, nor is there any representation in the Arbitration Committee, Recognition and Grants Committee. In the Executive Council no provision for the proper representation of the Scheduled Castes has been made. With regard to the Examination Committee only one member of the Scheduled Castes finds a place out of 20. In the Executive Council 3 members will be taken out of 20. I hope the Hon'ble Minister for Education will kindly take note of these things and do all he can to meet them.

Apart from all this, the most important question is the question of representation of Scheduled Castes in the Girls' Secondary Education Committee. Seats have been allotted for Caste Hindus, for Muslims and also for Anglo-Indians. It is very painful to see that no seat has been allotted for the Scheduled Castes. I do not understand how the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education could be so unkind, cruel and unsympathetic towards the education of Scheduled Castes.

I would like to say that for these omissions not only the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education but also the Hon'ble Ministers belonging to the Scheduled Castes are mainly responsible. I wonder when the question was taken up in the Cabinet whether these Ministers sat with their eyes and ears shut. What is the justification on their part to occupy the Treasury Benches if they are not going to look after the interest of the Scheduled Castes.

At the time of the formation of the Cabinet it was promised that 5 lakhs of rupees would be set apart for Scheduled Castes Education as annual recurring grant. But I regret to say that in the budget Rs. 5 lakhs was given to us only as a temporary measure. Why the Scheduled Caste Ministers are there? But due to the generosity of the Hon'ble Chief Minister the amount has now been promised as an annual recurring grant. Before the Bill is taken in the House clause by clause I hope the Hon'ble Education Minister and the Hon'ble Chief Minister will be good enough to note all the points I have made and amend the Bill suitably. (A VOICE: Then why are you supporting them?)

I am coming to that question. My friends opposite are asking why in the absence of any constructive programme we are supporting the present Bill. What is the cause behind it? In reply I should like to say that the Calcutta University is 70 years old and yet the Scheduled Caste people have not been treated there fairly. I believe the present Government will give some concession to the Scheduled Caste people.

With rgard to the question of eliciting public opinion I make bold to say that the opinion of the masses is with the Bill save and except the opinion of some interested agitators who are making speeches on public platforms. I understand that Dr. Mookerjee in his speech at the University Institute Hall at a conference stated: "I know that there are many Muslim members who are opposed to the Bill on principle, but they are not in a position to speak out their minds in the House or outside because of the fact that they will have to court unpopularity when they go to their constituencies." (MR. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Not unpopularity, but beating.) The Muslim opinion is with the Bill. Again the Scheduled Castes who form 1/5th of the total population and ⅓rd of the Hindus must stand for an educational measure which is meant for the improvement of education, which safeguards

the interests of the Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Caste members on principle who are the real representatives of the community cannot support any other measure which may stand in the way of education.

Apart from Scheduled Castes and Muslims there is another section known as the Caste Hindus. What do we find there? There are various sections who are depicted as Caste Hindus but who are as a matter of fact treated no better than the Scheduled Castes by the orthodox Caste Hindus in social matters. Sir, in view of the fact that save and except a small number of members belonging to the Scheduled Caste community who are siding with the Caste Hindus the whole body of the Scheduled Castes is behind this Bill, the question of mass opinion does not arise.

Then, Sir, with regard to the question of representation about which there has been so much of severe criticism as to whether separate or joint electorate should be adopted, I may tell the House that in the Constitution under the Government of India Act the Muslims have got their separate electorate with reservation of seats. So the question of separate electorate for the Muslims is not a new thing and therefore no controversy, I think, should arise with regard to separate electorate for Muslim representation in the Secondary Education Board. With regard to the Scheduled Castes, the system of joint electorate with reservation of seats was contemplated in the Government of India Act. But I do not understand, after all these years of my experience, how can the Scheduled Caste people feel that their political interests would be well looked after by the so-called Caste Hindus. From what I have seen of the attitude of the Caste Hindus towards the legitimate demands of the Scheduled Castes, I feel convinced that they have no mind to respect or consider our rights and interests except on political grounds: the Caste Hindus are anxious to enjoy political rights at the cost of the Scheduled Castes.

(At this stage the member reached the time-limit but was allowed one minute more to finish his speech.)

Sir, the Scheduled Caste people feel that their interests cannot be safeguarded by the Caste Hindus, so they themselves must have sufficient voice in the matter of the education of their boys and girls. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, ten seats were allotted to the Scheduled Castes under joint electorate, but when there was a demand for separate electorate, at the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi the number of seats allotted was raised to 30.

Before I sit down I would request my Caste Hindu friends to be more sympathetic towards the aims and aspirations of the Scheduled Castes and to be ready to give them more seats in the Board even if it be at their own cost.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

SJ. ASHUTOSH MULLICK: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir! বাংলা সরকারের মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলে, শিক্ষার অধিষ্ঠাত্রী বীণাপাণির বীণার তার কেউ কাউকে আপন বলে জানবে না। তাদের প্রত্যেকের সুর হবে স্বতন্ত্র। ধর্মের খাড়া-নাড়া সেতারের কর্কশ ঝঙ্কারে তারস্বরে সাম্প্রদায়িক চির বিচ্ছেদের এক ঘেয়ে বেসুর বাংলা দেশের গৃহে, প্রাঙ্গনে, পল্লীতে, গ্রামে, নগরে, শহরে, বাজারে সর্বত্র বেতার ঘোষণা করবে। বাংলা সরকারের ওস্তাদ বাজিয়ে মান্যবর শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী তাঁর কঠোর হস্তে অহমিকার অচল খোঁটার বাঁধা তারগুলো কেবলি নিয়ন্ত্রণের নোঙরে চড়িয়ে পাক দিয়ে দিয়ে সুর বাঁধবার চেষ্টা কোরবেন। ফলে সুর বাঁধার টানাটানি ও কাণমলানি খেয়ে খেয়েই সব তার একে একে ছিঁড়ে পড়বে। তাদের তীব্র বেসুরকে কস্মিনকালেও সমগ্রের সুরে মিলনের ঐকতানে বাজানো সম্ভব হবে না। এবং বাংলা সরকারের শিক্ষা বিল সংস্কৃতির

সিদ্ধিদাতা গণপতিকে বাদ দিয়ে তার বাহন মুষিকটিকে ধরে টানাটানি আরম্ভ কোরেছেন। ধাক্কা সামলাতে না পেরে সবাহন অধিষ্ঠাতা গণদেবতার ভূগুপতনে অনিবার্য্য অপঘাত মৃত্যু ঘটবে সন্দেহ নাই। ফলে জাতি গঠনের ও সমাজ সমন্বয়ের উদার সর্ব্বজনপ্রিয় ভাব ও আদর্শ পঞ্চত্ব পেয়ে তাদের প্রেতাত্মা বিভীষিকা সৃষ্টি করবে। এই শিক্ষা বিল বাংলা সরকারের ক্ষমতার সদ্ব্যবহার নহে, ক্ষমতার অপব্যবহার। বিলের উদ্দেশ্য শিক্ষা সংস্কার নহে, শিক্ষা সংহার। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল শিক্ষা প্রসারের দিগ্‌দর্শনের ধ্রুবতারা নহে,—শিক্ষা পীড়নের, শিক্ষা নিয়ন্ত্রণের নিদর্শন ধূমকেতু। বিলের উদ্দেশ্য ও বিধেয় দুইই খাপছাড়া। লক্ষ্মীছাড়া বাংলা দেশের দু:খ দুর্দ্দশার মাত্রা বাড়াবার জন্যই এই দারুণ দুর্যোগের দুর্দ্দিনে বঙ্গবাসীর মতামতকে অগ্রাহ্য কোরে এই বিল একেবারে দরবারে হাজির হোয়েছে। বিলের সম্বন্ধ, অভিধেয়, প্রয়োজন সবই বিসদৃশ। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার সহিত বাংলা সরকারের এ যাবৎকাল অনাত্মীয় আতিথেয় সম্বন্ধ ছিল। সরকারের মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার সহিত নৈকট্য মধুর গাঢ় ও গুঢ়তর সম্বন্ধ স্থাপনই বিলটির চরম ও পরম উদ্দেশ্য। এবং সাম্প্রদায়িক গুরুত্বে শিক্ষা বোর্ড গঠন কোরে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা নিয়ন্ত্রণই এই বিলের প্রয়োজন। এতকাল বাংলা দেশে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা নিজের ভার নিজেই বহন করে আস্‌চে। ইদানিং শিক্ষা বিলের অনুকম্পায় সে ভার শাসনকর্ত্তাদের উপর পড়বে। ঘোড়ার পিঠে না চড়ে, ঘোড়াকে মাটিতে চল্‌তে না দিয়ে তাকে কাঁধে নিয়ে বেড়াান হবে। যে বেচারা কাঁধে কোরবে তার মেজাজ সব সময় ঠিক থাকবে না নিশ্চয়ই। সে মজুরির লোভে কাঁধে কোরবে বটে কিন্তু ঘোড়া বেচারার উপর পদে পদে শোধ নিতে থাকবে। অর্থাৎ তাতে শিক্ষা সংস্কারের চেয়ে শিক্ষা প্রসার ব্যাহত হওয়ারই সম্ভাবনা বেশী। বর্ত্তমান শিক্ষা বিলটির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে মুখ্যত: মারণাস্ত্র—জাতীয়তার পরিপন্থী, সাম্প্রদায়িক সঙ্কীর্ণতা, গোঁড়ামি ও বাহ্যাচার-প্রবণতা এই ত্রিদোষ সান্নিপাতিক বিকার। ক্রমবর্দ্ধমান পিপাসা আনুষঙ্গিক উপসর্গ সরকারী নিয়ন্ত্রণ। এবং সংক্রামক সংসর্গ রাজনৈতিক ভেদনীতি বিশারদ ইংরাজ সাহচর্য্যে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন ও মনোনয়ন প্রথা। ফলে বাংলার শিক্ষা কেন্দ্র শ্মশানে পরিণত হবে, ভাগাড়ে পরিণত হবে। একে ধর্ম্মের দোহাইএ পাকিস্থানী আবহাওয়া তাতে বর্ত্তমান আকারে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল আস্কারা পেলে সমস্যা যে কোথায় এবং কতদূর গড়াবে তা কে জানে? এই পরিষদের তর্ক, বিতর্ক, কূটতর্ক এর সতর্কতামূলক প্রতিকার নহে। রোগের নিদান কারণের প্রতিকার না কোরে রোগের লক্ষণের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধ করা বাতুলতা মাত্র। পাইকারী রোগের খুচরা চিকিৎসায় কোন ফল হবে না। ঝাড়-ফুক দ্বারা রোগ সারান যাবে না। বরং রোগের ভূত প্রতিক্রিয়া হয়ে রোগীর মনে আক্রোশ হয়ে চেপে বস্‌বে। তথাপি যাবৎ কণ্ঠগত প্রাণা: তাবৎ চিকিৎসার প্রয়োজন আছে ইহাই শাস্ত্র প্রসিদ্ধি। যে শিক্ষা মানুষের সঙ্গে মানুষকে মেশায়, যে শিক্ষায়তনে সুকুমারমতি কিশোর বালক পরস্পরের সহিত মেলামেশার সুযোগ পায়, যেখানে ভাবের আদান প্রদানের দ্বারা চিত্তবৃত্তির উৎকর্ষতা লাভ হয়, পূর্ণতার বিকাশ হয়, সেই শিক্ষার দোহাই দিয়েই বাংলা সরকার, শিক্ষা বিলের সাহায্যে মানুষকে. বঙ্গবাণীকে পৃথক করার প্রয়াস পেয়েছেন। মিলনের বৃত্তিটি স্বতন্ত্র চেষ্টার উপরের জিনিষ। ক্রীতদাস রাজাকে খুন ক'রে সিংহাসনে চড়ে বসলে যেমন হয়, মিলন বিরোধী স্বতন্ত্র চেষ্টা, সাম্প্রদায়িকতা তেমনি মিলনধর্মী শিক্ষাকে একেবারে অভিভূত করে দিয়ে তার উপর যদি আপনার স্থান দখল করে বসে ত হ'লে সেই রকম অন্যায় ঘটে। এই জন্যই পারিবারিক বা সামাজিক স্বার্থবুদ্ধি মানুষকে স্বাতন্ত্র্যের দিকে টেনে থাকলেও আদর্শ শিক্ষা তার উপরে দাঁড়িয়ে তাকে বিশ্বের দিকে, বিশ্ব মানবের দিকে নিয়ত আহ্বান করে। আমাদের বাংলা দেশে বর্ত্তমান কালে সেই স্থানেই ছিদ্র হয়েছে। এবং সেই ছিদ্রপথেই এ দেশে শনি প্রবেশ করেছে। বন্ধনকে ছেদন করাই যার কাজ তাকে দিয়েই যখন বন্ধন পাকা করার চেষ্টা হচ্ছে তখন উদ্ধার করবে কে? শিক্ষায়তনের সিংহদ্বার

খোলা থাকলে তবেই ছোট বড় উন্নত অনুন্নত জাতি-ধর্ম্ম-বর্ণ নির্ব্বিশেষে সকলকে একত্রে আহ্বান করা সম্ভব হবে; নতুবা কেবলমাত্র প্রয়োজনের বা স্বার্থসিদ্ধির সাম্প্রদায়িক অভিমানের খিড়কির দরজাটুকু খুলে রাখলে সেই ফাঁকটুকুর মধ্য দিয়ে প্রভেদ, পার্থক্য, বিরোধ, বিচ্ছেদ গলতে পারবে না—মিলতে পারবে না। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা জাতিগঠনমূলক সমস্যা। বর্ত্তমান মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা প্রণালীর ভিতর ত্রুটী ও গলদ আছে অস্বীকার করা যায় না। আমরা তার সংস্কার চাই, এবং অচিরে তার সংস্কার ও সংশোধন প্রয়োজন। কিন্তু তার চেয়েও মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার প্রসার অধিকতর প্রয়োজন। অত্যন্ত দুঃখের কথা, পরম পরিতাপের বিষয়, মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের ন্যায় একটা জাতিগঠনমূলক পরিকল্পনাকে আমাদের বিরোধিতা করতে হয়। যেহেতু চুলোর আগুন জ্বালাবার জন্য চোখের জলে নাকের জলে এক হতে হয়, কিন্তু গৃহদাহের আগুন নেবানোই বাহাদুরী। আমাদের দুর্ভাগ্য— এ দেশে উপলক্ষ্যের দ্বারা লক্ষ্য প্রায়ই চাপা পড়ে। যেমন যে গান শিখতে চায় সে ওস্তাদী শিখে বসে। যে ধনী হ'তে চায় সে টাকা জমিয়ে অন্যের কৃপা পাত্র হয়ে উঠে। যারা দেশের হিত চায়, দশের কল্যাণ চায় তারা Committeeতে resolution পাশ কোরেই নিজকে কৃতার্থ মনে করে। যাঁরা স্বদেশ প্রীতি, স্বদেশ ভক্তিতে একেবারে কুমড়া গড়াগড়ি তাঁরাই পরস্পরের অনৈক্যের জাতীয়তার পরিপন্থী প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল একটা শিক্ষা বিল এনে হাজির করেন। শিক্ষা সংস্কার বিষয়ে আমরা সকলেই যখন একমত—আমরা সকলেই যখন শিক্ষা সংস্কার চাই, তখন আমাদের লক্ষ্য হবে—জাতি-ধর্ম্ম-বর্ণ নির্ব্বিশেষে নিরপেক্ষ একটা আদর্শ সংস্কার। আমাদের মধ্যে অনেকে হয়ত বর্ত্তমান মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলকেই আদর্শ সংস্কার বলে মনে করেন এবং সেই জন্যই এই বিলের প্রতি সকরুণ দৃষ্টিপাত করেন। আমি তাঁহাদিগকে স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই—যতটুকু দৃষ্টি দিলে কাজ ভালো হয় আমাদের চোখ তার চেয়ে ঢের বেশী দেখে। চোখ আমাদের যতটা সাহায্য করে তার চেয়ে ঢের বেশী বিক্ষিপ্ত করে। আবার অনেকে হয়ত কেবল অসম্পূর্ণতা দেখতে পান কিন্তু পূর্ণতা সৃষ্টি করতে পারেন না। ধর্ম্ম, আদর্শ শিক্ষার মেরুদণ্ড কিংবা প্রধান অঙ্গ, মস্তক হবে, তাতে কারুরই আপত্তি থাকতে পারে না, কিন্তু আমার মতে ধর্ম্ম গেল ধর্ম্ম গেল বলে বীভৎস চীৎকারের কোলাহল শিক্ষার পক্ষে অতিশয় অনিষ্টকর। আমাদের দেশে কি সনাতন হিন্দুধর্ম্মে কি পবিত্র ইস্‌লাম ধর্ম্মে শাঁসের চাইতে খোসাই বেশী—যেন শীতকালের বাঁধা কপি—ভিতরে বীজ অনুসন্ধান ব্যর্থ প্রয়াস।

ধর্ম্ম বলতে আমরা কতকগুলি নিছক অনুষ্ঠান বিশেষকে বুঝি। ধর্ম্মের চরম ও পরম উদ্দেশ্য না বুঝে আমরা বিপথে চলতে আরম্ভ করি। ফলে গন্তব্য স্থানে পৌঁছান কঠিন হয়। হিন্দুর ধর্ম্ম সনাতন—কাজেই সহজে বিপন্ন হয় না। কিন্তু ইস্‌লাম ভক্ত আমার বন্ধুগণ হয়ত এ বিষয়ে আমার সহিত একমত হ'তে পারবেন না; কারণ কথায় কথায় পবিত্র ইসলাম ধর্ম্ম বিপন্ন হয়। রাজনীতির বিশাল প্রান্তরে, ধর্ম্ম গেল, ধর্ম্ম গেল বীভৎস চীৎকারে বিশ্বব্যাপী দিকদিগন্ত ধ্বনিত প্রতিধ্বনিত হবে কিন্তু শিক্ষায়তনের সঙ্কীর্ণ প্রকোষ্ঠে ঐ ধ্বনি শিক্ষার অন্তিমকালীন আর্ত্তনাদের ন্যায় প্রতীয়মান হবে। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা সংস্কারে ধর্ম্মের প্রতি আমরা যদি আরও অধিক পক্ষপাতিত্ব করি তা হ'লে ত্যাগী, সন্ন্যাসী, বৈরাগী, উদাসীন এবং মৌলভি, মৌলানা, মোল্লা, মুরসেদ, হাজি, গাজি, পীর, ফকির ইত্যাদি ইসলাম-সর্ব্বস্ব দৈহিক সুখ স্বাচ্ছন্দ্য-বিরাগী একনিষ্ঠ ইস্‌লাম ভক্তে বাংলা দেশ ছেয়ে যাবে। বাংলা দেশ থেকে কৃষি, বাণিজ্য, শিল্প লোপ হবে। ভয় হয় পাছে রাজনীতি ক্ষেত্রে বিচরণ করার মত লোক বিরল হবে। পূর্ব্বকালের ন্যায় আশৈশব ভগবানের দিকে, ধর্ম্মের দিকে দৃষ্টি রেখে বিশ্বের পারিপার্শ্বিক অবস্থা বিপর্য্যয়ের প্রতি উদাসীন থাকলে একালে আর চল্‌বে না। ধর্ম্মের জন্য সংসার ত্যাগ নয়, মানুষের জন্যই আত্মত্যাগ কর্‌তে না পারলে চিত্তশুদ্ধি হবে না—ভগবান লাভ ত দূরের কথা;

এমন কি আপনাকেও হারাতে হবে। সর্ব্বভূতে প্রীতি ব্যতীত ঈশ্বরে ভক্তি নাই, মনুষ্যত্ব নাই, ধর্ম্ম নাই। আত্মপ্রীতি, স্বজনপ্রীতি, স্বদেশপ্রীতি এই প্রীতির অন্তর্গত। (এই জন্য ঋষি বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র স্বদেশপ্রীতিকে সর্ব্বশ্রেষ্ঠ ধর্ম্ম বলিয়াছেন।) আমাদের আদর্শ মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা স্বদেশ প্রীতির অনুকূল হবে ইহাই আমরা বক্তব্য বিষয়।

ধর্ম্মের দোহাইএ জাতীয়তার নামে জাহান্নমে গমনশীল প্রতিক্রিয়াপরায়ণ ক্ষণস্থায়ী কালোপযোগী মন্ত্রিমণ্ডল গঠন করাকে প্রশ্রয় দেওয়া চলে, কিন্তু শিক্ষা সংস্কারের দোহাইএ সারা বাংলা দেশব্যাপী পাকিস্থানী উপনিবেশ সৃষ্টি করাকে উপেক্ষা করা চলে না। ইহা নিজের গাড়ীর তলে চাপা পড়ার মত দারুণ দুর্গতির দুর্ঘটন। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার আদর্শ সংস্কারে ধর্ম্মকে একেবারে নিষিদ্ধ পর্য্যায়ভুক্ত করার কথা, ধর্ম্ম বিবর্জ্জিত শিক্ষার কথা আমি অবশ্য বলছি না। খেয়া নৌকায় পার হবার সময় যদি কেহ মাছ ধরার সুযোগ পায় সে তাহার বাহাদুরী। কিন্তু সব সময় মনে রাখা উচিত খেয়া নৌকা জেলে ডিঙ্গি নয়। শিক্ষা সংস্কার রচয়িতা শিক্ষা-সচিব মহাশয়ের ঐ বিষয়ে বিশেষ দৃষ্টি দেওয়া উচিত ছিল। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলে শিক্ষা সংস্কার ব্যাপারে সাম্প্রদায়িক দাবীর ষোল আনা স্থলে আঠার আনা আদায় করাই শিক্ষার ব্যাপ্তি কিংবা মন্ত্রিত্বের দায়িত্বের পরিসমাপ্তি নহে। শিক্ষা বোর্ডে সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহ সৃষ্টি করাই শিক্ষা সংস্কার নহে। বাংলা সরকারের বড়ো কথাকে বড় গলায় বলতে গিয়ে বক্তব্য বিষয়টাকে ছাপিযে বিলে সাম্প্রদায়িক দেবতার কণ্ঠটাই সমুচ্চতর হয়ে উঠেছে। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার দায়িত্ব গ্রহণের আর্থিক যোগ্যতা নাই, আছে ভোটের গুণ্ডামি; শিক্ষা বিলে শিক্ষা বিস্তারেব কোন পরিকল্পনা নাই, কোন নীতি নাই, আছে নিয়ন্ত্রণের রাজনৈতিক ভণ্ডামি; পৃথক নির্ব্বাচনেব সাম্প্রদায়িক অন্তঃসার শূন্য গোঁড়ামি। মনোনয়ন প্রথা বজায় রাখার বাদশাহী বোকামি। আদর্শ শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা প্রবর্ত্তনের অক্ষমতা সমর্থনের কৈফিয়ৎ শৈশবত্বের ন্যাকামি। প্রতি পদক্ষেপে ভূতপুর্ব্ব মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলীর স্কন্ধে দোষ চাপানোর জ্যাঠামি। এই সব আমিত্বের বহুলতায় বাংলা সরকার নিজকে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা কেন, সর্ব্বত্রই সর্ব্বক্ষেত্রে আমিই কৃতী বলে মনে করেন। আর যাঁদের কৃতিত্বে বাংলা দেশে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা গড়ে উঠেচে তাঁরা অন্যাবশ্যক শোভা মাত্র। কলম বেচারার যদি চেতনা থাকতো তাহ'লে লিখ্‌তে লিখ্‌তে নিশ্চয়ই সে মনে কোরে বহ্‌তো লেখার সব কাজটাই করি আমি, অথচ আমার মুখেই কালি পড়ে আর লেখকের মুখ খ্যাতিতে উজ্জ্বল হয়ে উঠে। পরম পরিতাপের বিষয় এই বর্ত্তমান শিক্ষা বিলে এই আমি একদিকে সমস্ত থেকে পৃথক হ'তে চাচ্ছে কিন্তু অন্যদিকে সমস্তকে আমার করে নিতে পাচ্ছে না। এই প্রকার আত্মপ্রসাদ ও আত্মম্ভরিতা এবং ক্ষমতামত্ততার মোহে ব্যক্তিগত ও জাতিগত আত্মবিস্মৃতি, মনুষ্য সমাজের উন্নতির অন্তরায়। এই প্রকার মনোবৃত্তির প্রভাবান্বিত শিক্ষা বিলের আমলে শিক্ষা কেন্দ্রসমূহ আত্মকলহ রণাঙ্গনে পরিণত হ'বে। কুৎসিত সাম্প্রদায়িক প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতায় শিক্ষা মন্দিরের পবিত্র আবহাওয়া কলুষিত হবে। কৃতিত্বের প্রতিযোগিতায় শিক্ষক ও ছাত্রদেব মধ্যে সাম্প্রদায়িক যোগ্যতাই আসল যোগ্যতা বলে মর্য্যাদা পাবে। বাংলা অভিধানে বাংলা ভাষায় জাতীয়তাবাচক শব্দ নিষ্প্রয়োজন হ'য়ে পড়বে। এই শিক্ষা বিল বাংলা সরকারের বাজেটের ঘাটতি পূরণ মায়া-মরীচিকার পেছনে পেছনে দৌড়ান একটা ট্যাক্স বসানো কোন বিল নয়, যে জনমত গ্রহণেব বিলম্ব অসহনীয় হবে। পলকে প্রলয় হয়ে যাবে। এটা একটা নীরস শিক্ষা বিল। দলভুক্তোবান্ধব ইউরোপীয় সম্প্রদায়ের, যাঁদের হাতে বাংলা সরকারের মরণ বাঁচন চাবিকাটি তাঁদের যদি এই বিল পাশ হওয়া বিষয়ে আগ্রহ আছে অথচ তাঁরা উদাসীন এইরূপ মনোভাব তাহলে বাংলা সরকারেব এই বিল সম্বন্ধে জনমত গ্রহণ করার প্রতীক্ষায় ধৈর্য্য হারাবার মত কি আছে? তা' ছাড়া জনমতের মাপকাঠি দিয়ে এই বিলের আয়ুষ্কাল পরিমাপিত হবে। কাজেই উহা উপেক্ষা করা চলে না। আমি শিক্ষা-সচিব মহাশয়কে সাবধান করিতেছি যে হঠকারিতার জন্য তাঁকে যেন আপশোষ

করতে না হয়। আইন সভার সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠতার সুযোগে জনমতের প্রতি অবজ্ঞা কোরে এবং গায়ের জোরে যুগ প্রয়োজনকে উপেক্ষা কোরে যদি এই বিল পাশ করানোর সৌভাগ্য ঘটে তাহ'লেও যুদ্ধোত্তর বাংলায় উহা কোন দিন বাস্তবে পরিণত হবে না। আভ্যন্তরীণ দৌর্ব্বল্যের ও স্ববিরোধিতায় উহা পণ্ড হবে; যুদ্ধোত্তর বাংলার জাতীয় জীবনের পরিবর্ত্তিত অবস্থায় এমন সব সমস্যা দেখা দিবে, যখন কতকগুলি অপদার্থ সরকারী যো হুকুম গঠিত বোর্ডের দ্বারা মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার নিয়ন্ত্রণের কোন প্রয়োজন থাকবে না। উপসংহারে, আমার বক্তব্য—শিক্ষাব্রতী, শিক্ষা-হিতৈষী মণিষীগণ এই প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শিক্ষা বিলের যেভাবে বলিষ্ট সমালোচনায় প্রতিবাদ কচেছন এবং সারা বাংলা দেশব্যাপী সর্ব্বত্র যেভাবে এই বিলের বিরুদ্ধে তীব্র নিন্দা হচেছ, তাতে বিকৃত মস্তিষ্ক ব্যতীত সকলেরই ধারণা হওয়া স্বাভাবিক যে, অন্তত: এই বিলের পশ্চাতে জনসাধারণের কোন প্রকার সহানুভূতি নেই। এই বিলের প্রতিবাদ বিতর্ক মহাসাগর উত্তীর্ণ হওয়ার একমাত্র তরণী চরম ও পরম সম্বল এই পরিষদের ভোটাধিক্য। আমি একটা কথা শিক্ষা-সচিব মহাশয়কে স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই, যে ডুব জলে সাঁতার দেয়, যার কোথায়ও দাঁড়াবার স্থান নাই, মামান্য হাঁড়ি, কলসী, কলার ভেলা তার পরম ধন—তার ভয় ভাবনা উদ্বেগের সীমা নেই। আর যে ব্যক্তির পায়ের নীচে মাটি আছে অর্থাৎ যার পেছনে জনসাধারণের অনুকূল সানুভূতি আছে তার ভিত্তি সুদৃঢ়। তার যদিও হাঁড়ি, কলসীর প্রয়োজন আছে কিন্তু হাড়ি, কলসী তার জীবনের অবলম্বন নয়। এগুলো যদি কেউ কেড়েও নেয় তাহ'লে তার যতই অভাব অসুবিধা হ'ক না সে ডুবে মরবে না। তারপর বিলটির আবির্ভাবের হেতুজনা কারণ থেকে মনে হয় বাংলা সরকারের আক্ষেপের বিষয় যেহেতু The expansion of education during the last thirty years has been extremely rapid এবং তাহাই যেন বাংলা সরকারের বিক্ষোভের কারণ। আমার শেষ কথা এই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল বাংলা সরকারের বিক্ষোভ দূরীকরণের নিমিত্ত স্বজনের সান্ত্বনা নহে। পরশ্রীকাতরতাপরায়ণ সাম্প্রদায়িক কুৎসিত দুরারোগ্য ব্যাধির দূষিত ক্ষতে প্রতিষেধক প্রলেপ নহে, কিম্বা যোগ্যতা প্রমাণের প্রতিযোগিতায় ভগ্নোদ্যম অক্ষমতার সতর্কতামূলক প্রতিকারও নহে, স্বার্থ সিদ্ধির নিমিত্ত দুরভিসন্ধি ভেদনীতি কায়েম করার দুরাশার আশাও নহে। জাতীয়তা গঠনের অন্তরায় এই প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল বিলের দ্বারা সম্প্রদায় বিশেষের কোন উদ্দেশ্য সিদ্ধ হবে না।

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, আমার যতদূর মনে হয়, বাংলা সরকারের কুখ্যাত এবং বারংবার প্রত্যাখ্যাত শিক্ষা বিলটির দুর্ন্নাম কলঙ্ক অপনোদন জন্য, স্বীয় পবিত্রতা প্রমাণের জন্য, জনমত গ্রহণ করার অগ্নি পরীক্ষা দেওয়ার মত সৎ সাহস নাই। তা যদি না থাকে তাহলে অন্তত: স্বজন কুটুম্ব কতিপয় বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তির অনুমোদনে কিয়ৎ পরিমাণ সংস্কার লাভ করে ভদ্র সমাজে চলা ফেরা করার যোগ্য হয়ে এই বিলটির পরিষদের ভদ্র সমাজে আসা উচিত। এমন করে বিলটির যা তা ভাবে নির্লজ্জের ন্যায় একেবারে দরবারে হাজির হওয়ার দু:সাহসকে আমরা মোটেই বরদাস্ত করতে পারছি না। Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, অতএব আমি আমার পূর্ব্ববর্ত্তী বন্ধুবর্গের ঐ মর্ম্মে আনীত প্রস্তাবসমূহ সমর্থন করি।

Khan Bahadur SHAH ABDUR RAUF: Sir, at the fag end of the day when all the members are tired out I am afraid if I am to make a speech it will be a sort of infliction on them, but, Sir, in view of the fact that ample time was given to the members of the House to speak or read out their speeches to their hearts' content, it will not be out of place if I make a few observations relating to the present Bill.

Sir, I rise to oppose all the motions for circulation as well as the motions for reference to a Select Committee. The agitation against the Bengal Secondary Education Bill had been very strong but for that it should have

found a place in the Statute Book long ago. You will remember, Sir, when the first Ministry was formed with Mr. Fazlul Huq as Chief Minister in accordance with the wishes of the majority of members that gave support to that Ministry the first Bill was framed and was placed before the House. The House referred it to a Select Committee. No sooner was the Bill referred to a Select Committee than an agitation began the like of which Bengal had never seen. Even the partition of Bengal did not evoke so much agitation as the unfortunate Bill at that time. But still in spite of the agitation the then Ministry made a determined effort to carry it through. Unfortunately, however, for the Ministry and fortunately for those who agitated against the Bill the Ministry came to an end and a second Ministry was formed again with Mr. Fazlul Huq as Chief Minister but the composition was altogether different. Vith Dr. S. P. Mookerjee as a guiding factor in the second Ministry nobody thought that the Bill would ever see the light of day, but owing to the pressure that was given by the Muslim members supporting the Ministry that Minsitry was compelled with lukeworm spirit to bring forward a Bill which also died out. It did not see the light of day. Then came the agitation against the present constitution. With it there came a sigh of relief that the Bill would never be placed on the Statute Book. Then after a time the second Ministry suddenly came to an end. Then came the 3rd Ministry with the Hon'ble Sir Nazimuddin as Chief Minister. Now 12 months have intervened since the Ministry came into power. Fortunately this Bill has again come to see the light of day. An attempt is being made to place it on the Statute Book. The agitation which had died out is again revived with redoubled force and persons are busy in making propaganda against the Bill. Persons who knew nothing about the provisions of the Bill and persons who did not even care to read what the Bill contained all joined together in raising protests against the Bill. In fact there has been a cry of revolt which is rending the sky. In spite of that I am glad that the present Ministry is determined to carry the Bill through. Sir, there is no denying the fact that a Board of Secondary Education had been considered to be an absolute necessity by eminent educationists of our country for over 20 years. So there is no question that a Board of Secondary Education for the regulation and improvement of secondary education is a necessity. But the whole question is whether the present Bill is suitable for the purpose. My friends opposite have reminded us, Mussalmans, that they were generous enough to give us schools, that they were generous enough to give us teachers and that they were generous enough to give us books to read. My friend, Mr. Birat Chandra Mondal, also reminded us that the percentage of literacy amongst Muslims was only 6 per cent. and amongst Hindus it was 65 per cent. We have also been reminded that we are poor in education and poor in wealth. Some of my friends sitting opposite have told us that this is not an opportune moment for bringing a Bill of this sort, when we are hearing the drones of aeroplanes flying over our head and when sirens are being sounded now and again. One gentleman sitting opposite thought that as there was a great famine last year this was not the opportune moment for bringing a Bill like this. I have listened to the speeches of my friends very carefully and I am constrained to remark that in the long speeches which were delivered by some friends sitting opposite I do not find any constructive suggestions regarding the Bill. We are now discussing the question whether the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee or not. No argument has been advanced for referring the Bill to a Select Committee.

Now, Sir, let us turn to the Bill itself and see what it contains. After all, this Bill is intended for the formation of a Secondary Education Board for the regulation, control and development of secondary education. Section 4 of the Bill deals with the composition of the Board and here if members read between the lines of section 4 they will find that everywhere the legitimate claims of Caste Hindus have been safeguarded. If you refer to sub-clause (*13*) of clause 4 you will find that 6 seats have been given to

the University of Calcutta of whom two shall be Muslims, three shall be Hindus and one to a community other than the Muslim and the Hindu communities. Sub-clause (*14*) of clause 4 makes provision for two persons of whom one shall be a Muslim to be elected by the Muslim members and one shall be a Hindu to be elected by the Hindu members of the Executive Council of the Dacca University. In sub-clause (*15*) of clause 4 we find that in the matter of representation of Head Masters of High Schools in the Board the Caste Hindus have been given the same place with the Muslims. Although they are 45 per cent. of the population, still they have been given seats on the basis of 50 per cent. So, Sir, on that score my Caste Hindu friends can have and should have no grievance. It is true that the authority in the matter of secondary education so long exercised by them would to a certain extent be curtailed and they are afraid that their voice would not predominate. That is the reason why they are trying so much to oppose the Bill. Sir, we have been told that only 6 per cent. of the Muslims are literate and the Caste Hindus are literate to the extent of 60 per cent. I also find from record that during the past 180 years of British Rule in India about 93 per cent. of the Indian population are still illiterate, but, Sir, during only 40 years of American Rule in the Philippines illiteracy was reduced from 98 to 45 per cent. In Russia during the last twenty years the Soviet Union reduced their illiteracy from 78 to 8 per cent. But, Sir, illiteracy, to our misfortune, has not been driven away from this country. There have been agitations all over the country at various times. The Congress as the recognised organisation of the Caste Hindus with broad nationalism as their ideology, I am sorry to say, have not raised their little finger to drive away illiteracy. The organisations managed by Caste Hindus have never made any attempt to drive away illiteracy from the land We have been told that being illiterate we should divert our attention to primary education and not quarrel with the Caste Hindus regarding secondary education. We are illiterate, and that is all the more reason why we should try our level best to get this Bill through because through this Bill we hope to get education both for ourselves as well as for the Scheduled Castes. But may I ask who are responsible if we are illiterate? Do the Caste Hindus think that through this Bill we are taking away their rights and privileges? Do they think that through this Bill we are trying to check the progress of education of the Caste Hindus? That has never been our intention. It is our humble attempt on the part of the Muslims and Scheduled Castes to get more education, to get more light which my friends the Caste Hindus have got, and it is only proper and fair that the Caste Hindus should give us all possible help in carrying the Bill through, so that in their ideal of nationalism they will help us getting literate. If we, the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes, get education it will be helping the country and it will be helping the Caste Hindus to reach their goal.

Sir, I appeal to my Caste Hindu friends that instead of raising their voice of protest against this Bill they should think over the matter and look at the Bill with a sympathetic eye and attention, so that we, Muslims and Scheduled Castes, who are only 6 per cent. literate, should get sufficient opportunity to get proper education. By our education the country will progress because my Caste Hindu friends cannot reach the goal of self-government, the goal of *swaraj*, without us and keeping us illiterate. Therefore, Sir, in all fairness I should request my Caste Hindu friends to come forward and help us and guide us in getting the Bill through.

Sir, there is no reason why this Bill should be referred to the Select Committee. I think that this is the third Bill or that the Bill has come for the third time, and every individual member of the House, I think, knows the Bill thoroughly. The public also know it thoroughly. So there is no reason why the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee or be circulated for eliciting opinion, especially when the members can put in amendments during the course of the discussion.

With these words, Sir, I oppose all the amendments moved by different members.

(When Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz rose to speak.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, are we deviating from the agreed list? The name of Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz did not appear therein.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I took the consent.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, let us then hold over Mr. Jalan for tomorrow.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, that can be done.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose all the motions of circulation for eliciting public opinion for this period or that and the motions of reference to Select Committees of the Secondary Education Bill. In this connection, I heartily congratulate Mr. Khan, the Education Minister, for the reason that what Mr. Fazlul Huq, the then Prime Minister of Bengal, could not do for a long time of 5 or 6 years knowing thoroughly well its importance and urgency Mr. Khan boldly and courageously took it up and very successfully and effectively put it before the House. Not only that but by his argumentative speech also he silenced the Oppositionists and nullified the force of their arguments while they are "still arguing though vanquished".

I have heard with undivided attention the speeches delivered by our esteemed friends within the House for circulation of the Bill and for reference to Select Committees or Committee of the whole House which are now pending before the House with the clear object to shelve it and kill it in the womb. I have seen in the newspaper columns their speeches delivered in the platform either for withdrawal or for dropping it for good.

Sir, statements after statements were made, meetings after meetings and conference after conference were held to oppose the Bill most vehemently, and we are to analyse the pros and cons of the whole matter.

Sir, before entering into the discussion at length on the subject, I draw the attention of the House through you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that our fight for the Secondary Education Bill, 1944, is a fight with a phantom. Because it is admitted that (1) there are defects, colossal defects, in the system of the Calcutta University Education including the secondary education; (2) that reformation, regulation, control and development of secondary education have been long overdue; (3) that the present attempt is the ninth one for introducing a thorough change for the betterment of the system; (4) that for the same the problem of secondary education has been before the public for some thirty years and before the Assembly in some form or other for the last 10 or 12 years; (5) that Dr. Mookerjee while in power with Mr. Fazlul Huq the draft of the Secondary Education Bill, 1942, was made in consultation with him with only an important difference, as they say, of separate electorate on which point there was no agreement; (6) that the percentage of literacy above the age of 5 in Bengal is hopelessly poor in spite of the best efforts, though one-sided, of the Calcutta University as follows: Hindus—26·3 per cent., Muslims—11·6 per cent. according to 1931 census; Hindus—22·2 per cent., Muslims—11·5 per cent. according to 1941 census; Hindu females—11·4 per cent., Muslim females—4·5 per cent., according to 1941 census; (7) that the Oppositionists have no objection to communal representation with this suggestion only that the communal representation should be made by joint electorate with reservation of seats if thought necessary; (8) that this change should be made now unless and until Sir Nazimuddin with his colleagues go out of office and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee occupies again the august position of at least a *de facto* Premiership upon the head of the ex-honourable Mr. Fazlul Huq or somebody else.

Now, Sir, excepting the last 2 points there is nothing to contend and if these 2 points do not stand then it is clear that we are fighting with nothing but a phantom.

Now, Sir, we are to see who oppose the Bill, what for and what is the motive, if any, so on and so forth. Sir, 99 per cent. Muslims and Scheduled Castes support this Bill as they are the worst sufferers from time immemorial. Both the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes have got their most painful history behind with respect to education and other matters. I leave aside some Scheduled Caste friends to tell the woeful tale if they like of the sufferings of the Scheduled Castes century after century in the hands of the Brahmanic social administration and for the world to judge. Hence 99 per cent. of the Scheduled Castes with their leaders and friends who have got sufficient amount of foresight with wide and long experiences, who have shed their blood in thoughts and anxieties for the upliftment of the whole Scheduled Caste community and who have seen the light of the day only the other day with the inauguration of the new Constitution, stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-sufferers, the Muslims.

Sir, with due respect to the Hindu nation, Hindu civilization, culture and literature excepting the mythological excesses, exaggerations and prejudices which they deserve, I can say that the Islamic civilisation, its contribution to the civilization of the world at large and history for advancement of learning and education from its time of inception is simply wonderful and marvellous. In this connection I may quote from the speech of the other day of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas as a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University denouncing the Secondary Education Bill, as follows: "I want to know which is the community that has established the largest number of educational institutions in the Province and has made the largest numbers of endowments. It is the Hindus" he promptly answers himself. However, it refers to the history more or less of 100 years back. Why 100 years, let us take a cursory view of some 1,000 years back while the Muslims were the ruling race in this country and the happy educational connection that existed between the ruling race and the race ruled thereby while the balance that Mr. Biswas refers to was quite otherwise. We may take a cursory view not only of India but also of outside world. Sir, the history of the decline, fall and passing of the Muslim Empire in India into the hands of the British and specially that of Free Bengal under the sway of Nawab Serajuddaula in the clique and abominable conspiracy of Jagath Seth with hundreds and others of his race placing the treacherous Mir Jafar in their front with Lord Clive is nothing but a tragedy of an abominable character. Since that time while the Muslims were perhaps seriously thinking of their fate, the Hindus readily put on the yoke of servility as long accustomed around their neck while the British were observing the Muslims in suspicious eyes. Therefore, in half a century or so, the cunning upper class Hindus in collaboration with the trading British ruling race thrived in multifarious ways and not unfrequently at the cost of the Muslims, Scheduled Castes and other minorities. And their worthy descendants—Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and his circle of friends, the chosen few of the 6 per cent. of the Caste Hindus, being at the helm of the Calcutta University—are deciding the fate of the rest of Bengal for about a century. Dr. Mookerjee as the head of the Calcutta University with the coterie dominating the educational affairs of Bengal today are leaving no stone unturned to rouse the pulses of the rest of the Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and even the Muslims, also to stand behind them lest their monopolistic control of education in Bengal be distrusted and destroyed. But, Sir, there is a very dignified set of Congress friends here with us in Mr. Goswami, Mr. Pain, Mr. Mukerjea, Mr. Chakravarty, Mr. Kumar and others followed by a vast majority outside the House with a vast number of Scheduled Caste friends also. They are with wide outlook and catholicity of view. They are on the way of paving the royal road of League-Congress

unity, a bright future shone ahead towards the freedom of India for which we the general Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Castes and other minorities are anxiously waiting so long.

Sir, we are not the least surprised to find our friends to cry hoarse from the top of the house that they are the nationalists, the best friends and well-wishers of the country, and as such they are opposing this Secondary Education Bill. They lament grievously also that the majority members of this House and an overwhelmingly larger number of people outside do not understand them and do not appreciate their real worth. But I pity my friends and assure them that our countrymen are not lagging behind, they have far advanced and they well understand the shedding of crocodile tears of these gentlemen. They cannot befool them any longer. Sir, we and our countrymen have known these gentlemen thoroughly well and we have seen their national spirit on different occasions. Sir, leaving aside a thousand and one cases before and after I say we have seen their such national spirit in the year 1928 while the Bengal Tenancy Act was on the anvil; we have seen them in 1930 and from 1939 up till now when the Free Primary Education Bill so vitally important for educating the illiterate mass people was passed into law and have been given effect to, and we have seen their national spirit roused while in passing any and every healthy and salutary provision of Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act, Money-lenders Act and so on and so forth.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, these so-called nationalists do not see anything beyond their noses. They cannot tolerate even a small bird to build its nest within a hundred furlongs off, far less to speak of admitting its right to live upon and thrive. They are the nationalists! They are selfish to the extreme and they proclaim by beat of drum that they are nationalists. May God save us from such nationalism. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from Coalition Benches.)

Now, Sir, may I ask, what for they are opposing this Bill tooth and nail, what for they are moving heaven and earth to put an insurmountable obstacle in its passage through, what for they are crying hoarse from the tops of the hills and houses both in press and platform? Shall we then take it for granted that according to their views and arguments no reform, no development, of the secondary education in Bengal is necessary? No, that cannot be taken as that. Sir, in the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission, Part II, Volume IV, Chapter 31, we find as follows:—"Those who have at heart the welfare of Bengal and wish the whole community to advance in unity of purpose and in economic power feel most strongly that the country needs more and better education." So they have recommended some 25 years back that the stagnant condition of the secondary education system in Bengal must have to be changed immediately. There is no apprehension of contradiction on this point from any circle.

As for instance I can cite from the joint statement issued only the other day in the names of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri and two other Bengal leaders as follows. They said, "That reforms are urgently needed in the sphere of secondary education, nobody will deny. But———". What this "but" means or signifies? Reformation and development of secondary education in Bengal is urgent no doubt, "but", they say, you cannot do it now, will not be able to do it in future, as you have not been able to do it for the last 25 years on account of their very tactful obstruction. If any celestial being would have come forth to hammer their intelligence what this "but" signifies how better would it have been. Undoubtedly this "but" shuts their hearts and cuts a very sorry figure in the minds of the people which they do not and cannot or rather are reluctant to appreciate.

Sir, a very small coterie of the Opposition headed by our much esteemed and learned friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and his circle of friends vehemently oppose the Secondary Education Bill on the allegations that this measure would enhance the communal bitterness as the vicious principle of communal electorate has been adopted in the sphere of education, that it would deal a death-blow to the cause of education in Bengal, and so if it is passed into law, it may bring a civil war in Bengal.

Sir, the principle of communal representation in the proposed Board of Secondary Education by the method of communal electorate has been the butt of criticism.

Communal representation has been recognised all over the world in the field of administration and other spheres too. This principle too has been accepted by Dr. Mookerjee and his friends as they introduced it in their own Bill of 1942 that has been so effectively told by the Hon'ble Minister and other friends in this House. So, the only serious objection is found to the system of communal electorate. Sir, formerly this system of communal electorate was quite unknown to all of us. It was the joint electorate system and who is responsible for causing the demand of this system on behalf of the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes?

It is none else than those Caste Hindu friends Look at the history of the Calcutta Corporation. There was joint electorate system so long and the best sons of the soil of other communities could not find their way owing to the narrowness of our Caste Hindu friends. Look over all the municipalities in Bengal and you will find that the same thing goes on. These are the practical examples taught by the Caste Hindus to the Scheduled Castes and Muslims for which separate electorate system was urgent to be introduced in the Calcutta Corporation and has been urgent to be introduced in all the local bodies and educational spheres also for their interest only. So, the position now stands thus that where the Hindus are in majority as in West Bengal, they elect Hindus only and carry their "Yes men" and "ditto hands" with them for reservation of seats and where the Muslims are in majority as in East and North Bengal they are trying to do the same.

Sir, truly speaking if this Bill be passed into law, it would be a death-blow to the Syamaprasadian monopolistic control of education and certainly not a death-blow to the cause of education in Bengal as they say. It would give a proper representation of Muslims, Scheduled Castes and liberal-minded Hindus to the Board of Secondary Education which would create a very healthy atmosphere and liberality of minds in the hearts of the aforesaid group far to speak of enhancing communal bitterness.

Sir, the player who always prefers a mock-fight can neither enjoy the real pleasure and other blessings desired therefrom of an international match of a high order, nor can put inspiration into the hearts of a nation with respect to the sporting world.

Dr. Mookerjee and his friends, I am afraid, opposing the separate electorate in the proposed Secondary Education Board, intend to create some "show boys", some "yes men" as representatives of the Muslims and Scheduled Castes, simply puppets in their hands to play fiddle with. No, let there be a separate electorate and let true representatives of all communities come into the Board of all shades and let there be a heart-to-heart talk, where they will have an opportunity to know the grievances, if any, of any and every community and nation. In that case, a happy solution of the differences between a nation and nation can take place. If not, what is the need of such a mock-fight with the life-and-death problem of the Muslims and Scheduled Castes?

Sir, with respect to the system of election either joint or separate, the position of the Caste Hindus is secured as in any case the true representatives and not the "yes men" would come but in the case of the joint electorate

system none but "yes men" would be elected from the Muslims and Scheduled Castes. That is the practical experience in Bengal wherever we go. In spite of this hard fact any attempt on behalf of Dr. Mookerjee and his friends over there creates a deep suspicion among the rest of Bengal that they have got some motive, a heinous motive, to trample under feet the rightful claims and privileges of the backward Muslims and Scheduled Castes who have been deceived and defrauded without numbers even at every step during this long period of a century and more.

Now as the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes are firmly determined to enjoy their birth right, is there any power on earth which can stand in their way unless the angle of vision of my friends is changed? I think not.

Sir, the present stagnant condition of the secondary education must go. The limited number of our educationist friends opponents to any modification of the secondary education at present being engaged in higher philosophy and science soar high above and they hardly can find time to come down on earth to see and appreciate the real grievances of the people. A man himself knows where the shoe pinches. The coterie group of the Caste Hindu friends who are dominating the spheres of education in Bengal for about a century mostly under the shades of the British olive branches are absolutely ignorant to know where the shoe pinches to the unfortunate Muslims, Scheduled Castes and other minorities. They have been systematically and regularly shown plantains all along by those coterie dominating friends who pose themselves to be the nationalists of an unique type and assume to be the best of the country.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: One minute more. Sir, for all these and thousand other grounds, the present most obnoxious and pernicious system of secondary education in Bengal must have to be changed, reformed, developed and controlled in a better way for the welfare of all concerned. So, I oppose all the motions of circulation for eliciting public opinion or of reference to the Committee of the whole House or of reference to various Select Committees of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, moved by our cunning friends opposite.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-30 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 24th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 24th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI) in the Chair, 11 Hon'ble Ministers and 174 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Outbreak of malaria in Chandibarpur Union, Jessore.

***342. Mr. A. M. A. ZAMAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact—

(*i*) that this year malaria has broken out in epidemic form in Chandibarpur union board, police-station Narail, district Jessore;

(*ii*) that every year a doctor used to be sent to Sankarpur under the said union board;

(*iii*) that this year none has been sent for giving any relief;

(*iv*) that the Subdivisional Officer of Narail is moving throughout the union board and distributing quinine and clearing jungle under his personal supervision; and

(*v*) that the villagers of the said union board sent a petition to the Hon'ble Minister through the Subdivisional Officer and District Magistrate, Jesosre, for a doctor for the treatment of the local people at the time of malaria season?

(*b*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state what steps, if any, have been taken by the Government to give them relief?

(*c*) If no steps have been taken, will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state the reason therefor?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) (*i*) and (*iv*) Yes.

(*ii*) Yes: for the last 4 years.

(*iii*) None sent this year.

(*v*) No such petition was received.

(*b*) Sufficient quinine has been distributed free through some reliable persons of the union and through Naldi Charitable Dispensary just on the opposite side of the union. Registered doctors of the union also have been given sufficient quinine to be sold in retail to malaria patients at controlled rates. "Quinine distribution week" was also observed in this union. Steps have been taken in all possible ways to give relief to the malaria patients. A mobile medical unit is working in the union.

(*c*) Does not arise.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister tell us why the doctor was not sent this year?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: A mobile medical unit is working there.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: Will the Hon'ble Minister tell us when the mobile medical unit was sent?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: As soon as the report of outbreak of malaria in an epidemic form was received, the unit was sent.

Mr. DHIRENDRA NATH DATTA: When was it sent?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice about the definite date.

Maulvi ABU HOSSAIN SARKAR: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state whether it is a fact that a circular has been issued that quinine is to be swallowed in the dispensary and not to be taken to the houses of the patients?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: No, I am not aware.

Postponement of questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: I understand the House has agreed that the other questions should be held over today. So let us proceed with the discussion of the Secondary Education Bill.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Mr. I. D. JALAN: Sir, I beg to support the motions for reference to the Select Committee and for circulation It is needless for me to dwell at length on the various provisions of the Bill which have been discussed threadbare in this House as well as outside the House. It will have to be admitted that in the recent history of Bengal no other measure has evoked greater opposition than the one which is before us. It has also surpassed all records of general discussion on a Bill. The general discussion has been continuing for the last eight or nine days and is still continuing. I would like only to say a few words to the Ministry and to the party which is supporting it for their consideration. It was in 1919 that the Rowlatt Bill was passed into Act in the teeth of opposition of the nation and we know what happened thereafter. If the present Ministry wants to pass this Bill by sheer strength of their numbers without regard to the feelings and sentiments of a vast section of the population of this province, they ought to consider what will be the repurcussion in this country about their action. It is no doubt very easy to pass a measure by a sheer majority, but it is very difficult to achieve the very object for which the measure is to be passed. It is stated by the Hon'ble Minister while introducing this Bill that the cause of secondary education or rather the ship of secondary education has been adrift. But may I ask him if he really thinks that if this Bill is passed into law the ship of secondary education will not go adrift but will rather go ashore? Sir, my friends must have realised by this time that there is not a single Caste Hindu member save and except the three Ministers, three Parliamentary Secretaries and one Mr. Chakravarty who is ashamed of his heritage to support this Bill. Save and except these seven have you found a single Hindu in Bengal supporting this Bill?

Now, Sir, if we take it as an admitted fact that the entire section of the Caste Hindus is against this Bill, do you think that you are fulfilling the conditions which were prescribed by the Calcutta University Commission Report as one of the fundamental conditions on which a Secondary Education Board should be founded? Do you hope that in the sphere of education, without the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the Caste Hindus, you will be able to achieve the end you have in view

in passing this Bill? So far as the Bill is concerned, you have only provided the machinery for control, but that will not solve the problem. You have got to provide necessary funds; you will have to see that the necessary number of qualified teachers are there; you have got to see that proper books are prescribed; and you have got to see that the proper structure for education is provided. These are the most essential things which will show how far the secondary education is going to be improved. The Board is not an end in itself: it is only a means to an end. The means is not justified if there is a big opposition against it. Sir, a lot of harsh words has been said about the Caste Hindus, about the Congress, about those who are in the Opposition, and it is stated that the whole agitation has been engineered by one single gentleman, namely, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee. Sir, I wish to make our position clear. The preesnt agitation against this Bill is not an agtation of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee alone, not of the Hindus alone but of all Hindus and a considerable section of Muslims. Congress is the organisation which has fought for the independence of this country for the last 60 years. This is the organisation whose doors are open to Hindus, Muhamedans, Christians and all alike, and it cannot be that we shall simply play at the hands of one gentleman who does not belong to this organisation at all. It is inconceivable that the entire Hindu population of this province will simply go to have this agitation at the bid of one single gentleman. Rather you will be ignoring the actual facts if you ignore that this is an agitation not an engineered one but it is really an agitation of a very large section of the people not only of the Hindus but also of others. You will realise that even in this House there is a large section of the Muhamedan population which is not in favour of it. There is a large section of the Scheduled Castes which is not in favour of this Bill, and if you consider the entire opposition it is a formidable one. If you wish to ignore it you are at liberty to ignore it. Nobody can prevent you from passing this measure into an Act if you think you must pass it whatever may be feelings of others. But that will be a sad commentary upon the administration of this province by a party which claims to be a majority party of this country. It will be a tyranny of the first grade over the minority which inhabits this province and I am quite positive that the purpose for which you want this Bill to be passed is bound to fail and you cannot achieve the desirable object at least in this sphere of education.

The Hon'ble Minister for Education has stated that this Bill is the same Bill as the Bill of 1942; there is practically no difference between the two save and except a very small difference and that is of procedure and not of principle. If this be so, may I ask the Hon'ble Minister why does he not accept joint electorate with reservation of seats and give up separate electorate and thus win the confidence and sympathy of the Opposition? If it is not a fact that it is such a simple thing to convert the joint electorate into separate electorate he should have definitely and clearly stated it to be so and said that this is a fundamental difference and there is not a question of procedure but it is a question of principle which is involved. The question of separate electorate in the sphere of education is all the more undesirable because we want that sooner or later, whatever may be the form of the constitutional Government that may be provided for after the war, the Hindus and Mahomedans who have to live side by side in every nook and corner of this country will appreciate each other's point of view, will not accentuate the difference which exist between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. If in the sphere of education from their very childhood, from their very birth we infuse in our youngsters this spirit that the Hindus are different, the Mahomedans are different, then at no time whatsoever in future we can envisage the possibility of the Hindus and the Moslems living together in peace and harmony.

Some of my friends said that there was an agitation in connection with the Calcutta Municipal Bill and that agitation has subsided. What did you expect? Do you want that there should be a civil war and that is the

only thing which you can listen to? What form of agitation can the minority have against the majority? It will voice its sense of protest, it will agitate against the measure and if you still persist in it, nothing short of some sort of civil war can prevent it. But you should not compare the agitation of the Calcutta Municipal Act with the agitation of the Secondary Education Bill because the Calcutta Municipal Act is an act which affects only the administration of the city of Calcutta, it does not affect the very life and existence of the entire nation, whereas the Secondary Education Bill by infusing communal spirit in the educational sphere touches the very soul of the nation and that is the reason why we consider this Bill to be fundamentally erroneous, fundamentally wrong, and that is the reason why there is so much agitation against this Bill.

Sir, my time is up and I do not wish to beg for more time because I know words cannot convince the majority mad with power. I need not waste the time of the House any further, but I record my emphatic protest against this Bill.

Mr. SHAH SYED GOLAM SARWAR HOSAINI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, নাজেম মন্ত্রী-সভার শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মৌলবী তমিজ উদ্দিন খান বঙ্গীয় ব্যবস্থা পরিষদে যে Bengal Secondary Education বিল পেশ করেছেন উক্ত সম্পর্কে আমি Bengal Ulema Assembly Partyর পক্ষ হইতে বলিতে চাই।

Sir, Bengal Secondary Education Billএর পক্ষে ও বিপক্ষে অনেক বক্তৃতা শুনিয়াছি। এই বিলের আতঙ্কে হিন্দু বঙ্গে ভয়ানক অসন্তোষ দেখা দিয়াছে। ঢাকায় হিন্দু মোসলেম দাঙ্গা হাঙ্গামা আরম্ভ হইয়াছে, অন্যান্য জায়গায় tension'ও ভাল মনে হইতেছে না। এই দাঙ্গার মুখে কত নিরীহ জীবন ধ্বংস প্রাপ্ত হয়েছে তার হিসাব কে করে; কত পিতা মাতা পুত্রহীন, পুত্র কন্যা পিতৃমাতৃহারা, স্ত্রী স্বামীহীনা, ভগ্নি ভাইহারা, আত্মীয় আত্মীয়হারা হয়েছে—তাহার সংখ্যা কে দিবে? Secondary Education Bill movement আজ বাংলা ও ভারতের হিন্দু মুসলেম মিলন পথ ও দেশের শান্তিকে ভেঙ্গে চুরমার করে সাম্রাজ্যবাদের ভেদনীতির সিংহাসনকে মজবুত করে দিতে যাচেছ। পরিষদের শ্বেতাঙ্গ সদস্যগণ আবার সেই ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর অভিনয় আরম্ভ করেছেন। Sir, এই ভারতবর্ষে পাঠান ও মোগল সাত শতাধিক বৎসর দোর্দ্দণ্ড প্রতাপে রাজত্ব করেছেন, হিন্দু মন্ত্রী, হিন্দু সেনাপতি, হিন্দু দেওয়ান, হিন্দু ওমরা'ও, হিন্দু সৈনিক, হিন্দু জমিদার ও হিন্দু রাজা রাজভক্ত প্রজারূপে, রাজভক্ত কর্ম্মচারীরূপে, রাজ সিংহাসনের হিতৈষী বন্ধুরূপে, মুসলমান পাঠান ও মোগলের তখ্‌তের জন্য নিজেদের ধন প্রাণ উৎসর্গ করেছেন। ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানী যখন ভারতের এক প্রান্ত হইতে অপর প্রান্ত পর্য্যন্ত একে একে মুসলমান তখত্‌গুলি কাড়িয়া লইতেছিলেন, তখন ভারতের সিয়া নেতা ও সিয়া সৈনিক কোম্পানীর বন্ধুরূপে মুসলমানদের সহিত বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করিয়া কোম্পানীকে সাহায্য করিয়াছেন। আজ সেই অভিনয় চলিতেছে। মুসলমানদের সেই বিপদ মুহূর্ত্তে, সেই অদৃষ্ট পরিবর্ত্তন মুহূর্ত্তে ভারত ও বাংলার লক্ষ লক্ষ হিন্দু মুসলমানের সিংহাসন, মোসলেম প্রাধান্য রক্ষার জন্য প্রাণ দিয়েছেন, ইতিহাস তার জলন্ত সাক্ষী রয়েছে। আজ এ অবস্থা কেন? Sir, ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানী যখন বুঝিতে পারিলেন যে হিন্দু ও মুসলমান ভারতের এই দুইটি শক্তিশালী জাতিকে ভেদনীতি দ্বারায় বিচ্ছিন্ন করিতে না পারিলে তাঁহাদের সিংহাসন দৃঢ় হইবে না, তাঁহাদের উদ্দেশ্য সফল হইতে পারিবে না; তখন ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর চতুর কর্ম্মকর্ত্তাগণ মুসলমানদিগকে উপেক্ষা করিয়া হিন্দুদের তোষামোদ খোষামোদ আরম্ভ করিলেন। মুসলমানদের নিকট হইতে জমিদারী ও দেশের অর্থনীতি কাড়িয়া লইয়া হিন্দুদিগকে দিতে আরম্ভ করিলেন। কোম্পানীর দপ্তরে হিন্দুদের জন্য অসংখ্য চাকরির বন্দোবস্ত হইল। কোম্পানীর ইঙ্গিতে হিন্দুগণ বিশাল ভারত ভূমির সাত শতাধিক বৎসরের শাসক জাতির

বংশধর মুসলমানকে ঘৃণা ও তুচ্ছ তাচ্ছিল্যভাব দেখাইতে আরম্ভ করিলেন। হিন্দু সাহিত্যিকদের দ্বারায় মুসলমান বাদশা, নবাব ও ওমরাও এবং এমন কি মুসলিম হেরেমের পূত চরিত্রা বেগম ও [illegible] নিষ্কলঙ্ক চরিত্রে অলিক মিথ্যা কাহিনী সৃজন করাইয়া আঘাত হানিলেন। সত্যের সেবক মুসলমান রাজ শক্তি ও রাজ সিংহাসন হারাইয়া সে আঘাত কোন রকমে সহ্য করে নিয়েছিলেন, কিন্তু কোম্পানীর আশ্রিত ও উৎসাহিত হিন্দু সাহিত্যিকদের, হিন্দু নাট্যকারদের এই অন্যায় আঘাত সহ্য করিতে পারিলেন না। বিদেশী কোম্পানীর ভেদনীতি সফলতা লাভ করিল; সহর মফঃস্বলে এই বিষময় ভেদনীতির বীজ ছড়াইয়া পড়িল। হিন্দুদের দেখাদেখি মুসলমান সমাজের হোমরা চোমরা একদল ভেদনীতির এজেন্সি—সাব-এজেন্সি পাওয়ার জন্য কোম্পানীর দরবারে হাজির হইলেন। কোম্পানী মুচকি হাসিয়া ইহাদিগকে কবুল করিলেন। তৎকালীন মুসলমান ভারতের ওলামাকুল শিরোমণি মরহুম মৌলানা আলতাফ হোসেন আলী মুসলমানদের এই কার্য্যের তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করেছিলেন। Sir, আমি আমার পরিষদের হিন্দু বন্ধুদিগকে বলতে চাই যে এই ভেদনীতি বৃটিশ আমদানীকৃত পণ্যজাত দ্রব্যের মধ্যে একটি। আজ তাহারই reaction হতে চলেছে কিন্তু ইহার পরিণাম ফল অত্যন্ত খারাপ। সুখের বিষয় কয়েক বৎসর হইতে আমরা দেখিতেছি যে কয়েকজন হিন্দু সাহিত্যিক, হিন্দু ঐতিহাসিক, হিন্দু জননায়ক কোম্পানী প্ররোচিত পাপের প্রায়শ্চিত্ত করিতে আপ্রাণ চেষ্টায় অগ্রসর হয়েছেন। তাঁহাদিগকে আমি অভিনন্দিত করিতেছি এবং এই শুভ প্রচেষ্টায় মুসলমান সমাজেরও সাড়া দেওয়া উচিত ও অপরিহার্য্য কর্ত্তব্য। Sir, এ, কে, ফজলুল হকের প্রথম মন্ত্রিত্বের আমলে স্যার নাজেমুদ্দিন বাংলার Home Minister ছিলেন। তখনও ঢাকায় এক ভয়াবহ সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গা হয়েছে, সেই দাঙ্গায় বহু হিন্দু বহু মুসলমান তাঁদের ধন প্রাণ হারিয়েছেন। বীর সাভারকার ও হিন্দু সমাজ ঢাকার হিন্দুদের নিরাপত্তার জন্য ঢাকার স্থানীয় রাজ কর্ম্মচারী হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া গভর্ণর, ভাইসরয় ও বিলাতের সকল কর্ত্তার নিকট আবেদন জানাইয়াছেন, টাকা পয়সা দিয়েও সাহায্য করেছেন। কিন্তু অত্যন্ত পরিতাপের বিষয় ঢাকার মুসলমানদের নিরপত্তার জন্য মিঃ জিন্না ও তাঁহার চেলা চামুণ্ডাদের কোন প্রকার সাড়া পাওয়া যায় নাই। তৎকালীন Home Minister স্যার নাজেমুদ্দিন হাজারিবাগ চারুভিলায় শীকার, আমোদ প্রমোদ উপভোগ করেছেন। আমি এবং আমার কয়েক জন বন্ধু ঢাকার অবস্থা বিস্তারিতভাবে লিখিয়া লীগ প্রেসিডেণ্ট মিঃ জিন্নাকে জানাই এবং প্রতিকারার্থে বাংলায় ও ঢাকায় আসিবার জন্য একে একে দুইখানি চিঠি লিখিয়াছিলাম কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় তিনি বাংলায় আসেন নাই এবং আজ পর্য্যন্ত আমার চিঠির কোন উত্তরও পাই নাই। আমাদের বুঝিতে বাকী নাই যে হিন্দুর হাতে সুন্নী মুসলমান মরিতেছে কিন্তু সিয়া জিন্নার তাহাতে কি ক্ষতি? মিঃ ফজলুল হক ও নবাব বাহাদুর ঢাকা দাঙ্গায় মুসলমানদের যে খেদমত করেছেন তাহা ভুলিবার নহে। আবার ঢাকায় দাঙ্গা আরম্ভ হয়েছে, উভয় সম্প্রদায়ের গরীব জনসাধারণই এই দাঙ্গায় মারা যাইবে ও ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হইবে এবং তাহার ফল ভোগ করিবে স্বার্থপর পিশাচের দল।

Sir, নাজেন মন্ত্রী-সভার শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মৌলবী তমিজ উদ্দিন খান Bengal Secondary Education Bill নিয়ে পরিষদে উপস্থিত। জিন্নার লীগ-পন্থী দল এই বিলের সাহায্যে মুসলিম সমাজের নিকট হইতে সস্তাদরে বাহবা নিতে প্রয়াস পাইতেছেন। আমি জিজ্ঞাসা করি, লক্ষ লক্ষ মুসলমান অন্নাভাবে ও মহামারীতে যে মরে গেল, দেশ ছেড়ে অন্নের তালাসে, বস্ত্রের তালাসে দেশান্তরে চলে গেল, বাংলা যে আজ মুসলীম গোরস্থানে পরিণত হ'ল, তার কি প্রতিকার তোমরা নিয়েছ? তোমাদেরই আচরণে majority Muslim বাংলা যে আজ minority Muslim বাংলায় পরিণত হয়েছে। তোমাদেরই স্বার্থপরতায় জাতির ভবিষ্যৎ সিপাহী হাজার হাজার মুসলীম শিশু ও

তরুণ বালক অর্দ্ধাহারে বা অনাহারে চিরদিনের তরে সহর ও পল্লীর গোরস্থানে আশ্রয় নিয়েছে। কত শিয়াল কুকুরের ও শকুনি প্রভৃতির উদরস্থ হয়েছে, তার কি উত্তর দিবে? অনারেবল স্যার নাজিম, শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মৌলবী তমিজ উদ্দীন খান ও মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী কৃষি আয়কর বিল, বিক্রয় আয়কর বিল পাশ করাইয়া (তাহাদের শ্বেতাঙ্গ বন্ধুদিগকে কৃষি আয়কর বিল হইতে রেহাই দিয়া) দরিদ্র বাংলার উপর যে কোটী কোটী টাকা ট্যাক্স চাপাইয়া দরিদ্র জাতির অর্থনীতির উপর যে নিষ্ঠুর আঘাত করেছে, এই দিল্লীকা লাড্ডু সেকেণ্ডারী এডুকেশন বিল জাতিকে ভুল পথে প্ররোচিত করার উপায় নহে কি? অনারেবল্ স্যার নাজিম, অনারেবল্ তমিজ উদ্দীন খান, অনারেবল্ খাজা সাহেব উদ্দীন, অনারেবল্ গোস্বামী, অনারেবল্ বরদা প্রসন্ন পাইন, নাজিম মন্ত্রী-সভার মন্ত্রিমণ্ডলী, পার্লামেন্টারী সেক্রেটারীবৃন্দ এবং তস্য ফেউ বন্ধুগণ! আপনারা নিজের নামে, স্ত্রী, পুত্র, কন্যা, আত্মীয় স্বজনের নামে ধান, চাউল, তৈল, চিনি, কেরোসিন, standard cloth, লবণ, medicine, boat ইত্যাদির Civil, Military কণ্ট্রাকটারী, সাব-কণ্ট্রাকটারী, এজেন্সী, সাব-এজেন্সী নিয়ে লক্ষ লক্ষ টাকা উপায় করেছেন, এবং যার পরিণামে বাংলা এক ভীষণ দুর্ভিক্ষ রাক্ষসীর করাল-গ্রাসে মৃত্যু পথের যাত্রী। আপনাদের স্বার্থপরতায় আপনাদের মুখ কলঙ্ক কালিমায় বিশ্রী আকার ধারণ করেছে; আপনারা আজ দানব নামে পরিচিত। আপনাদের জন্য রয়েল কমিশন নিযুক্ত হয়েছে, আশা করি শীঘ্র আপনাদের ডাক হবে। এই Secondary Education Bill শয়তানের ধোকার ন্যায় সরল প্রাণ জাতিকে ধোকা দিবার উদ্দেশ্যে পরিষদে উপস্থিত করেন নাই কি? Secondary Education Billএতে মুসলমানদিগকে minority করিয়া রাখিবার কারণ কি? ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষাকে টুঁটি টিপিয়া ধরিবার কারণ কি? মুসলমান মেয়েদের জন্য বেপর্দ্দা, অর্দ্ধনগ্ন ও নগ্ন শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা করার কারণ কি?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমি বিলের তিনটি পয়েণ্টের উপর কথা বলিয়া আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করিতেছি। প্রথমতঃ প্রস্তাবিত বোর্ডের প্রেসিডেণ্ট নিযুক্ত বাংলা সরকারের হাতে ন্যস্ত আছে। আমার মতে উক্ত প্রথা গণতান্ত্রিক বিরুদ্ধ। বিশেষতঃ উক্ত প্রথা আইনে পরিণত হইলে উপযুক্ততার মানদণ্ড প্রেসিডেণ্টের বেলায় উপেক্ষিত হওয়ার ভয় যথেষ্ট আছে। বস্তুতঃ শিক্ষা ক্ষেত্রে উপযুক্ততাই একমাত্র গ্রহণযোগ্য মানদণ্ড হওয়া উচিত। ইতিমধ্যে জিন্নাহ পন্থীদের অবাঙ্গালী প্রীতি যেভাবে মজ্জাগত ভাব ধারায় পরিণত হয়েছে তাহাতে উপযুক্ত বাঙ্গালীর স্থান প্রস্তাবিত বোর্ডে না হওয়ার যথেষ্ট সম্ভাবনা রহিয়াছে। কলিকাতা কর্পোরেশন ও বাংলা সরকারের বিভিন্ন দপ্তরের দায়িত্বশীল পদে নিযুক্ত এবং প্রচার বিভাগের ডাইরেক্টার নিযুক্ত ব্যাপারে আমরা হাড়ে হাড়ে উপলব্ধি করছি। সুতরাং আমার মতে প্রেসিডেণ্ট নিযুক্ত বাংলা সরকারের ঘরোয়া ব্যাপারে পরিণত না করিয়া উহাকে elected membersদের হাতে ছাড়িয়া দেওয়া উচিৎ। আর যদি একান্ত প্রেসিডেণ্ট নিযুক্ত বাংলা সরকার নিজ ক্ষমতায় রাখিতে চান, তবে আইনে পরিষ্কাররূপে এই বিধান রাখিয়া দিতে হইবে যে উক্ত প্রেসিডেণ্ট বাংলা দেশের স্থায়ী অধিবাসী ও শিক্ষাবিদ হইবে। Sir, আমার দ্বিতীয় বিষয়টি এই যে গভর্ণমেণ্ট প্রস্তাবিত বোর্ডে মুসলমান, উন্নত হিন্দু, অনুন্নত হিন্দু, এংলো ইণ্ডিয়ান, ইউরোপীয়ান এবং সর্ব্ব জাতির স্ত্রী শিক্ষা প্রত্যেকের জন্য স্বতন্ত্র স্বতন্ত্র sub-committee থাকবে। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় মুসলমান মেয়েদের জন্য স্বতন্ত্র sub-committeeর ব্যবস্থা নাই। মুসলমান মেয়েদের জন্য স্বতন্ত্র সাব-কমিটী ও ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা থাকা উচিত। পর্দ্দা মুসলমান মেয়েদের জন্য ফরায অবশ্য কর্ত্তব্য। মুসলমান মেয়েরা শিক্ষিতা হউক, আমরা তাহা চাই। কিন্তু ইসলাম কৃষ্টি, সংস্কার, সভ্যতাকে রক্ষা করিয়া তাহাকে শিক্ষা দিতে হইবে। ইউরোপীয় আবহাওয়ার স্রোতে আমাদের মেয়ে-দিগকে ভাসিয়া যেতে দিব না। সিদ্দিকী, ইস্পাহানী, জিন্নাহপন্থী ও লণ্ডনী নমুনার ভায়াদের

রুচি ও আহছান মঞ্জিল নীতি মুসলীম স্ত্রী শিক্ষায় আমরা গ্রহণ করবো না। বহু অমুসলমান পরিবার পর্দার উপকারিতা বুঝিতে পারিয়া পর্দা অবলম্বন করিতেছেন। এই বাংলার দু-চারটি মুসলমান পরিবার ধর্ম্মের নির্দ্দেশ অমান্য করিয়া পাশ্চাত্য সভ্যতার অনুকরণে স্ত্রী কন্যাকে তৈয়ার করিতে যাইয়া যে বিষময় ফল ভোগ করিয়াছেন তাহা সর্ব্বজন বিদিত। Girls' Secondary Education sub-committee lady members নিয়ে গঠনের প্রস্তাব করা হইয়াছে। চঞ্চল ও উচ্ছৃঙ্খল মস্তিষ্ক স্ত্রীলোকদের হাতে যখনই যে দেশে ক্ষমতা দেওয়া হইয়াছে তখনই সেই দেশে বহির্বিপ্লব, অন্তর্বিপ্লব, গৃহবিপ্লব দেখা দিয়াছে। এই পরিষদের লেডী parliamentary নিয়োগ স্মরণ করুণ। আমি নাজিম মন্ত্রী-সভার এই নীতি কখনও সমর্থন করিতে পারি না। জিন্নাপন্থী মন্ত্রী-সভার জিন্নাহি অভিরুচি সমর্থন বটে। জিন্নাহপন্থী নাজেম মন্ত্রী-সভা স্ত্রী শিক্ষার দিক দিয়ে সম্পূর্ণ ইসলাম বিরোধী মনোভাব প্রকাশ করেছেন, আমরা ইহার নিন্দা করিতেছি। পাশ্চাত্য সভ্যতার মনিষীবৃন্দ ও রাষ্ট্রনায়কগণের মধ্যে অনেকেই চিৎকার উঠাইয়াছেন যে নারী তুমি ঘরে ফিরে যাও, ঘরের সৌন্দর্য্য বৃদ্ধি করো, আদর্শ গৃহস্থ পরিবার তৈরী করো ; ও কর্ম্মক্লান্ত পিতা, পুত্র, ভ্রাতা ও স্বামীর শান্তিদায়িনী ও সাহায্যকারিনী হও। দুঃখের বিষয় জিন্নাহ তাঁবেদার সিন্ধু দেশের মুসলমান প্রধান-মন্ত্রী স্যার হেদায়েৎ উল্লাহ্ সিন্ধুর মুসলমান মেয়েদের ভিতর বল নৃত্যের প্রচলন করেছেন, আর বাংলার স্যার নাজিম মুসলমান মেয়েদিগকে পর্দার বাহির করিতে লাগিয়া গিয়াছেন। আমরা এই নীতির তীব্র নিন্দা করিতেছি। Sir, আমার তৃতীয় বিষয়টি বলিয়াই আমি বসিতেছি। এই বিল দিয়া তাঁবেদার জিন্নাপন্থী মন্ত্রী-সভা কর্ত্তৃক ধর্ম্মপ্রাণ মুসলমানের প্রাণাপেক্ষা প্রিয় ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষাকে ধর্ম্ম শাস্ত্র বিশারদ উলেমাদের নিকট হইতে কাড়িয়া নিয়া ইউরোপীয়ান, খৃষ্টান, হিন্দু, নাস্তিক সিয়া, রাফেজী, কাদিয়ানী, মোওতেজেলা ও লণ্ডনী নমুনার তথা-কথিত মুসলমান পুরুষ ও আওরতের হাতে দেওয়ার বন্দোবস্ত করা হইয়াছে। বিলেতে Islamic Secondary Education sub-committee গঠনের যে ব্যবস্থা আছে এইরূপ sub-committeeর দ্বারায় ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষার নীতি ও সৌন্দর্য্য কখনও রক্ষা হইতে পারে না। পরন্তু বাংলার মুসলমান জাতির প্রিয় ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষা সরকারের খেলার পুতুলে পরিণত হইবে। এই জাতীয় ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষার দ্বারায় বিলাতি নমুনার সরকারী মৌলবী তৈয়ার হইবে। কোরাণ ও হাদিসের খোলাফায়ে রাসেদিনের, সাহাবাদের এবং এমাম্ মোজতাহেদগণের আদর্শে আলেম তৈয়ার হইতে পারিবে না। তফসির শাস্ত্র বিশারদ এমাম ফখর উদ্দিন রাজি, হাদিস শাস্ত্র বিশারদ এমাম বোখারি, ফেকাই শাস্ত্র বিশারদ সুন্নতের প্রাণ এমাম আবু হানিফা শাফেয়ী, মালেক, হাম্বল, এবনে তাই মিয়া, তাপস সম্রাট হজরত আবদুল কাদের জিলানী, খাজা মাইন উদ্দীন চিস্তী, খাজা বাহা উদ্দীন ও খাজা সাহাব উদ্দীন প্রমুখ তেজস্বী মহাপুরুষদের আলেম তৈয়ার হইতে পারিবে না। Sir, ভারতের সেখ্ আহম্মদ সেরিন্দী শাহ অলিউল্লা মৌলবী, শাহ আবদুল আজিজ্ মৌলবী, সৈয়দ আহাম্মদ শহিদ, মৌলানা কেরামত আলী, মৌলানা আশরফ আলী, আলতাফ হোসেন আলী, মফতি কেফায়েত উল্লা, আতা উল্লা বোখারি, মৌলানা আবু বকর সিদ্দিকী, মৌলানা রুহল আমিন্ প্রমুখ তেজস্বী ত্যাগী আলেম তৈয়ার হইতে পারিবে না।

Sir, ধর্ম্মপ্রাণ উলেমা দ্বারায় গঠিত বোর্ড বা সাব-কমিটী ব্যতিরেকে নামাজ, রোজা, হজ, প্রভৃতি ইস্‌লামের অলঙ্ঘনীয় আদেশ অমান্য করিয়া কোরাণের শিক্ষার প্রতি উদাসীন বিশ্ব মানব বন্ধু শেষ নবী পয়গম্বর সম্রাট হজরত রসুলুল্লার সুন্নতের অবহেলাকারী মুসলীম জাহান বরেণ্য এমাম মোজতাহেদ গণের উপেক্ষাকারী লণ্ডনী নমুনার মুসলমান দ্বারায় ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষার উৎকর্ষ সাধিত হইতে পারে না। Sir, ১৯৩৮ সনের ১৭ই এপ্রিল এই কলিকাতা শহরে লীগের সভায় প্রেসিডেণ্ট মি: জিন্না উপেক্ষা ও অহঙ্কারের সহিত বলেন "We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass

of them as Moulanas and Moulavis." ইং ১৯৪৪ সালে জিন্না তাঁবেদার নাজেম মন্ত্রী-সভার শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী মৌলবী তমিজ উদ্দীন খাঁন Bengal Secondary Education Billএর সাহায্যে মুসলীম জাতির প্রিয় কোরান, হাদিস ও ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষাকে কাফন পরাইয়া দাফন করিয়া জিন্নাজীর অহঙ্কারপূর্ণ ইস্‌লাম বিরোধ উক্তির সমর্থন করিয়াছেন।

Sir, শিয়া তাঁবেদার নাজেম মন্ত্রী-সভাকে দৃঢ়ভাবে জানাইতেছি যে, উলেমাবৃন্দ ও ধর্ম্মপ্রাণ মুসলমান ধর্ম্ম শিক্ষার প্রতি এই অন্যায় আক্রমণ সহ্য করিবে না। হজরত সেখ আহম্মদ সেরহেন্দীর ওলামা আন্দোলনের নিকট যে ভাবে বাদশা আকবর ও জাহাঙ্গীরের অহঙ্কারপূর্ণ স্বেচ্চাচারিতা চূর্ণ বিচূর্ণ হইয়াছে, হজরত সৈয়দ আহম্মদ শহিদের ওলামা আন্দোলনের নিকট যে ভাবে বিদ্রোহ পথভ্রষ্ট দলের দর্প খর্ব্ব হইয়াছে, আল্লার অনুগ্রহে বাংলা ও ভারতের এই তৃতীয় ওলামা আন্দোলনের নিকট তোমাদিগকেও চূর্ণ বিচূর্ণ হইতে হইবে। কাবুলের আমান উল্লার সিংহাসন চ্যুতি স্মরণ করো। Sir, পরিষদের ভিতরে ও বাহিরে কেন ওলেমাবৃন্দ ও মুসলমান শিয়া তাঁবেদার নাজেম্ মন্ত্রী সভার সমর্থন করিতে পারে না? তার কারণ হচ্ছে নাজেম মন্ত্রী-সভা স্বীয় স্বার্থ সাধন উদ্দেশ্য কোরান হাদিসের, সত্যের বিরুদ্ধে, ইতিহাসের বিরুদ্ধে, এমাম মোজতাহেদের মতের বিরুদ্ধে অগ্রসর হইতেছেন। সমস্ত দেশ ও জাতির উপর শিয়া প্রভুত্ব স্থাপন করিতে আদা-জল খাইয়া লাগিয়াছেন। নাজেম মন্ত্রী-সভা জানিয়া রাখুন যে আল্লার কোরাণ বিশ্বাসী, হজরত রছুলুল্লার ছুন্নত অনুসরণকারী খোলাফায়ে রাশেদিন সাহাবা ও এমাম মোজতাহেদের প্রতি শ্রদ্ধাশীল কোন মুসলমান পথভ্রষ্ট শিয়া রাফেজি, লণ্ডন নমুনার আনুগত্য স্বীকার করিবে না। মুসলীম জগতের রাজনীতিক্ষেত্রে যখনই শিয়া প্রাধান্য ঘটিয়াছে তখনই মুসলমানের সর্ব্বনাশ হইয়াছে। আব্বাস বংশীয় খেলাফতের সময় মুসলীম জগতের কেন্দ্র মহানগরী বাগদাদ, তাতার সর্দ্দার হালাকুর্খা কর্ত্তৃক আক্রমণ ও বিধ্বস্ত, আকবর মহীশূর সুলতান টিপুর অবাঞ্ছিত পরাজয় ও শাহাদত। ১৭৫৭ খৃঃ পলাশীর ময়দানে বাংলা, বিহার, উড়িষ্যার শেষ স্বাধীন সুন্নী নবাব মনসুর মীজর্জা শাহ খলিফা সিরাজদ্দৌলা বাহাদুরের অবাঞ্ছিত পরাজয় ও শাহাদত সম্পূর্ণ বিশ্বাসঘাতক শিয়া ষড়যন্ত্রের উপরে ঘটিয়াছে, ইতিহাস তার জলন্ত সাক্ষী দিচ্ছে।

(At this stage the red light was lit.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have given you five minutes more time. You were given 10 minutes time. As a special case, I have given you 15 minutes. You will get one minute more, and I hope you will finish your speech.

Mr. SHAH SYED GOLAM SARWAR HOSAINI: Sir, এক মিনিট সময় দিন। দুর্নীতি পরায়ণ ষড়যন্ত্রপ্রিয় শিয়া রাফেজি, মোওতেজেলা মুসলমানদের ভিতরে কোন প্রকারে ব্যভিচার ইত্যাদি আমদানী করিয়া মুসলমানের দুনিয়া জোড়া ছোলতানাতের ও বাংলা ভারতের রাজ শক্তির ক্রমাবসান করেন। আজ মুসলমান কি সেই শিয়া ও শিয়া তাঁবেদারকে তাহার এমাম ও নেতা স্বীকার করিবে? Sir, জিন্না ও জিন্নাপন্থী মন্ত্রিদল এক দিকে মুসলমানের ইমানের ঘারে আঘাৎ হানিয়া নাস্তিক মোরদ বানাইবার চেষ্টায় আছে—আর অন্য দিকে বীর জাতি মুসলমানের হৃদয়ে হিন্দু ভীতি ও ইউরোপীয় প্রীতি জাগাইয়া রাজনীতি ক্ষেত্রে তাহাকে পঙ্গু করিয়া দিতেছে। নিজেদের স্বার্থ, সুবিধা ও মাতব্বরী কায়েম করার চেষ্টায় আছে। বাংলা ও ভারতের উলেমাবৃন্দ এই নীতির প্রশ্রয় কখনও দিবে না।

পাঞ্জাবের বীর পাঠান জিন্না-চক্র হইতে মুক্ত হইয়া মাথা উঁচু করিয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছেন। বাংলা পশ্চাতে থাকিবে না, ধর্ম্ম ও সত্যকে অবলম্বন করে আমরাও এই স্বেচ্ছাচারী পথভ্রষ্ট দলের প্রভাব হইতে মুক্ত হইব।

Mr. UPENDRA NATH BARMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are two motions for consideration before the House. One is the circulation motion and the other the Select Committee motion. As regards the circulation motion, there is the opinion expressed on the side of Government that this Bill or its counterpart has been before the House for the last four years and that the matter and the provisions of the Bill have been thrashed outside this Legislature both in the public press and on platforms. But, Sir, is not the introduction of separate electorate an entirely new matter? I think it is. It has been said by some member on the Government side that in the first Bill which had been introduced in this House by the then Education Minister Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, though he did not expressly provide for separate electorate, it was implied in the rule-making power. It might or it might not be so. But in any case it is a fact that the general puble did not discuss the matter. They had no suspicion that separate electorate was being intended by the rule-making power of Government So long, all the discussions have centred round other provisions of the Bill but the question whether separate electorate should be introduced or not was not before the public and the public did not discuss it.

Then, another argument is put forward that so far as Muslims are concerned, their right to a separate electorate has been conceded in the Government of India Act, 1935. That is so. But is it not also a fact that in spite of that right being conceded to the Muslim community, so far as their election to the Legislature is concerned, there are several bodies, I mean local bodies, such as District Boards, Municipalities, Local Boards and Union Boards, where joint electorate is still operating and during the last six or seven years, though the Government of Bengal was predominantly Muslim, no Government ever took it into its head to introduce separate electorate into these bodies (A VOICE: It will soon be done.) When that will be done, that will be another circumstance created.

Now, Sir, the real fact is that separate electorate has not been introduced in all these bodies because joint electorate is operating there successfully. These local bodies are like public communes and the improvement of these bodies would mean improvement of all communities irrespective of their caste, creed or religion These educational institutions are also educational communes, they are institutions wherefrom each and every community irrespective of their caste, religion or creed might draw inspiration. If we see in that light, then the question of introducing separate electorate becomes one of much less importance. At any rate, it is a fact that the question of separate electorate is a new matter introduced and neither the Muslim community nor the Scheduled Castes for whom a meagre provision has been made for the election of a graduate teacher had any opportunity of getting the opinion of the public outside No definite question has been put forward before the public in regard to this matter and no opinions from educational luminaries of all communities have been invited on this point as to whether it is a matter that is absolutely necessary and whether it can be introduced or can be avoided for the present. I am not arguing against separate electorate. Neither do I say that the Muslims are unjust in their claims and they have no right of self-determination. My only point is that we have introduced this Bill only in the month of May and all at once are taking into consideration its clauses. Cannot we wait for a few months and ask the public, our constituencies, our electorates, what is their opinoin on this matter. Will Heaven change places with Hell if we wait for a few months? I do not understand why this haste on the part of Government on such an important matter like this

Coming to the question of a Select Committee, I wish to say a few words on the merits of the Bill. Every one in this House, not excluding a single member, is impatient rather to get a change in our educational system because we find that the present system is not operating well. With the exception of a notable few, our children when they come out of their

schools become practically unfit to face this world unless they are given some Government service. What is our object then? I can describe the conditions of education now prevailing in Bengal in no better words than in the words of Samuel Smiles. Of course he writes about the condition of education that prevailed in England in his time. These are his words:—

"Instead of educaton fortifying the mind and body for world's work, strengthening the character by habit and discipline, filling the mind with careful and practical knowledge developing courage, patience and tenacity of purpose and physical endurance as the foundation of the practical exercise of these great moral qualities, education as now conducted seems to be a cramming and forcing it to the mind of certain description of knowledge calculated merely to pass in a competitive examination but comparatively of little use in the business of acual life."

That is the exact condition of our education as it prevails in Bengal to-day. So each and everyone in this House is eager to replace it by a better condition. Our main objective is not to control education but to put it on the right track, so that the three essentials of our man material, viz., the building up of the body, mind and character be perfectly effective. But, Sir, the Bill as it is, does not inspire us with any such hope. In the preamble three words have been used, viz., regulation, control and development. Development has been given the third place. We have great apprehension in our mind that the real change of education is not the primary object with which Government is at present concerned, but Government is mainly concerned with regulation and control. This suspicion is further enhanced when we find that in the Statement of Objects and Reasons given by Government, in the first paragraph, line 1, it is stated that "Secondary Education in Bengal is at present not subject to any unified control," the last sentence in the same paragraph reads, "The development of Secondary Education can no longer be allowed to remain uncontrolled and to drift indefinitely and aimlessly". That is the sum and substance of the first paragraph. In the second paragraph it is stated that the present Bill proposes to establish a Board. What is the object of establishing the Board? The Board may have almost complete power, and it is hoped will be able to develop Secondary Education upon sound lines. So, Sir, so far as development of education is concerned, it is a pious hope. I know that the Government of Bengal is not now in such an affluent condition that they can introduce any and every measure, whatever it may be, for the good of the province. So we may begin our work; but my contention is that in the Bill itself in the preamble and in the Statement of Objects and Reasons we should be satisfied to find that the real and primary object of Government is the development of education and improvement of the present system of education, and regulation and control come as a necessary step for the same purpose.

Coming to the details of its provision, many Scheduled Caste friends from this side and from the side of Government have pointed out to the Hon'ble Minister our apprehension regarding the passing of this Bill and our apprehension that by the passing of this Bill our present facilities will be curtailed. It has been decided in the Poona Pact that the Scheduled Castes are so backward that they need additional facilities by way of pecuniary help in building up their institutions and helping their students. That has been incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935. During the last few years of our Provincial Autonomy, this has been recognised by each and every Government that has been formed. Only the other day the Hon'ble Education Minister has stated in this House that Rs. 5 lakhs, which was at first set up as a capital grant for Scheduled Caste education, would be spent within the year and that a similar grant of Rs. 5 lakhs will be made in subsequent years. But, Sir, once this Board is formed, to whom shall we approach for this fund? The financial commitment clause of the Bill does not mention anything about Scheduled Caste Fund. Once

the Bill is passed, according to Government's own statement, this Board will be autonomous and we know what an autonomous Board is, in the case of District School Boards. Now, this Board will be so much handicapped for want of money in order to take up a huge undertaking that they will easily say, "wherefrom shall we find money for the additional grant for the Scheduled Castes". The constitution of the Board is such that the Scheduled Castes have not got such a substantial representation that they can enforce their aims and aspirations before the Board. Out of 53 members we are enttiled to 7·6 seats. We have been given six seats. Out of these six—one is the Scheduled Caste Officer who, I have no doubt, will be under the thumb of the Education Department. Another member is a graduate teacher of the high schools. He will have to look up to Government for his emoluments and for his promotion. Two other members are nominated by Government. They are completely Government's men and in case of a contest they will not have the courage to support the real demand of the Scheduled Castes. Therefore only two seats are left to the Scheduled Castes by way of election—two members who can be trusted to support our cause enthusiastically. Their voice in a Board of 53 would be drowned.

About other defects so far as the Scheduled Castes' representation is concerned, they have been stated point by point by other members of the Scheduled Castes in this House, and I do not like to deal with those points again.

I shall conclude my speech with one observation and that is that though we have been debating this Bill of vital importance for the last eight days, we do not find any solution whereby all the communities—Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others—might put their head together to put our educational system on a sound track and to improve the man material, viz., the future generation on a sound footing. May I appeal to my Muslim friends, they being the top dogs, whether it is possible for them to minimise their demand to some extent so that we might put our heads together for the common good of us all Can they put aside their demand for separate electorate which, as I have already said, is their demand and can they accept joint electorate so that Hindus and Muslims may put their heads together for the benefit of all of them? In making that appeal I want to place a few facts before them, viz., how much they are going to lose if they accept joint electorate. There are 53 members in the Board out of which 13 are officials; I include of course two Vice-Chancellors; and 40 non-officials. Out of the 13—one will be a European, viz., the President of the Board and that will be a necessity for some time so long as we, Hindus and Muslims, cannot combine; the others will be equally divided 6 : 6. Out of the six Muslim representatives one will be the Vice-Chancellor of either the Calcutta or the Dacca University; another is the Director of Public Instruction or the Director of Physical Education; then there is the Assistant Director of Public Instruction and the Head of the Department of Islamic Studies and Arabic of the University of Dacca, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, and one Inspector of Schools. These 6 seats, Sir, will be entirely out of the scope of election, whether it is joint or separate. Out of the 40 non-official seats, 6 are neither Hindu nor Muslim. We are thus left with 34 seats and Muslim will get 17. Out of this 17 again, there are 6 seats which are entirely unconnected with Hindu votes. They are 2 Principals of Madrasahs, 3 nominated Muslims and one co-opted Muslim. Whether we accept joint electorate or separate electorate, these 6 seats are entirely out of the scope. So, out of 23 Muslim members of the Board, we get 12 who are entirely unconnected with Hindu votes. Of the 11 members to be elected, 2 are from the Senate of the Calcutta University, 1 from the Executive Council of the Dacca University, 2 are Headmasters and 1 Headmistress and 5 members of the Legislature. The election from the Calcutta University, I take it, will be much influenced by the Hindu votes, but so will the election from the Dacca University be influenced by the Muslim votes. As regards the Legislature, it is a fact that both in the Council and in the Assembly, the Muslim members

predominate in number over the Hindus. At the time of the election, it will be the first and foremost concern of the minority Hindus how to regulate their votes so that they can get their seats all right and they will have no influence—rather they will have no scope—over the Muslim seats. Then there are three seats—2 Headmasters and 1 Headmistress. I presume that their election will depend much upon the inspectorate staff of Government rather than on Hindu votes. This department particularly of the Government of Bengal is predominantly influenced by Muslims—of course, I do not disapprove of the same because the Muslims, being backward in education, must have better say in the inspectorate staff or the regulating staff.

Sir, taking for argument's sake that out of 23 Muslim seats, 2, 3 or 4 seats are influenced by Hindu votes, but is it not reciprocated by the fact that Hindus also will have to depend upon Muslim votes in their election? By this reciprocity we shall lose nothing—either Muslims or Hindus—but, on the other hand, if my Muslim friends make this sacrifice, they will get full co-operation of the Hindus and we shall be able to proceed with our primary objective, viz., put our education on such lines that both Hindu and Muslim boys will be benefited and our future man-material will be built strongly and well. (Mr. RASIK LAL BISWAS: What will the Hindus lose if this is accepted?) It will be for the Hindus to say.

Sir, my simple suggestion and my appeal are to my Muslim friends who are possessing the control of the Government now and who can be magnanimous under the circumstances as I have stated.

Sir, I have a few minutes left and I shall last of all appeal to the House that apart from the fact that our joint endeavour will do good to all of us, this is a time which is a calamitous one. At such a time when the enemy is at the gate, there should be no misunderstanding between communities and communities over a matter which we can mutually solve and there should be perfect understanding and co-operation. The nation is pouring its blood and treasure like water. At such a time, we are in the home front and though we cannot venture to run to the front line, we can help our brethren there to fight for us.

Maulvi WALIUR RAHMAN: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to make a few observations in support of the amendments moved by my friend, Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, and others. It has been stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that "there is no authority with power to regulate development according to a planned scheme or to insist upon certain standards being maintained". But what is that standard and where is that planned scheme? Without them the present Bill is without a foundation and there can be no justification in bringing it forward "The expansion of education during the last thirty years has been extremely rapid". Is the Government afraid of it? "And because of the lack of any single directing authority it (the expansion) has been upon an unplanned basis". What do they want—a planned basis or a single directing authority? Perhaps the latter. But it should be borne in mind that this so-called unplanned expansion during the second half of the 19th century was viewed with alarm by Lord Curzon, and some sort of reform was made in the first decade of the 20th century. That this rapid expansion brought Bengal to the forefront, gave her one of the foremost places in nationalist spirit and culture and placed Bengali language in the ranks of the first seven most highly cultured languages of the world, and practically unified the two major communities on a cultural basis through the medium of that language.

Sir, there is no plan, no ideal, no aim; and yet the Government come forward with a Bill to rush it through the Assembly with indecent haste. Nobody denies that "all educationists have recognised for over twenty years that reform was essential". Where is the provision for such reform and expansion of secondary education as recommended by such educationists? Certainly this is the best time—when Japanese menace, starvation and

epidemics give the people no time to think of anything else and the Defence of India Rules gag the voice and send the leaders into jail—to bring forward this controversial Bill.

Sir, the definition of education and its aim and ideal must be logically set forth, and certainly not according to the whims and caprices of a power-loving Government. The Bill proposes to bring religious, physical, technical education under its sway, that is, under the control of the Government and what not: It seems as it by the passage of the Bill the Government intend to rule the country by a simple single law and thus be in a position to repeal all the other laws both civil and criminal. The extraordinary powers that the Government will assume is surprising and we are bound to take that this power cannot be for the benefit of the people of this unfortunate country.

Sir, religious education should not be brought under the control of the so-called Board, that is, under the control of the ruling authority. My friends, the supporters of the Government, might be under the illusion of thriving the religious education under the protection of Government but that education in my humble opinion cannot but be perverted religious education. It cannot get its free scope for its real development. So far as Islam is concerned, its true principle and spirit cannot be allowed to be taught in the Government-controlled institutions. Islam in its principle and spirit is out and out against any imperialistic administration allowing one class of people to shed the blood of another. It has not only lost many of its beauties but has undergone many changes under the Imperialistic administration. Many Islamic prohibitory injunctions regarding some anti-social and harmful practices in the society, such as, gambling, usury, intoxication, have not only been nullified but sanctioned under the laws of the Imperialistic rule. I am afraid the religious education under the control of the Government will be so shaped, modified and perverted to serve the interests of the ruling authority that the real Islam together with its noble object and its lofty teachings of universal brotherhood and one nationhood of the mankind will be given go-by to strengthen the hands of the ruling authority having adverse interests. We can clearly realise the same from the wide gulf of difference between the Ulemas before the control of the ruling authority came to the religious education and those after it.

We find that the Ulemas of the time when there was no Government control in religious education could have managed to unite all the communities of India and made effort to attain freedom. They had courage to give expression to their convictions. That having been the case the Government thought it proper to put hands in all educational affairs not for the benefit of the people of this country but for its own interest. Hence I think if true religious education is wanted, it should be left in the hands of religiously educated persons of the country. It should be free and unfettered and Government interference should not go beyond helping its free and spontaneous growth. Some religious educationists having been quite conscious of the effect of the control of the Government in religious education have started some institutions to teach the younger ones the lofty ideals of Islam. They have tried their best to keep them free from the control of the Government. So they have not accepted Government help of any kind. For example, I can mention the name of the Deobond Madrassa of the country-wide fame. As a Muslim I cannot share the responsibility of introducing such perverted Islamic education under the control of the Imperialistic ruling authority.

The Board is stated to be representative of all interests, but from its perusal we find that the interest of education has been carefully and deliberately left out. Communal election and communal nomination cannot in any way bring together the best expert educationists. Experts might have been crying for 20 years or more for reform, but certainly they did not think out this extraordinary Bill, nor is there anything to suggest that they were ever consulted.

For whose education or benefit is this Bill? The present Government. that came into power through underhand means and an unholy alliance with the European party the shameless exploiters of the country and which has been given exemtion to agricultural income-tax at the cost of the starving cultivators of Bengal, mostly Muslims, have yet-to prove their *bona fides*. No sane human being can believe that they intend to do any good to their fellow countrymen, particularly, the Muslims.

At present secondary education might have no unified control. But this uncontrolled education has given us what Bengal is to-day, and for this uncontrolled education we have been in a position to see the prospect of a free India. This education produced a number of geniuses of world-wide fame, some of whom are still living, and whom the Government did not think it necessary to consult. To-day some 15 hundred secondary high English schools are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country, and all know that though most of them came into existence through the private charities mostly of our Hindu brethren, seldom on any account any discriminatory treatment was meted out to Muslim students, rather the poor Muslim boys everywhere were most ungrudgingly helped to get the benefits of a liberal education. Education requires reform but certainly not Government control to gag it completely. It requires reform to keep pace with the progress of the world. It does not want to be gagged into a stereotyped and watertight sort of thing, which stagnates in no time. as is amply evidenced from the pages of history of the Hindu system of education or the European church system in the middle ages.

When the whole world is crying for democracy, when even this poor country has been dragged into war to uphold the cause of democracy, the Government has the shamefacedness to propose a Bill which is a cold-blooded deliberate murder of democracy. Out of 53 members, 23 are nominated or ex-officio. Ex-officio members, who are servants of the Board may join discussions, but why should they have votes? Four or 5 members, though given in the list as elected members, will, to all intents and purposes, be ex-officio and appointed members. Thus the number of elected mmbers will be something like 25 or 26, and that injected with the fatal poison of communalism will not leave more than 13 independent minds in a Board of 53. Why this show of democracy, why this farce? It is better to appoint a dictator in all its naked beauties and virtues to dance in ecstatic joy and fiddle while Rome is burning.

The President of the Board will be appointed by the Government as if the members of the Board are not expected to be so competent or educated as to be able to elect their own President, which even the most illiterate and ignorant people in the distant villages can do under the Village Self-Government Act. This is adding insult to injury which no man with the least regard for education will ever tolerate.

Communal separatism is so rank in the Bill that not satisfied with mere communal election, every appointment, every nomination, every ex-officio holding of post has been made on communal basis. Why do they not complete the picture by saying that none but Muslims should teach Muslim boys and none but Hindus, Hindu boys, etc., no Muslim boys should read books written by Hindus and no Hindu should read books written by Muslims, and so on? This vicious communalism will certainly put an end to all hopes of Muslim progress. My Muslim breathren shall take a note of warning. Do they think that if by way of reaction, the fifteen hundred or so Hindu high schools break off from the Board or close down, will it be possible for the Government with all the power and wealth of the British Empire to help them to establish at once another fifteen hundred high English schools for the Muslims at every creek and corner of the country? At least it is certain that either due to too much control or reaction among the Hindus there will be considerable reduction in the number of mofassil high English schools where the poor Muslims generally have their education and

the consequential result will be that the poor Muslims of the rural areas being deprived of the advantage of Hindu schools will be the worst sufferers. Is the Government prepared to face the eventuality? If so, where is the provision for the purpose? If the Government is not prepared to make provision of money to face the eventuality, no sane Muslim can support this mischievous Bill to deprive his poor Muslim brethren of the rural area of the advantage they have been enjoying from Hindu schools so long.

Do the Government ever think of the consequential agitation that may come in the wake of the passage of this pernicious Bill through this packed House of world-wide notoriety? The sponsors of this Bill stand condemned before humanity's sense of justice and conscience as the direct and truest fifth columnists by the *divide et impera* policy of the Churchillian Government where the Indian administration is in the charge of a man who is the father of a boot-licker of Hitler. His Excellency Mr. Casey had said that he would make a peaceful and contented base for Bengal. And when the ruthless enemy is within the borders for about two months his Government have been determined to create the greatest conceivable disturbance and convulsion that India has ever seen or dreamt of within the base of the allied nation war efforts.

The Government control as envisaged in the Bill might be gratifying to Muslim Leaguers, because there is Muslim League Government in Bengal. But do they ever think that with the change of Government the same weapon might fall back upon their own bare backs? Perhaps they think that British dotage for the League will perpetuate Muslim League Government in Bengal, though spurned out of the Punjab. It is difficult to gather the implications of so many different education committees. What is their aim? Do they mean to take the Muslims back to the 7th century Arabia, and the Hindus to the India of 2000 B.C.? Is that education? Subjects of research study for post-graduate students cannot with the least benefit be given to boys of primary or secondary schools. According to the scheme of the Bill our boys will learn to keep apart from their neighbours from their very childhood, will be taught to hate each other's religion and consequently each other.

The rushing through this Bill in the face of the Sargent Scheme is an avowed assertion that the Government intend to carefully deprive Bengal of the benefits of that highly liberal scheme of education so nobly conceived.

The most poisonous sting of the scorpion is in its tail. Jurisdiction of the courts of justice has been taken away from the decision of the Arbitration Committees to be set up by the Board in cases of disputes between teachers and managing committees, etc. Of late Government have been found to be very eager to take away court jurisdiction. Courts of justice are anathema to them and they have tabooed the same. They are afraid of the courts of justice but not of the Justice of Heaven. Because they hope to escape it through the support of the European group. They have certainly learnt to humiliate courts of justice from the totalitarian Governments. And this is another example of their dire Fascist mentality.

Churchill and Amery have repeatedly declared that the united demands of all the political parties in India would be satisfied. And this communal separation introduced into the life of every moment of the communities is a nice reply no doubt. This sort of separatism in education as well as in any election affair might, no doubt, deserve appreciation from the permanent exploiters of the country, the foreign supporters of the Government although it will not only give go-by for good, to the growth of communal harmony and unity, nationalism and cherished hope for the freedom of the country but also perpetuate the Imperialistic exploitation of the dumb millions not excluding the Muslims whose interest the Leaguers pretend to safeguard. Though it is fully known to Muslim supporters of the Government yet for political reasons under the illusion of gaining cheap popularity

under the garb of furthering Muslim cause and thereby counterbalancing their unpopularity for their failure to combat famine and epidemic diseases and their support to the enhancement of sale-tax and imposition of agricultural income-tax they have taken up this deceptive course.

Sir, this is not at all a nation-building measure rather a nation-breaking one. It may be called an internecine law of India, or it may be called the third anti-national law of India, the first being the Morley-Minto Act introducing communal election in 1909 and the second being the Himalayan blunder of Lucknow Pact, as well as that of Poona.

Education is not a matter of political sports. It is not a matter of political bargaining, nor can it be used as a political bait, a sort of illegal gratification for the aggrandisement of self-seekers through politics. Its organisation, reform and control and everything should be left in the hands of pure educationists and our country to-day is not in want of such men. It should be absolutely free and unfettered. Government interference must not go beyond helping its free and spontaneous growth. Let all the educationists confer together and have their own way, and let them have all their requirements. Let them have a board if they consider it necessary as has been recommended by both the Sadler Commission and the Sargent Scheme, from which Government accept only portions satisfying their mischievous ends while counteracting portions are studiously left out. The ways of Government are not merely official secrets, but mischievous and mysterious.

I appeal to my fellow brethren and particularly to my Muslim brethren, not to forget themselves, not to be dazzled by the glare of official patronages, not to vote for their pernicious Bill and bring about their own ruin. Sternly stick to your best conviction and remember the words of the Prophet that he would not for all the wealth of the Heaven and the earth give up his convictions. I appeal in all earnestness to the good sense of the members of the Government not to rush through this pernicious Bill with such indecent haste; not to be nose-led by the European group, not to do an irremediable harm to their fellow-countrymen only for the loaves and fishes; not to set one community against another; not to help aggrandisement of one community at the cost of another; not to set one neighbour against another on the flimsy and absolutely imaginary grounds; not to perpetuate wild disunion among the people, by nature the most peace-loving in the whole world; not to create perpetual disruption in the hearths and homes of the people in the midst of sobriety, affection and tenderness of the sweetest flowers, which they have grown through generations of acute sacrifices and which may one day prove to be the solution of all the world problems and the pride of mankind. I appeal to them in the name of all that is noble and dignified in the human mind, all that is sweet and tender and strews with soft flowers the ways of life, all that is so nobly cherished as worth living in this world of sufferings and sorrows, to remember that it is never too late to mend and to withdraw the Bill at this stage or at least to circulate it to elicit public opinion, which I hope will be carefully collected, assorted and placed before this House for due consideration.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, never have I approached a speech on education with so little relish as this; nor with so great care, nor with so great confusion of mind. If an angel from Heaven or a messenger from Mars had been in this House for the last fortnight listening to our proceedings but having no agenda paper to help him in enlightenment and if he were suddenly told that we had been discussing education he would not believe it. He would say; "education means boys and girls, schools and teachers and books and learning, and I have not heard anything of any of these." And when he went back where he came from he might have reported he could not make very much of what we were doing but he had noticed that our dominant characteristic was a highly developed consciousness not of our own imperfections but of one another's. This party for which I speak has had a very uncomfortable

time. For a fortnight a heavy bombardment has gone on across its front, continuously except when the guns changed their range and direction and fired point blank into these benches. I myself have been pushed to the extreme of embarrassment by my friend, Mr. Griffiths, who nominated me as the first member of the Board that we have not yet begun to construct. To be accurate, he did not nominate me but one of my type, and you can imagine the shock of learning that I am merely one of a type when I had always thought that I was a rugged individualist.

As I speak for this party I should begin by setting out its attitude towards the big and grave problems before us. We here are a small handful of representatives of a meek and diffident people. (Laughter from the Congress benches.) We had hoped to be conciliators, mediators and bridge-builders and we have been grievously disappointed. We have found that our meekness and diffidence are powerless against the resolute, the adamantine resolution on either side of us not to listen to any views except those they have already framed for themselves. Now let me put our position in this way: We can understand, we can appreciate and respect. On our right there are those who themselves or whose ancestors built up nearly all our great system of secondary education in Bengal. They are proud of it—and they are entitled to be proud of it—and they feel that this Bill will take away from them something to which they are entitled and perhaps something also of prestige and reputation that they have well earned. We can understand and we respect this. On the other side there are those who are conscious, painfully conscious, that they have got little out of our secondary school system and that they have not been able to contribute, or anyhow they have not contributed, as much as they would have liked to the efforts. They are conscious that they have fallen behind in this work. We can respect that feeling too. They are further sensitive because there has been inadequate note of what they have done for their own kind of education, their own Islamic education, and still less general appreciation. How can we bring these two points of view together? How can we adjust matters so that the two great communities will be able to work together in a new phase, work happily and believe that they are both contributing their very best and both getting of the best from what they are doing? I do not know whether there is yet any possibility of any agreement on the main points of disagreement. We here would gladly help in any measure of reconciliation. If we can help towards an agreement we shall gladly do it, and although it is not our intention to support any of the motions for delaying the consideration of the Bill you will have noticed that my name is on almost all the Select Committees proposed. It is there with the permission of my party. And if any of these is carried, although we shall not help to carry it, I on behalf of the party shall be glad once more to put my neck into the collar and do whatever I can in my small way towards bringing about some understanding and some improvement. I have been, I think, on every Select Committee, Committee of Reconciliation, Expert Committee and Committee of Examination of the Expert Committees. I have been on them for many years, and if it does so happen I shall continue to be there again.

Why we support the Bill then is that we have come to a stage in which it seems to us that the only way to go on is to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. There has been long delay; the Bill has been before us for four years. The Hon'ble Minister has told us that there were nine bills drafted which somehow or other were not brought before the Legislature. We here think that we should have a Bill, and that even a Bill so inadequate as this can create conditions much better than those in which we are now working. For the last 25 years we have generally agreed that the present conditions are unsatisfactory and that we must make an effort through a Bill and a Board to get better conditions. We have tried to have a Bill and that Bill is now before us. This is an effort to

bring about some reconciliation between opposing points of view, and it is the first effort ever made in Bengal to bring the whole of secondary education of all kinds of schools, all varieties of that education, into the purview of one body which shall be responsible for looking after not only one set of schools, not only a part of one set of schools, but for looking after all schools —a body that will represent the public and will be called upon to discharge the function of seeing that the public's interest in secondary education is adequately represented and adequately recognised.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Excluding Europeans and Anglo-Indians, of course!

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: We hope then, Sir, that if this Bill goes forward—and we should like to be told suddenly that there is some measure of agreement which will enable us to find some way out of the present trouble—many amendments will be made in it during its progress. I hope this is one of those Bills which will have come out of the Legislature looking very different from what it was when it went in. But we must face the conditions in which we are working. We are legislators, a political body working in the very dfficult conditions of Bengal of the twentieth century. We are not legislating in the Republic of Plato or in the New Jerusalem of St. John or in the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, when things could be done entirely on their internal merits. We have to legislate in the conditions that are made for us: we have to legislate through parties, through party controversy, through party opposition, through majorities and minorities, and for that reason much of what has been said in public about this Bill and much of what has been written I suppose to very many of us from many quarters has little value. We cannot choose the conditions in which we legislate. We must legislate and do the best we can in the conditions in which we are.

Now, Sir, I should like to ask you, or myself what is it that the Secondary Education Bill wants? There is very much in this Bill that is unnecessary: there is very much that is hideously complicated, and much that might profitably be shorn away as we go on with our work.

A Bill for education must in the first place recognise that education is a function of the State and therefore Government must somehow or other retain in its hand the power of deciding finally what the Bill shall be and what direction secondary education or education under the Bill shall take, because the Government is the administrative element for the public.

Next, the Bill has reference to children, the future citizens, and to the parents who are responsible for the welfare of their children; and education is for pursuit of knowledge and for attaining practical capacity: it is the process of making the young people of today the State in its next generation. Therefore those who have the responsibility for giving the direction to State activities cannot divest themselves, as has been suggested, of responsibility for education.

Then, again, education calls for technique, as it calls for enthusiasm and scholarship. Therefore the Bill in its simplest element represents Government as the controlling authority and as representative of the people it should include technical capacity, that is to say, there should be men and women on it who know the work of education and can give skilled guidance, and finally it should represent the general public as the parents. I have seen suggestions that this Bill ought to be composed entirely of practising educationists. I think that would be disastrous. Education is a function that concerns all, and the public point of view is more important than any other point of view. If we could get a Bill which represents those elements, we should, I think, be well on the way to a satisfactory

solution of our problem. But in this Bill we have made things as complicated as possible.. There will be opportunity of referring to this matter as we deal with the amendments; I think somebody told me there are 3,000 or more.

Now, I should like to refer to what has been made much of in our discussions—the time factor. There is a great deal of time in the universe, and we have used up a great deal of it; some of our arguments deal with time with very lavish hand I think two members over there, Mr. Charu Chandra Roy and Mr. Surendra Nath Biswas, suggested that we should circulate the Bill for opinion by the beginning of 1999 (laughter). (Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: 1949.) I am sorry, Sir. I stand corrected. I knew it was some time this century. We have been considering these matters for 25 years. There is point in the argument that if we have already spent 25 years, another two or three years would not make any difference. The argument is quite good. Also the argument is good that having spent 25 years on this and having looked at the Bill, or a Bill, for four years it is time we made up our mind and came to a settlement. That too is a good argument and it is reasonable to accept one or the other. (Laughter.)

I have noticed that very many speakers on the Bill, while rejecting the Bill today, made it clear that they would welcome a Bill tomorrow or they would have welcomed a Bill yesterday—any day other than today. I remember a pretty little discussion—I think in "Alice in Wonderland"—about the meaning of every other day in relation specially to jam. It finally was decided that jam every other day meant jam yesterday, jam tomorrow, jam the day after tomorrow, jam the day before yesterday but never jam today. (Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: And jam for you for ever!) Very many have said that they would welcome the Bill, but today there is a war on, today the enemy is over the boundary in Assam; it is a controversial measure, and we ought not to have controversial matters during war time; we should wait for the Sargent Committee and see what that is going to do. That is a poor use to make of a fine document like that, to use merely as a delaying instrument that which is intended to help us, not to delay us and not to frustrate us. We have a task to be done, and we here represent the public. The task is a task for the public, for the grown-up public, and for the little public, and we should face it somehow or other by agreement, if possible. I should like to see nearly every point of contention settled otherwise than by shock of battle, but we should now come to a settlement somehow.

I saw this measure described the other day in one of our leading newspapers as a hasty piece of legislation. I rubbed my eyes twice and looked again and it was quite right—the word was "hasty". It was probably written by one of my own friends. I suppose the justification for the adjective is that this is regarded as a new Bill. Now, whether we regard it as a new Bill or whether we regard it as the same Bill with some change in appearance, some change in make-up, we in this party are of the opinion that we have given it sufficient house-room and attention and care, that it is time we put it—either the new Bill or the same Bill changed—it is time we put it out into the world to work, so that it can earn its own living We cannot go on year after year taking up our time in doing the same work over and over again. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You know a hundred amendments are coming from Government.)

I come to a question that perhaps goes to the root or the heart of the matter. What is it we are afraid of? I am not asking what we dislike. We know that we dislike one another's views.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I think it will be better if you conclude your speech after prayer.

The House stands adjourned for 15 minutes for prayer.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(*After adjournment.*)

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I had just come to a question that perhaps goes to the heart of the matter. What are we afraid of in this Bill? I am not asking what we dislike. We all know in this House what we dislike. Many of us unfortunately dislike one another. The arguments so far have shown that. But what is it we are afraid of? The main point of contention is the constitution of the Board. Now, by an agreement between the two big parties, the two big communities, that Board is to consist of an equal number of Hindus and Moslems. I am not for the moment touching on the way in which the Board is constituted but only of the numerical equality between the two parties—twenty-five for each. Anyhow that figure will do for argument. What are you on my right afraid of? That they will elect 25 good men or they will elect 25 incompetent men. What are you afraid of?—That they will elect 25 good men or 25 incompetents. Anyhow, what does it matter? Let me argue by supposing. Supposing that you elect 25 competent men and they fail in their duty and elect 25 incompetent men. What happens? The Board in effect will be a Hindu Board. It will be Hindu drive, Hindu thought, Hindu purpose and Hindu work. Hindus will direct secondary education in Bengal because of the default on the other side.

Supposing that you Muslims elect 25 competent men and they elect 25 unsatisfactory men. What happens? The Board, in effect, will be a Muslim Board. It will have a Muslim point of view, Muslim drive and Muslim well-defined policy because of the failure on the other side. Supposing both sides do their duty and elect 25 competent men who will work together. Then you have a Board of 50 men all working together, an Indian Board—Hindus and Muslims coalescing, working together in an Indian Board, and the purpose, the policy, the intention and the spirit behind that will be Indian. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That must be with joint electorates.)

There is a further possibility that both sides will elect 25 incompetent men. I have not worked out the possible consequences. (Laughter.) But perhaps light will come as the discussion goes on. I shall only observe here that I have known committees composed entirely of idiots (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Were you a member?) (Dr. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE: Perhaps he was the Chairman!) (Laughter) and I have noticed that they have always been happy, i.e., whenever I peeped through the window. What is there in this constitution to be afraid of? I can see that most people do not like it. I can see that the way in which you get at your 25 men irritates some, pleases others, but in the 25-25 ratio of good men all working together for the welfare of the children in Bengal, what is there to be afraid of?

I have more faith in the people of Bengal than some of you have. And I say this, that unsatisfactory as the Board is in its present constitution and if its unsatisfactoriness is made still more unsatisfactory by people not doing their best to get the best possible men through the electorates I say that even so you can get a Board that will be of very great value in bringing in system into our educational ancestry. And here may I—what you will call; or what Government will certainly call— an outsider (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You are much an insider.) I make certain comments on certain things that have been said. This is a grave and difficult matter, and it does not do anyone any good and it does not help any cause, certainly it does not help the cause of education (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If you rush through this Bill.)——Sir, may I ask for your protection?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope there will be no interruption.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I was only anticipating some words.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: I was about to observe, Sir, that it does not help to make rash statements without reference to facts. For example, it is said from this side—I have heard it said—that the Hindus are not sincere in their opposition to the Bill. On the other hand, I would say this, that not all Hindus who are sincere in their opposition to the Bill have read the Bill. (Sj. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYA: We do not want you to patronise. It suits your purpose to advise both Hindus and Muslims. We quite understand you. Go on.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I would like to request you once more not to interrupt.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA CHOSE: Sir, I rise on a point of order. Mr. Wordsworth is entitled to give expression to his point of view in whatever way he likes. We will not interrupt him, but I would like to know from you, Sir, whether he has got any right to give the Hindus some advice and the Muhammadans some other advice and then bring about adjustment between the two.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am very sorry, Mr. Ghose; but that is no point of order.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: May I sum up this awkward moment by saying that I have had quite recently people experienced in education, holding high positions in it, who have said to me: "How could the Government bring themselves to establish a Board in which there is not a single Hindu representative after all the work we have done for education". I want to say nothing further than that such rash statements are making things worse, and I have no wish to patronise or to give advice to Hindus, Muslims, Mr. Roy or anybody else (A voice from the Opposition benches: Mr. Ghose and not Mr. Roy).

May I say a few words about what we thought, uneasily, doubtingly, was a Select Committee but which by a ruling of the Speaker was afterwards put on a much lower level, merely a Council of wise men. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: No, no; but of packed partisans.) We worked very hard for many days, but unfortunately the representatives of the parties there (on his right) did not come in with us. I am not reproving; I am only regretting (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Or approving!). They came, I think, in the first meeting. In the Biblical language they shook off the dust of the committee room on our devoted heads and there is often much dust in committee rooms; in the easier language of today they kicked up a dust and then left, muttering epithets about the Minister of Education, the committee, the Government and the universe at large. I say I am not reproving, but I do wish that having made that constitutional protest they had sat down with us and set to work on what was before us. Because with their knowledge and their influence, their understanding and their duty to represent the point of view of their parties—they could have taken a very large part in shaping the Bill. Probably many things that are now in the Bill would not have been there, had they sat with us. Certain new things may have got in by the skin of their teeth, leaving such obvious signs of that that it might now have been easier to turn them out altogether. I only say, I am sorry. I think a great opportunity was lost there. I should say only two other things about that committee. The spirit was not of the best. We spent——

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Why not? We were absent and you were there to advise them.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: We spent half one meeting in discussing whether we could get into the President's powers anything that would enable him to strike terror; those were the words into any Government officials put under the Board. I give this as an instance of our difficulties.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is that a Select Committee or not a Select Committee? If it is a Select Committee you are discussing details. If it is not a Select Committee then you can.

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: I may now say a few words on behalf of this party which has been attacked, I think unfairly. I would refer only to two speakers. One is my friend, Mr. Dhirendra Nath Sen. When he had nearly finished his speech he turned to us and said "Because you are educating your children at home therefore you have no interest in education in this country." And he went on to use violent language. I forget what it was, but it was something like choking education out of our poor children, something of that sort. Now I would suggest that Mr. Sen was not using entirely his own words, but words somebody may have given him. If he was using his own words then he was using words not worthy of him, not in keeping with his knowledge of what Europeans in this country are. I think the other was Mr. P. N. Banerjee who after referring several times to his European friends suddenly changed his tone and referred to us as sanctimonious hypocrites. If I may advise him, a man in a big position ought not to give his friendship to men he despises. I would object to his description of us not as hypocrites.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That you accept

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: We accept that for this reason. Hypocrisy is a thing lying in the heart, concealed. You cannot read our heart. Mr. Banerjee by looking at us has not been able to read our hearts. He is, therefore, entitled to say that we are hypocrites or that we are not. He is entitled to choose his opinion. It is to the word "sanctimonious" that we object. Sanctimonious is a matter of external appearance, and since we are here and since you are in charge of the proprieties of the House, I would put it to you, Sir, who on these benches look sanctimonious? If Mr. Banerjee studies us again perhaps he might find what he took in us to be sanctimonious hypocrisy was only high idealism.

Once this Bill is operative I think you can work out a very satisfactory system of secondary education embracing all kinds of schools and all classes in those schools. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Excluding Europeans and Anglo-Indians.) We have nothing of the kind yet. European schools, I may mention, are quite likely in time to come into the Board (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Any time they choose.) We have never had an organisation to look after the education of all our boys and girls. The Universities look after some, the department has looked after others. There has never been any one organisation whose duty it is to co-ordinate, to work out a proper system of grants, and generally by co-operation to give strength to our secondary education. And here I would say what I never said before but it is pertinent to the discussion. I speak in all this with great personal gratitude to the University. It was the University in my time of tribulation that enabled me to continue my contact with education and scholarship.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Do you want more time?

Mr. W. C. WORDSWORTH: I should like to have 2 or 3 minutes more. In all I have said about the University, there has been that personal gratitude, and there has been admiration for the wonderful work that the University has done for many, many years. But it is not in my opinion a proper function of the University to be responsible for schools. It is not the custom in other countries, and I think it is an excessive burden. The University has said so many a time, and the University itself does

not profess to look after even all of what we call secondary schools. It is responsible only for the top classes in their preparation for a University examination. My conception of these things is and always has been, that it is a help to the University to have another organisation which will look after secondary education. Then with the Board or any other organisation looking after schools, giving its whole time and attention to them, it can give the University better human material, and the University by being able to give all its time, all its resources, all its attention to what we call University work will profit accordingly. So the Board and the University working in co-operation will be able to lift the culture, practical capacity and all the other great qualities of this province to a higher level than it has ever yet seen. That Sir, is the faith and the vision of those for whom I have been speaking.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, I would not have intervened had not the Dacca University been brought into this controversy. Everybody will admit that the state of secondary education in this province is unsatisfactory. Everybody admits that a Board is necessary for the control and development and improvement of secondary education. But I fail to understand the opposition to this Board except on the ground that our Hindu friends do not like that the Muslims should have a share in the educational administration of this province. They have raised the question that they have established a large number of institutions, that almost all the institutions have been established by them or rather the initiative was taken by them in establishing all these institutions and that therefore they have a right to control secondary education and that Muslims have no right or any other community has no right to share in that administration. If they themselves look at the question in their cooler moments they would realise how foolish this claim of theirs is. All sections of the people of this province are interested equally in secondary education. The major communities, Hindus and Muslims, they are almost equal in population and their interests are necessarily equal. Therefore their share in the administration of secondary education should be equal if not in proportion to the population. They have raised certain standards. The question that Hindu representation should be in proportion to their investments in secondary education or their student population is again foolish and unreasonable. Again these claims are foolish and unreasonable because, as I have said, if there had been a proper system of secondary education, the proportion would have been reflected in the students' proportion of these schools. The policy of secondary education was responsible for not reflecting that proportion in the student population. It may be that there is a vested interest in these schools, but nobody says that the Secondary Education Board would interfere with the internal administration of these schools. The Board will have the right of interfering with the administration of schools only in so far as it is required for the development of secondary education. In matters of internal administration, e.g., the appointment of teachers, etc., the Board does not intend to interfere. There is no such provision in the Bill which will show that the Board will be given the power to interfere with the internal administration of the schools. Therefore the claim that the Hindus should have representation in proportion to the number of schools that they have is irrelevant. Fortunately this claim that the two major communities should be represented equally on the Board has been admitted by all sections of the people. The only objection that has been taken is with regard to the mode of securing that representation. Once you admit that the Muslims and the Hindus should have 50 : 50 on the Board, you cannot avoid the conclusion that there should be a separate electorate. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We did not agree.) Dr. Sanyal says that they did not agree to it. I say they did agree to it. If you look at the 1942 Bill, you will see that the proportion of 50 : 50 has been recognised there, and who was responsible for this Bill? Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the great Hindu educationist without

whom there can be no education according to the Hindus. That great Syamaprasad Mookerjee is the author of that Bill. The other parties to it are Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, the leader of one party; Mr. Fazlul Huq; Mr. Shamsuddin; and also the Congress party because the Congress party was a supporter of that Ministry. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Certainly not.) Therefore, Sir, it is a proposition which has been admitted by all sections, by all the political parties in the province. Once you admit that there should be a 50 : 50 representation of the two major communities of the province on the Board, you cannot avoid taking the position that it should be by a separate electorate. Now, Sir, let us examine this question again. The representation should be a sincere and honest representation. By whom do you like to be represented? Even today you find that you do not want to send a man of another community to a particular Committee or to a particular body, you say that he is not your representative: That is, the Hindus want that their representatives should be those in whom they have confidence, and the Muslims want that their representatives should be those in whom they have confidence and only separate electorate can ensure that representation. There is no other method by which that confidence can be ensured. Therefore, I say that separate electorate is the logical consequence of the proportion of communal representation on the Board. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Therefore we do not want communal representation.) It is too late in the day to say that you do not want communal representation. The Calcutta University Commission recommended communal representation because communal representation is not to be blamed for the sake of itself. Communal representation should be there in order to assess the needs of the different communities. The Hindus are not expected to know the educational needs of the Muslims and *vice versa*. Therefore there is necessity for separate electorate. As I have said Dr. Sanyal was a party to the communal representation——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I say most emphatically, no. This is a misrepresentation of the worst type.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: In the course of another discussion the question came out: was there communal representation on education body anywhere in India? The reply was that it was in the University of Dacca and it was too much for them. Therefore they got the ex-Vice-Chancellor of that University Dr. R. C. Majumdar to issue a statement how communal representation led to certain disastrous results.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: What about the Larkin Report?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: I have been connected with the Dacca University; I have been a student of that University and I am still a member of the Executive Council of that University.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Therefore head-breaking is continuing there.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: I can speak with authority in connection with that University and I am one of those who is responsible for shaping the educational policy of the Dacca University. I am proud to say today that the Dacca University has achieved within a short time which cannot even be claimed by any other University of India, but I do not like to compare now.

I pity Dr. Majumdar that he has been brought into the arena of politics by some of his friends with their influence because it is difficult to believe otherwise that Dr. Majumdar who was responsible for the development of the Dacca University should be disloyal to that University in a manner which is to be condemned. Perhaps he did not realise it. There was a meeting of the Senate of which he happened to be a fellow, but he was not

present there because he could not stand the implications of his own statement and he would have been confronted with a position which he wanted to avoid.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Rightly so, he did not want communal passion.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: I am now analysing what is communalism in the Dacca University. Eighty per cent. of the teachers of that University are Hindus.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: They have to be Hindus. You cannot do without them.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: They have been appointed there by us, the Hindus and the Muslims. This very Dr. Majumdar was appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University at a time when the Muslim happened to be in a majority in the Executive Council. The procedure is that the Executive Council recommends to the Chancellor the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor, and there is no instance in the history of the Dacca University when any such recommendation of the Executive Council was ever turned down by the Chancellor Therefore, the recommendation of the Executive Council is practically the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor and this very Dr. Majumdar was appointed in a sense by these Muslims because they happened to be in a majority in that University at that moment. When the Hindu members of the Executive Council in a body approached the Muslim members with a request to have Dr. Majumdar as a Vice-Chancellor, the Muslims could have said, "Well, look here, the Vice-Chancellor only ran his term to the extent of a year and a half though the term was five years, because Sir A. F. Rahman, the Vice-Chancellor, was appointed to be a member of the Federal Public Service Commission". That position the Muslims could take but they did not. That is the nature of the communalism of the Muslims. Dr. Majumdar is not true to his salt. He ought not to have issued a statement like this and he ought not to have stabbed his own institution at the back You will see how Dr. Majumdar has given up his case. If there be anything in the Dacca University it is not due to separate electorate. In the statement that he has published he says that the system of separate electorate—on a communal representation of 50 : 50—worked successfully during the first five years. If the scheme could work successfully during the first five years, then it is not due to the system of separate electorate that any of the consequences—which I do not admit—had happened as stated by Dr. Majumdar.

The incidents occurred because the Hindu and Muslim students came under the influence of the different political parties, but they would have happened even if there were joint electorate. Supposing in the Dacca University there was joint electorate, the Musilms would have come under Muslim politics and Hindus under Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha politics. Therefore, there is nothing inherent in the separate electorate which led to those consequences which Dr. Majumdar was complaining about. If there is any untoward happening in the Dacca University, that is only a part of the happenings which are taking place everyday in every other University of India.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: May I rise on a point of order. (Cries of "ho", "ho" from the Opposition Benches.) The sentence "That is a lie" has been used. Do you allow that?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The word "lie" has been used in the past and points of order have been raised on that and decisions have already been given. So far as I am concerned I have given my decision that the expression is unparliamentary.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: But when members use it won't you use your power to stop such words? (Interruption from Opposition Benches.) Sir, I ask your protection. I want to know whether the Chair can stop these things.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: In my opinion it is my right to declare whether an expression is parliamentary or unparliamentary but there are expressions which I am afraid it is not within my competence to ask the members concerned to withdraw them or to expunge them from the proceedings.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, an erudite scholar of Aligarh, has raised a very valuable point of order. I would like him as well as you, Sir, before you give your final ruling, to look up "Parliamentary Practice" of May and find out whether statements and observations made by members could be regarded as parliamentary if they are called untrue or amounting to a lie, if the member is not called a liar. What is generally not permissible in Parliament is to call a member directly a liar but, Sir, statements or observations can always be criticised as untrue or amounting to a lie.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal, I have already given my decision on this point. Whatever might be the practice in British Parliament, whatever might have been the expression used in the British Parliament and the views held by the Speaker of the British Parliament, I have already said that I hold that the word "lie" is unparliamentary, at least it should be so in the provinces of India, specially in Bengal.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: The Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy too used the expression times without number.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I know that

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: They wanted that my speech may not be effective. (Laughter from Opposition Benches.) That was the object of all the interruptions. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Your own party member interrupted you.) Sir, let them listen to truths, if they have any regard for truth though I know they have not. Sir, as I said before, here is one person who can speak with authority on the affairs of the Dacca University and I am going to say that and if you have patience you listen to me. Dr. Mazumdar was attributing to separate electorate a thing which was not there. I may tell you, Sir, that 80 per cent. of the teachers of the Dacca University are Hindus and till recently 75 per cent. of the students were Hindus. Now, Sir, the number of Hindus has not increased but the number of Muslims has increased. That is an achievement of that University. As I have already told you, one of the greatest defects of secondary education, whoever may be responsible for that policy, is that it has not been able to reflect the proportion in the student population of the schools. Dacca University has been able to do that. That is an achievement of that University and there are other achievements, such as researches. The academic standard and the academic achievement of that University can compare favourably with the academic standard of any other University in India including the Calcutta University. By what you will examine the effects of communalism? By the result of academic standard, by sentiment or by agitation? If by academic standard then hear me. Now, there is one place where the students of the Dacca University and the students of the Calcutta University meet and that is the place of Government competitive examination. If you analyse the result of the last ten years you will find, after taking into consideration the number of students of the Calcutta University and the number of students of the Dacca University, that the result of the Dacca University, if not better, can compare most favourably with the Calcutta University, and I claim

that the result of the Dacca University is better. If that is the academic standard then you cannot say that communalism has produced a non-academic atmosphere in the Dacca University.

What about the relationship between Hindu students and Muslim students, between Hindu teachers and Muslim teachers and between teachers and students? I can speak without fear of contradiction and if Dr. Mazumdar would have been nearabout truth he would have borne me out in respect of the statement that the relationship between these different sections of students and teachers is most cordial. It is so cordial that it is not to be found anywhere else. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Larkin Committee did not say so.)

I have told you about the achievement of the students, I have told you about the academic standard of the students and about the standard of the teachers. Now I am going to place before you the statement of Sir A. F. Rahman, another Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, and in what dignified manner he has brought out these achievements.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: We have all read that. That is well known.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: You have read that. You listen to it now.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He has not met the real point at all

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: This is what he said:

"The Dacca University Act, amongst other things, guarantees the proportion of the two communities, Hindu and Mussalman, and provides for separate electorates for their representation. Every evil, real or imaginary, is traced to these provisions and in the name of academic sanctity they are condemned in violent language. It is hardly realised that such language aggravates the very evil which it seeks to condemn.

Except for a short break, I have served the University since its establishment, in various capacities and in retrospect I have a feeling of happiness for the privilege of having laboured for this institution, for the struggles to give it shape and form, for the success and satisfaction and, at the recollection of all this work being carried on with great good-will, co-operation and courtesy from all sides. The loyalty and devotion that were given then persist even today. The friendships that were formed, the bonds that were forged have endured. If there is any regret it is that I wish I had been able to do more.

The Dacca University was intended to be a model for later Universities in India and I claim that it has abundantly justified that hope. From the very inception its academic ideals have been kept constantly in view, the high standard of its teaching and its degrees have been acknowledged by the academic world of India; the brilliance of its teachers and its products have earned an enviable prestige; its publications, its researches, its contributions to the domain of knowledge have been profound and considerable. This young institution was full of vitality. All this would not have been possible if there had been constant friction between the two communities or if they had different ideals as is alleged *ad nauseam*. I do not remember that it was ever thought how we found our places in the different bodies and authorities of the University; once we were there all that mattered was the good of the University and the realisation of its ideals. We had our little differences but that was natural and the maxim was never forgotten that 'true democracy is an inward Government, not an external rule'. May be, there have been mistakes but then which human being, which institution is perfect? It is a travesty of truth to ascribe the mistakes to the communalism of the Mussalmans and the achievements to the nationalism of the Hindus, or recklessly condemn one provision in the Act for all the ills from which the institution has suffered in recent times."

Now, Sir, with regard to the achievements of that University he said, "The Dacca University has succeeded in one great experiment, the institution of halls of residence where young men of the two major communities live in their own environments undisturbed by petty friction and enjoy all the facilities that the University offers and receive the training that distinguishes them as University men. In every walk of life, in the public services, in the political field, in the professions, in business and industry, these men have distinguished themselves, they are easily recognisable, they have enhanced the prestige of their *alma mater* and some of my cherished memories are the unvarying affection and friendship of my students, Hindu and Mussalman. This is not my experience alone; this must be the experience of many others who came into contact with the young men, understood their hopes and fears. Dacca has the atmosphere of a University, of an intellectual life, of comradeship, of healthy rivalry in the class rooms and playing fields, and Dacca has succeeded in winning the affection and regard of those who pass through its portals. The annual gathering of old boys of the different halls, the way they are taking an increasing share in the governance of the University are abundant proofs of my statement. The energy, enthusiasm and keenness they have got is to be seen to be believed. Could all this have been possible if, as is alleged, communalism, particularly of the Muslim variety had been rampant? In fairness, Dacca University must be judged by its positive achievements, not by its little ailments which are natural in a living growing institution, and for which the provisions in the University Act are certainly not responsible".

Sir, this shows how this communal representation through separate electorate in the Dacca University which is one of the highest educational institutions in India has justified its existence. I can tell my friends here that if there had not been that proportion of Hindus and Muslims and if there was not separate electorate, then in that case the administration of that University could not have been carried on with agreement. Supposing the Hindus had an overwhelming majority over the Muslims, the result would have been that there would not have been this agreement, but the whole thing would have been mismanaged. I can tell the honourable members here that in all academic matters in the Dacca University there was never a voting on communal lines. Everything was carried on in a purely academic manner by agreement. For instance, in matters of appointments 99·9 per cent. of the appointments have always been settled by agreement, it is only in ·1 per cent. that there was no agreement, and there also the difference of opinion was confined to the lowest administrative posts. With regard to higher posts there has never been any consideration of any community whatsoever.

Then, Sir, Dr. Majumdar has stated that sometimes less qualified Muslims have been preferred to more qualified Hindus. If Dr. Mookerjee had been here, I would have asked him how many less qualified Hindus have been taken in preference to more qualified Muhammadans in the Calcutta University. Sir, I do admit that even in the Dacca University sometimes less qualified Muslims have been taken in preference to more qualified Hindus, and sometimes less qualified Hindus have been taken in preference to more qualified Muslims. But that is a human factor and that has nothing to do with communal representation or communal electorate. I am a Fellow of the Calcutta University and it is within my knowledge that here sometimes more qualified Muhammadans are brushed aside in favour of less qualified Hindus.

Sir, the other aspects of this question have been dealt with by the Hon'ble Minister for Education and I have not found any attempt on the part of the Opposition to meet the arguments of the Hon'ble Minister for Education. They have not been able to make out a case for reference of the Bill to the Select Committee or for circulation for eliciting public opinion thereon.

Therefore I oppose all the motions.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Mr. Deputy Speaker, during the last few days there has been such a ceaseless flow of eloquence in this House in the course of discussions over the provisions of the Secondary Education Bill that it would seem almost superfluous for anyone to continue the debate any longer. But, Sir, the Bill contains certain provisions of a controversial character and it would have been to the interest of education which all of us have at heart, if the discussions in this House had been carried on in an atmosphere free from passion and prejudice, and if we had attempted to put forward the case on behalf of each party based on sound logic or incontrovertible facts and then leave it to the judgment of the House. Instead of that, we have noticed recriminations and counter-recriminations, charges and counter-charges, pledges and counter-pledges, and unfortunately my friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman has started with a comparison of what has been achieved by the Calcutta University and the Dacca University. I would presently point out to my esteemed friend that all this comparison was unnecessary.

Sir, I am not at present in very good health. I do not think I am physically fit to be able to make a long speech, but there are certain points which I have noted regarding which I can give the House facts which are not within the knowledge of the members of this House. I can talk of things, taking the members back to the origin of these controversial points and I can show that history has told us that even when these controversial innovations had been introduced in the country, the authors of these controversial innovations had before them not the partisan views between Hindus and Muslims, between educationists and non-educationists but the supreme interest of the country, especially in such a matter as education.

Sir, my friend the Hon'ble Education Minister made a very long speech in moving his motion that the Bill be taken into consideration. In the course of that speech I was pleased to notice that he had admitted more than once that the Bill which he had presented was really my baby. The Education Minister is carrying in his arms my baby for which I still possess a most affectionate interest. I brought this Bill before the House in August, 1940, and I will tell the House the history of this brat of a Secondary Education Bill. There were technical objections whether this House had the jurisdiction to introduce a Bill for the reform of secondary education and that was set at rest by the amendment of the Government of India Act. I then moved for reference of that Bill to a Select Committee. Unfortunately, however, my Hindu friends opposed the Bill tooth and nail and refused to serve on the Select Committee. In spite of that, as my friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman will remember, we sat in the Committee for some time but I felt that in a matter of such supreme importance to the educational needs of the country as the constitution and establishment of Secondary Education Board we should try to harness to the cause all the leading interests, all the leading educationists, all those who have the interests of the country at heart, so that our efforts might be co-ordinated towards a common end. I had allowed the Education Bill to simmer for some time and I called a big conference not merely of members of this House but of educationists outside this House and for about six months we struggled hard and we came to a sort of agreed settlement on controversial points. Unfortunately, however, in December, 1941, the mass resignation of several members of my Cabinet led to the break-up of my Cabinet and for the moment therefore the Secondary Education Bill went out of public attention. In 1942 when I formed the next Cabinet I had the Bill brought up before the House as the 1942 Bill. That Bill was sponsored by the then Education Minister Mr. Abdul Karim who was not a member of this House but who was a member of the Upper House. A technical objection was taken to his being the President of the Select Committee on the ground that, as he was not a member of this House, he could not be the President of a Committee appointed by this House. We had to take legal advice and in taking the opinion of the Standing Counsel, of the Advocate-General

and of the Advocate-General of India and so forth, much time was wasted and we came very nearly to the end of the year 1942. At that time the enemy had come very close to the Indian borders and we were busy about our boat denial and rice removal policy. The then Governor Sir John Herbert was very strongly of opinion that no controversial Bill should be introduced in the House so long as war conditions lasted. I believe I am not making any wrong statement when I say that that was also the general impression of the members of the European Group, namely, that no controversial legislation should be introduced into the House when war conditions prevailed outside. Sir, in 1943 we went out of office under circumstances which I need not recapitulate and my baby has now fallen into the arms of the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan. I have no doubt that he would nurse the baby well but I regret to say that he has made certain incisions in the body of the baby which may prove fatal, but I hope that under his nursing and tender care it will be able to pass through the ordeal with which it is faced.

There is an impression abroad in the minds of many people that the members on this side of the House are banded together in a common cause to sabotage the Secondary Education Bill. Nothing can be farther from truth. After all, secondary education is the basis on which the whole structure of education has got to be based. University education depends on secondary education and unless foundations are well and truly laid, you cannot expect to build on those foundations anything like a lasting edifice. Therefore it is of the utmost importance to those who are interested in education to see that secondary education is placed on a sound and satisfactory footing. I will try to be as less offensive as I can but there is one remark which I cannot help making and I hope I will be pardoned if I am allowed to make that remark as an illustration of what I am saying.

Sir, we in the Opposition may be in a minority on the counting of heads but I claim that if you take the educational careers of those who constitute the Opposition, we are in a majority in the intellectual sphere. There are many on this side of the House who have had the most brilliant careers at the University and they will be stultifying themselves, they will be false to the education they have received in schools and colleges if they did not try to sink all differences and to co-ordinate efforts for the one great thing which Bengal needs, namly, the co-ordination of secondary education, its development and its improvement. It has been a great shame that the Sadler Commission which was appointed for the purpose of reforms in the Calcutta University should have made recommendations which have been accepted by all the Universities in India except perhaps the Calcutta University. Bengal has benefited the least from the labours of Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues and it is time that a Secondary Education Board, which has been long overdue, should be established in Bengal. On that point I agree with Mr. Fazlur Rahman that there is no dispute that a Secondary Education Board must be established and put on a sound footing and for that purpose *a* Secondary Education Bill should be passed and not *the* Secondary Education Bill. Now, Sir, even then *a* Secondary Education Bill may become *the* Secondary Education Bill that is now before the House, provided the suggestions that I am making are taken in a friendly spirit with a view to carry into effect the objects which I have in view and not for the purpose of a political controversy.

I have already said that we do not want to stand in the way of the Bill merely for the sake of politics. But, Sir, it cannot be gainsaid that our Hindu friends have very bitterly criticised the Bill in consequence of certain provisions which have appeared in this Bill. Mr. Fazlur Rahman gave an illustration of a certain point which I can utilise in order to explain to the House why this Bill is meeting with so much opposition from the members of the Hindu community. My friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman has said that the representation of Muslims on 50 : 50 basis had been accepted and that

it found a place in the 1942 Bill at a time when Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad were members of the Cabinet.

In other words, since in our time the 50:50 basis has been accepted, we are estopped from raising any controversy as to whether that is a proper basis or any other ratio should be adopted for communal representation. Sir, if this were a correct exposition of law, I ask my honourable friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman, and I ask the House to note one significant fact. The Bill of 1940 provided for the representation of Muslims by reservation of seats and not through separate electorates. You will find, Sir, in the year 1940 when I drafted the Bill, when I had the Bill approved by my Cabinet there were in the Cabinet four of the most prominent members of the present Cabinet—Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy, Nawab Musharruf Hossain and, last but not the least, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, the present Education Minister. Mr. Shahabuddin was the Chief Whip. Situated as we were then, they accepted the principle of joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims. May I not argue that that being the case, these Ministers including the Education Minister, personally and individually and most emphatically, are estopped from bringing forward this question of separate electorate and raising a controversy which no one can appreciate? (Interruption from Government Benches.) It is no use interrupting me. I am only giving facts If you interrupt me, you will only waste your time and my time. Now, Sir, I am coming to the point. In the Bill of 1940 it was not by accident that these provisions were made. Shall I tell the House that this question of improvement of secondary education has been agitating the mind of educationists and Government for more than a quarter of a century? When the Sadler Commission were taking evidence, they were at once made aware of the fact that one of the chief causes of the unsatisfactory manner in which education was being imparted by the Calcutta University was the want of a properly controlled Secondary Education Board in Bengal. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee was a member of that Commission and he very kindly asked me to accompany him in his tours. Materials were collected and drafts for Secondary Education Board prepared for all the Universities of India. I had occasion to study all that accummulated literature and when in 1924 I became an Education Minister in the diarchy system under Lord Lytton, I at once took up the question of the establishment of a Secondary Education Board in Bengal. Unfortunately, however, our Ministry was a very short-lived one, and we went out of office in August, 1924. I prepared a skeleton draft and on the basis thereof a Secondary Education Bill was prepared known as the Secondary Education Bill of 1925. This Bill was not brought up before the Council and the whole question of improving the secondary education in Bengal was allowed to rot in a cold storage till the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937. I took up the portfolio of Education, and one of the most essential things which engaged my attention was the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education through the Secondary Education Act. But, Sir, there were technical difficulties in the way We were told and we were particularly very forcibly reminded by the Calcutta University that we could not, under the Government of India Act, touch any of the privileges of the Calcutta University and therefore we could not establish a Secondary Education Board in Bengal, because we would have to have our School Final which would come into conflict with the Calcutta University. The University Act was amended and we were then given jurisdiction to establish a Secondary Education Board in Bengal. Sir, at that time Dr. Jenkins was available and we utilised his services by placing him on a special duty to draft a Secondary Education Bill. This was the history of the Bill of 1940. It was not hastily drafted. It was drafted by one of the best educationists available in India, one of the foremost educationists in India at the present time, viz., Dr. Jenkins, the present Director of Public Instruction. He worked for one whole year and I had the privilege of knowing what he was doing and of consulting him and discussing with him the provisions of the draft Bill. The

draft Bill was considered in the Cabinet very closely and after it had passed out of the Cabinet I was permitted to present it to the House. Now, Sir, I would request the Hon'ble Education Minister, knowing as he does the very touchy and sensitive question of separate electorates, to say what are the reasons which led him to depart from the accepted policy of the 1940 Bill and introduce separate electorates in this Bill of 1944. Sir, the only changes which the Hon'ble Minister has made in the Bill has been the introduction of communal electorates and increasing and decreasing representations. So far as the rest of the Bill is concerned, compare the Bill of 1940 with the Bill of 1944; you will find the exact reproduction of the Bill of 1940 in the present Bill, comma, semi-colon and full stop and everything. My friend Mr. Tamizuddin Khan should know that the Calcutta University is very touchy about secondary education and why? Because the main income of the Calcutta University is derived from its control of the Matriculation Examination, the sale of text-books and various publications. At the present moment the income from all these sources is over Rs. 16 lakhs and very soon it would be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 20 lakhs. If you take this income away from the Calcutta University, and if you take away control from the hands of the Calcutta University, they would at once come forward with a protest. They have always done that and that is one of the chief reasons why Secondary Education Board could not be established. Whenever the proposal was made, the Calcutta University wanted some compensation, as *quid pro quo*. Fortunately in the year 1941 I gave an agreed draft to the Calcutta University, and my Bili of 1942 was drafted more or less on the basis of that agreement. And if we had got the time to put the Bill through, I believe we would have been able to put the Act on the statute book without much controversy from any quarter.

Now, Sir, so far as this Bill is concerned, I have already said that the Bill, apart from other considerations, is in itself a very controversial piece of legislation. My friend the Education Minister should have considered twice before he added to the controversial character of this legislation by providing for communal electorates. It is not much that he has added. In the Bill of 1940 it was provided that out of 7 representatives of Head Masters, 3 should be Muslims and 4 should be Hindus of which one should be Scheduled Caste. This has been done in the Bill of 1940. But in the present Bill separate electorate has been introduced for the 3 or 4 representatives of each community.

My friend Mr. Fazlur Rahman has said that once you accept the principle of reservation of seats you have got to logically accept that the election must be through separate electorates. Sir, I most emphatically disagree. Even at the present moment, in some cases where there is reservation of seats for the Muslims, this is being done under the Government of India Act through joint electorates and not communal electorates. I give one instance. This House—the Assembly—elects certain members to the Upper House. Only the other day there was a vacancy for a Muslim member. What we did was that the vacancy should be filled up by a Muslim member, but the election should be by the whole House on a system of joint electorates. There is no provision for separate electorates in the matter of representations of the Lower House to the Upper House, although there are reservation of seats for the communities. I therefore maintain that it is not true that merely because there is reservation of seats, it must be through separate electorate.

Now, I am coming to the question of separate electorate. Let it not be understood that I am an opponent of separate electorates, I am not, Sir. If you look up the proceedings of the Round Table Conference, you will find that there I fought for separate electorate. Read those speeches and understand if you can. But where? Only for parliamentary bodies—not for educational institutions. (Cries of "ha", "ha" from Coalition Benches.) I have got in my hand a letter from no less a person than Lord Irwin who was Viceroy and Governor-General of India when I came back from the

first Round Table Conference after my labours in that body in connection with the representation of Muslims and the representation of minorities. I will read out that letter to the House.

"The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
16th February, 1931.

Dear Mr. Fazlul Huq.

This is only a brief letter to welcome you back to India and to congratulate you on the work you have done in London as a member of the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference. I need hardly say that I have followed the progress of your labours with intense interest and an increasing measure of hope that on the foundations to the laying of which you have done so much in London may be built a new Constitution for India which will bring contentment and happiness to the country."

(Interruptions from the Coalition Benches.)

You can come and take a photograph of it if you like. I am forced to repeat the remark which Mr Jackson made to a High Court Judge, "My Lord, it is for the Counsel to argue the case as best as they can, but it is for the Lord above to give one the brains to understand it." I can only argue as best as I can, but it is for the Lord above to give them the brains to understand it.

We introduced the Bill of 1940. At that time, it is true, we did consider the question of separate electorate, but, as far as I remember, we said that the question of separate representation is of such a controversial character that the whole structure of education would receive a serious blow if we wanted to introduce separate representation in educational institutions For that reason in the Secondary Education Bill we distinctly avoided introducing separate electorates but we had reservation of seats for minorities. In that Bill of 1940 we, therefore, purposely avoided anything like communal electorates. We thought, Sir, that the electorates were such that they could be expected to keep in view the interest of education and education alone unfettered by party or communal considerations.

Now, Sir, communal electorates have got their usefulness in matters political, for instance, even in a House like a House of representatives of the people communal electorates have got to play their part--they have played their part.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Fazlul Huq, I am sorry to interrupt you. Your time was 30 minutes. Do you want more time?

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Unlimited time. (Laughter.)

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There was an agreement.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The agreement also was that Mr. Fazlul Huq, Leader of the Opposition, would be given as long time as he requires and we would sit longer hours, if necessary.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He will be given some more time. He will conclude his speech after prayer recess.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I was making certain observations regarding separate electorates and I think I can do no better than give the House a short history of the provision of separate electorates in many of the public institutions in this country.

Sir, it was in the year 1906 when Sir Bamfylde Fuller's resignation was accepted by Lord Minto that the Muslims of India became very much

perturbed and they wanted to approach the Viceroy Lord Minto in a deputation to represent their special needs and grievances. The permission to lead the deputation was granted and His Highness the Aga Khan led the deputation. The draft of the Muslims' case was made by no less a scholar than Sir Syed Hosain Belgrami of Hyderabad and the deputation that His Highness the Aga Khan led in 1906, about 35 years ago, included the most prominent leaders of Muslim political thought in India. It was in answer to the address that was presented to Lord Minto that the Viceroy first made a definite public declaration of the policy of separate representation of minorities. This matter was agitated in Parliament and Lord Morley in Parliament defended the Viceroy's declaration by saying that separate electorates were not without their parallel in other countries. He quoted Cyprus and other countries. However Lord Minto met some of the leaders of the deputation at a public function and it is now no longer a secret that Lord Minto impressed upon the Muslim leaders that although the principle of separate electorate was conceded in spirit in some of the political institutions, the expansion of separate electorate must not be forced and communal representation should be confined to the narrowest possible limits.

Now, Sir, even now we have got joint electorates in municipalities and district boards, representation of members to the Upper House by this House and in many other places. And I challenge contradiction when I say that these joint electorates have not worked unsuccessfully and they are giving at least very good results if not better than the communal electorate that is sought to be introduced in this Bill. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Hear, hear.)

So far as the system of communal electorates is concerned, after all Mr. Fazlur Rahman himself has admitted that in the Dacca University although the system of communal electorate prevails to a very great extent appointments are never made on the communal basis. Why insist then on this system of communal electorates? If after separate electorate, they sit down together and keep in view the supreme needs of education, why introduce something to which at least a section of the people takes so much exception? Please remember that so far as the system of communal electorate is concerned the Hindu community to a man is opposed to the system of communal and separate electorates. They have no objection to the reservation of seats for Muslims, but they want that Muslims and Hindus should sit down together round a table and select representatives in whose hands will be entrusted the best interests of the country in educational matters.

Now, Sir, considering the position of separate electorates in this Bill, it is for the first time that it has been introduced after the Bill of 1940. Sir, if I remember aright, seven representatives of head masters would be members of the Board—4 Hindus and 3 Muslims. The three Muslims are to be elected by Muslim head masters whose number may be 25 or 30, and the four Hindus are to be elected by an electorate of 700 or 800. Now, Sir, consider whether there was any just reason for a departure from the provisions of the Bill of 1940 in this respect. Today there is a storm of protest simply on account of this provision of separate electorate in the representation of head masters in the Board. After all, we are launching upon a very great experiment. It is needed that the goodwill of all sections should be harnessed to the cause in order that the scheme might thrive and prosper. If at the very beginning, you embark on something like a controversy I am sure it will not be difficult for members of this House to realise that the Secondary Education Board which will be established will not be meeting smooth waters. So far as communal electorate is concerned, I have already said that there are certain matters in which separate electorates have been introduced. Take the case of the legislatures where the membership is based on a franchise of 6 annas in a year. Here it is not education or property or anything but practically something just above the universal franchise and on that basis it is provided that the minorities or those who

cannot sufficiently protect their own interests should have separate electorates. My friend Mr. Tamizuddin Khan states that separate electorates have come to stay. With the utmost possible respect to Mr. Tamizuddin Khan I declare my own firm conviction that separate electorates are coming to see their end very soon. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition benches.) It will be the result of the Great War. The Great War will bring freedom and liberty to the world and it will put an end to the system of separate electorates. My reason is very simple. This war will be won mainly through the magnificent service which Russian troops have rendered as compared with the fighting forces of other nations. Sir, it was the Russian army that has saved India. Russians will have a great say in making the future constitution of India and other countries—Russian, American and British statesmen. And as far as I can see into the future, I believe the future electorates will neither be joint electorates nor separate electorates but very likely electorates based on adult suffrage—whether male or female. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition benches.) That is very likely the future outlook as it appears to me. Therefore separate electorates may continue as long as the war continues which is not very long, because I believe the war will come to an end sooner than many people realise. But with the end of the war, there will be an end of separate electorates. When we are going to build a new structure, we should not ask for the protection of this community or that community, this interest or that interest. And therefore it is much better to take courage in both hands and proceed along the line of least resistance In 1940—I am glad when I see Mr. Suhrawardy here—Mr. Suhrawardy was in the Cabinet, and I had the privilege, the honour and the opportunity of receiving his advice on all important matters. Mr. Suhrawardy pointed out to me that the system of separate electorate will bring nothing but mischief and that we should not have this anomaly. Whereas in 1940 Sir Nazimuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy, Nawab Musharruff Hossain and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan and Mr Khwaja Shahabuddin, Chief Whip, all preferred joint electorate to separate electorate, (Cries of "Question" from the ministerialist benches.) they have now turned round and made drastic changes introducing separate electorates in this Bill.

Sir, I will make an earnest appeal to them after I have made my submissions. I do not want to raise any controversial issue. My submission before the House is very simple and I am coming to that presently.

Now, Sir, I do not wish to say anything further about separate electorates at the present moment. But there is one difficulty in the way of this Bill. I ask the Hon'ble Education Minister to take that into his consideration before he proceeds further with this Bill. Sir, it is evident that a Secondary Education Board is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end and it is intended to put education in all secondary schools on a sound and satisfactory basis so that those who have received secondary education may derive the best possible advantage from college education. What is the condition of things in our secondary schools in the country at the present moment? Everybody knows that the whole system is most deplorable because it is underfed and it is undernourished. There is lack of funds. Practically the most important question that has got to be solved if you want to put secondary education on a satisfactory basis is the question of funds. Go to any secondary school, go to any madrasah, and you will find that it is very difficult to distinguish the building of a secondary school from a cowshed: the thatched roofs, mud walls all eaten by ants, no furniture, no books, no library. On one occasion I went to a secondary school and found a sort of map of India drawn by the teacher hung up in the class-room and you will be surprised to hear that in that map Sundarbans was shown north-west of Calcutta. That is the kind of education they impart. On one occasion an Inspector of Schools went to inspect a secondary school. He asked one of the most prominent boys to explain the phenomena of day and night. The boy said, "Sir, when the sun goes round the earth............" and things

of that kind. The Inspector was horrified and said: "What are you talking—the sun going round the earth? Who taught you that rubbish?" The boy replied, "Please, Sir, our teacher." The teacher was there and the Inspector turned to him and said, "Did you teach him that nonsense?" The teacher replied: "What is the good of saying that to me? I know what it is. But I cannot make the earth go round the sun on rupees six a month. That is impossible." That is the kind of education they impart. It is all a question of funds. After you have provided for funds, then come and take up the question of secondary education.

Now, I come to a very important point and I ask the Hon'ble Chief Minister and the Hon'ble Education Minister to take my words into their consideration. It is evident that after the secondary schools have worked under the Secondary Education Board, there must be something like a School-Leaving examination. It should be controlled either by the Board or by the University. If you leave that to be controlled by the Calcutta University it is no use setting up the Board because the Calcutta University will set up its standard and will sell books and secondary education will be more unsatisfactory, if it is unsatisfactory at all, than it is now. If you take away from the Calcutta University the right of examining boys for admission to the University, you take away from the Calcutta University at least a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs a year. You have got to compensate the Calcutta University for that and if you do not come to some agreement with the Calcutta University on that point you can have this Bill passed into an Act, you can have it passed through the Upper House later and you can get the Governor's assent, but this Act will not work The Secondary Education Board will not come into existence at all because the Calcutta University, you will do well to remember, is a Hindu-ridden University, and you have scratched the Hindus the wrong way. They may say, "We do not admit your boys into our Colleges, they must sit for our Matriculation examination." In that case, the Muslim boys and the Scheduled Caste boys will have to go through a test examination. It will mean that there is the School Final examination and there is also the Matriculation examination. I submit, therefore, before you think of having a Secondary Education Act placed on the Statute Book you should come to some agreement with the Calcutta University. The Calcutta University will surrender their right of having the Final Examination and also the right of prescribing text-books if you compensate them for the losses they will sustain. Remember that the income of the Calcutta University comes chiefly from fees and text-books which are practically their main sources of income. You have got to compensate them. If you compensate them by mutual agreement, then there is no difficulty and all things will go on well. I, therefore, think that before the Bill is proceeded with, there should be some sort of understanding with the Calcutta University.

Without criticising the Bill in any respect, without saying anything either for or against the Bill, I ask the Hon'ble Chief Minister and I make an earnest appeal to him to consider if the Cabinet should not consent to a consideration of the Bill by a Select Committee for a very short period and utilise that period for coming to an agreement with the Calcutta University regarding the compensation and the School Final Examination. The situation is this. If you do not refer it to a Select Committee, if you oppose the motion for reference to a Select Committee, you would be able to carry it by force of numbers and I have no doubt that you will be able to carry the Bill in this House and in the Upper House and that it will be placed on the Statute Book. But remember you have to reckon with the Calcutta University and I think I heard an expression from the Hon'ble Education Minister to the effect that this Bill would rot be given effect to or that the Secondary Education Board would not be functioning before he introduced another Bill for the amendment of the Calcutta University Act. This means that another and more controversial Bill is forthcoming. Perhaps the Bill

of the future would mean officialisation of the Calcutta University. I do not know if any one who looks upon the Calcutta University as his *alma mater* will consent to the officialisation of the Calcutta University. You will raise an agitation in the country hundred times more violent than the agitation that is now raging over the Secondary Education Bill. Therefore, Sir, consider a few alternatives. If you go on as you are going on now—today it is the 24th of May—you may be able to pass this Bill in this House by the end of this month and by the middle of July you will be able to get the assent of the Governor. If you accept my advice the passing of the Act will be delayed by only a month. Nobody can guarantee if it goes to a Select Committee that it will come out in such a way that it will not meet with any opposition in the House. It may be that the Ministry will have at least one good argument that it gave the Opposition a chance to come to some kind of understanding with the Ministers from their point of view.

In this respect I have got an earnest appeal to make to members of the European Group who are all away except Mr. Stark. (A VOICE: Mr. Wordsworth is sitting there.) Mr. Wordsworth is now sitting in the Opposition. I also appeal to him to consider the great part they have got to play when a legislation of a controversial character is before the House.

Now, Sir, the European group are very touchy when it is said that the Ministers have surrendered to the Europeans or they have surrendered to the Ministers. We say that the Ministers are scratching the backs of Europeans and that the Europeans are scratching the backs of the Ministers. The origin of the expression is that there were two very fat men who could not scratch themselves. So there was an agreement between them that fat man No. 1 would scratch the back of fat man No. 2 and that fat man No. 2 would scratch the back of fat man No. 1. So, Sir, here also there is an agreement that the Ministers, fat men No. 1, would scratch the back of the Europeans, fat men No. 2, and the Europeans, fat men No. 2, would scratch the back of the Ministers, fat men No. 1. Dr. Sanyal said that there was a sort of agreement between them which, of course, the Europeans repudiated strongly.

Now, Sir, one point we should remember. There need not be any agreement between the Ministers and the Europeans. It reminds me of a few lines of Tennyson:—

"Star to star vibrates light,
May not soul to soul speak
Through a finer element
Of their own."

Sir, it is not a question of surrender, it is a question of mutuality and they understand each other's heart all right.

Now, Sir, I expected and I do expect that in a crucial moment like this when the whole cause of education in Bengal seems to be in a crisis, when we are really at a point on which a conflict may break out both inside the House and outside, it is the duty of the European group to throw the whole weight of their influence on the side where justice lies. Our proposal for Select Committee is so just and apparently fair that if any member would vote against it he would vote against his conscience. If the Bill will be passed into law, it will be passed in June or July. But if there is a short Select Committee we may have an opportunity of pointing out to that small body some of the glaring defects in the Bill and the Bill may be passed in August. I submit that in these circumstances the European group will rise to the height of the occasion and will consider very seriously whether they should vote with the Ministers automatically or they should consider whether this proposal for the Select Committee is fair and just.

I think, Sir, I should not take the time of the House any longer. But, Sir, I have got one proposal to make. If you want separate electorate in educational matters, why not have a separate Muslim University with

separate funds? Let there be an allotment of Rs. 50,00,000 every year for a Muslim University and school and college and everything. I may tell the House that while I was in office I had a Bill drafted and ready for the establishment of a Muslim University. So, my question is, if you want to have separate electorate in matters of education, why not have an entirely separate Muslim education so that there may not be any conflict between the two major communities. Let us see how it works, but why throw yourselves on the Hindus like this and say, "I won't submit to this; I won't agree to this" and thus create conflict in all matters, even in educational matters.

Sir, it must not be thought that I am backing up the cause of the Hindus. Reference of the Bill to a Select Committee is not wanted by the Hindus alone but by a large section of the Muslims as well.

Before I conclude, I would ask the Hon'ble Minister for Education to explain to this House why they have departed from the non-communal policy that was adopted in the Bill of 1940 and have adopted the communal policy of the present Bill. The Hon'ble Minister should explain why they have not come to an agreement with the University before launching this Bill. The Minister should also explain what will happen if the Calcutta University gives obstruction to the Bill. I consider that to take up this Bill before any agreement has been reached with the University is something like putting the cart before the horse: it is something preposterous. I hope that the Education Minister will be pleased to give a satisfactory reply on all these points.

Sir, I do not wish to say anything further than this. We are certainly not against the improvement of secondary education. I am reminded of a fallacy. A man was asked: Have you ceased beating your mother? He could neither say "Yes" nor say "No". So our reply to this Bill can neither be "Yes" nor "No". My attitude is this: I want an improvement of secondary education, I want a Secondary Education Board to be established; and I want a Secondary Education Bill to be passed with the least resistance possible, and for that I want that the Bill of 1940 be restored so that we may have the consummation of our desire, namely, the establishment of a Secondary Education Board promptly to place secondary education in Bengal on a sound and satisfactory basis (Loud applause from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish I could congratulate the honourable Leader of the Opposition, who has just addressed the House, on the subject-matter of his speech as much as on the delivery of it. Mr. Deputy Speaker, a large portion of the speech was a dissertation on Separate and Joint Electorates; and the rest of it an approbation of the Bill we are discussing. If I quote the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, on the subject of Separate Electorates, in his earlier years, which he may now call his years of indiscretion, honourable members in the House will, perhaps, understand that he was talking with the biggest tongue in his cheek. We are told, and there are men in this House who have followed Muslim politics from the very day when the idea of taking a deputation to Lord Minto took shape in the minds of the Mussalmans, that they demanded Separate Electorates for the legislatures alone. This is incorrect. The demand has always been separation along the whole line in every representative body, including municipalities and district boards. We had to surrender here and submit there because of our weakness. I shall produce the ex-Premier of Bengal himself to support my argument. When speaking on the Calcutta Corporation Bill, brought by his own Cabinet before this House—and the Calcutta Corporation is not a legislative body—the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq had said on the floor of the House and as Chief Minister, "Sir, no Mussalman can ever expect to be returned from a joint electorate unless he subscribes to the Congress doctrine or puts himself forward as a Congress candidate. Therefore, in an election like this a man who will be elected will not be the representative of the vast majority of the

Mussalmans who are anti-Congress but of that small minority of Mussalmans who belong to the Congress and who form a very small minority of the Muslim community." That, Sir, is Separate Electorate to its very logical end.

You will perhaps recall, Mr. Deputy Speaker, that the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, as Education Minister, read a long statement to the House of many foolscap sheets for over 80 minutes on the Bill we are now discussing and which he has himself called his own baby with only this difference that Separate Electorates have been introduced into it by Mr. Tamizuddin Khan. Even then, the present Leader of the Opposition said, "There are, it is true, elections to the Senate by the registered graduates and faculties——

The Hon'ble Mr. Khwaja SHAHABUDDIN: You are reading from the official proceedings on the Secondary Education Bill?

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I do not wish to leave honourable gentlemen opposite in any doubt. This is the official record of the 8th Session, in 1940. He had then said, "Sir, so far as I can ascertain, not a single Muslim has ever been returned by these electorates. Even Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda was badly defeated by an undistinguished Hindu candidate simply because the Hindu graduates would not vote for a Muslim even of the eminence of the Nawab. A similar fate awaited Dr. A. F. Rahman, when he stood for election to the then Bengal Legislative Council from the Dacca University. Yet we are asked to trust ballot boxes in overwhelmingly non-Muslim constituencies for a satisfactory representation of Muslim interests." I make a present of that to the gentlemen who claim Mr. Fazlul Huq as their great and unerring leader today. You can fool a man once, you can fool a man twice, but you cannot go on fooling the world always.

I am sorry I have to call members by name. I do not remember the names of their constituencies. In the statement Mr. Fazlul Huq has made today, Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee would have found many *suppressio veri* and *assertios falsi*. The man is trying to kill his own baby. That does not matter to him because his great quality in public life, as described to me personally by a gentleman sitting opposite, has been inconsistency from beginning to end. He has got a short memory; forgets what he said yesterday and has developed the capacity to utter something quite new contrary to that today. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What were you yesterday?) His memory is also very convenient, for the simple reason that he has to please not one but perhaps half a dozen masters today. Mr. Fazlul Huq, while talking about the Secondary Education Bill, was talking with fear in his heart because, if I have understood him right, there was hardly any point of difference between him and myself and yet he dare not say things openly. I am prepared to grant that he has still got some regard for the poor Muslim of Bengal who has been denied even the right to be educated. Member after member has stood up from the Opposition benches and run down not only Pakistan but Islamic culture, Islamic civilisation, Islamic this and Islamic that. They consider themselves to be heaven-born sons of god and look down upon the Mussalman in Bengal simply because, as I was told by an honourable member sitting before me this moment, "he is a convert to Islam from low classes and, therefore, unworthy of sitting with us." (Interruptions from Opposition benches.) I am prepared to name the gentleman who said that to me. No man can stand up in this Assembly and challenge my statement. (Interruptions from Opposition benches.) Sir, my Muslim brother may be a convert from low classes in their eyes—and I question the statement most categorically—but he is still my brother one hundred per cent. and possesses as good and as important a status, perhaps better, than any man in Bengal.

The whole opposition to this Bill is neither technical, nor intellectual nor honest for the good reason, as Mr. Fazlul Huq has pointed out, that it is all a question of money. He has appraised it at 16 lakhs. I go higher

and put it at 40 lakhs. The fear would appear to be that by the establishment of a Secondary Education Board, the Calcutta University will lose not only the fees of the Matriculation Examination, which it has been practically assured, but it will lose the patronage—and that is the more important aspect of the case—over the appointment of examiners, paper-setters, moderators and a thousand and one variety of seducing young men to be Professors and Lecturers and Readers who live on the crumbs thrown out to them by the University. That is not all and that, perhaps, is not the biggest item in the patronage account of the University. There is the Text-Book Committee. They are afraid that their pets of the Text-Book Committee—the authors, the note-makers, the note-printers, the note-sellers and paper merchants—will lose their incomes. It means, Sir, lakhs upon lakhs of rupees through which political influence is brought to bear upon the whole public of Bengal to run the Muslim down and to keep him out of his legitimate position. (Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: You are talking nonsense.)

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have tolerated a good many of these remarks and I expect you, Sir, to protect me. I will not tolerate remarks which have been allowed to go unchecked.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: You are talking communalism and talking nonsense.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, I demand your protection.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I hope there will be no disturbance.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: He is blind; he cannot see what the Calcutta University has done for the Muslims.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, you must stop them. It is your duty to stop them. I shall not allow a single minute of mine to be lost. They create these disturbances to rob me of my limited time in minutes although Mr. Speaker has given them hours and almost twenty days at a stretch, to malign us and to insult us to their hearts' content. Sir, it is their well-defined policy not to listen to truth; it is also their well-laid policy to interfere with our speeches. It is their defeatism today that makes them behave as they are doing. Let Mr. Fazlul Huq once more stand up. (Interruptions from Opposition benches.)

Sir, I will not tolerate this. I seek your protection.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: If things are allowed to go on in this way, it is impossible for me to control the House. I give you a warning not to disturb any speaker.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have risen not to indulge in irrelevancies as they have done, nor to break the rules of this Parliament of ours. Islam and Muslims have been abused in the filthiest language. (Uproar.) Sir, we Muslims are very humble people but we have been insulted and humiliated in language which you and Mr. Speaker alone could tolerate. I shall not stoop to their level, because I am a gentleman. But, Sir, they will have to listen to what I have to say. I shall appeal to you, Sir, not to take away any minutes of mine——

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: You are talking irrelevantly. (Uproar and interruptions from both sides.)

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, these gentlemen disturb us purposely (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Because you cannot speak anything but nonsense.) because Government today is ours. They are trying to wreak their vengeance upon the poor Muslims whom they have denied education for all these decades, almost over a century. Perhaps it is the guilty conscience of having kept the majority of this province uneducated, of

having denied them the chance to better their condition, that, instead of making them ashamed of themselves, is egging them on to more and more vindictiveness. They shall not succeed. I would appeal to these gentlemen, if they are gentlemen, not to run me down falsely as a convert from the low classes. They can talk of their own ancestiy as much as they like. I do not mind if they talk of Alexander the Great or of Darius Hystaspes or of even of their ancient home in their Arctic. Government today is ours. It was theirs only yesterday. If they represented the public, if they claimed to represent the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, I claim, we represent them a thousand times better.

Mr. ATUL KRISHNA GHOSE: I rise on a point of order.

Sir, I would like to know from you whether any Muhammadan gentleman who comes from outside Bengal has got any right to speak in this way that because they are converts from low class of Hindus——

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, Order. That is no point of order. I hope you will not misuse the privilege of rising on a point of order. (Uproar and cries of "Hear, hear" from the Coalition benches.)

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: Sir, I happen to be a Muslim and whether I come from outside Bengal or China or Turkey or Timbucktoo, I can and I have the right to speak on behalf of my Muslim brothers. This simple thing, the arctic home of my friends, has not been able to teach them through the ages. They believe in compartments and that is why we have got the "Scheduled Castes" still among us. (Uproar and interruptions.) I do not mind their calling me names. That does not bother me at all. I want them to realise that for the last two and half weeks they have, in the agony of their hearts over the financial losses they fear the Bill will bring them, attacked this Bill bitterly and violently, but they have not yet told us why they grudge us our share in the education of our boys and girls. We have realised that for almost a hundred years, they have given us nothing in the way of education. Why do they obstruct us in teaching our own boys and girls after all these long years? The Hon'ble the Leader of the Opposition has knocked the bottom out of their case, Mr. Deputy Speaker, by talking of a Muslim University to control the education of the Muslims in the primary, secondary and collegiate stages. He has even a draft Bill in his pocket on the subject. I place my services at his disposal, if they are worth anything, for the achievement of that object. Let the Fazlul Huq of yesterday, and even of today, command my services. I am for the University but a University, as he knows, has nothing to do with secondary education. A University is for higher education. We are out to secure our share in the control of secondary education to the extent of our numbers in the population. I wish the Hon'ble Minister, who has inherited the legacies of the 1940 and 1942 Bills, had mustered courage and given us a position on the Board and its Executive according to our ratio in the population. I am prepared to allow the Bill to go through on the condition that, whether I live to see it or not, some Muslim brother of mine will some day in the future, remove the injustices and inequities of this Bill in favour of my Muslim brothers and sisters. Mr. Fazlul Huq wants in his Muslim University a 100 per cent. control. We are grudged by his caste-Hindu followers even 50 per cent. in the proposed Board. We have kept quiet for a long time. We do not possess a powerful Press and we certainly do not possess the mentality with which Mr. Fazlul Huq today knocks in his present position of a mendicant, I do not know for what reason, at the gates of those gentlemen who hate him from the innermost regions of their hearts. (Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir Nazimuddin knocked at the doors of Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu.) Sir Nazimuddin is a giant and has seldom behaved as a pigmy. (Uproar and interruptions.)

Sir, the original sin of the parents, and not the wounds and ulcers he spoke of, still sticks to Mr. Fazlul Huq's baby. It will have to be expurgated, if not today then whenever the time for it comes. I want Mr. Fazlul Huq, just for once to read his long statement on the Secondary Education Bill of 1940, and then tell me whether we have understood and carried out his wishes better or those who are fooling him by calling themselves his devoted and loyal followers? Is it really the Russian communistic regime that he wants or is it that he wants to take his Muslim brothers back to the teachings of thirteen hundred years ago, which lay down the law of brotherhood, the law of how to treat the world in a spirit of friendliness and peace? May I beg of him, through you, and tell him that the road he has taken will lead him to Turkistan. Sir, it will be wise of him, even at his time of life, to revive his faith in Islam and its teachings and principles. The association of a year or two should not have carried him away from Muhammad and made Stalin a demi-god in his eyes. If I cannot live as a Muslim, I would rather die than see Islam devoured by this communistic nonsense or accept communism as higher than the teachings of Islam which were given to us a thousand and three hundred years ago. I hope, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I have shown the right way and the straight path to our old leader Mr. Fazlul Huq.

May I point out that the arguments used by several speakers in the Opposition about the officialization of the Board and the influence of the State on this Board, are meaningless. Sir there will be 8 officials in a Board of 53, and when the Inspectorate is established this number will be reduced by 2, that is——(Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: What about nominated members?) In the Executive Council there will be 5 Government officials out of 21 and when the Inspectorate comes into being they will be reduced by 2. In the Recognition and Grants Committee there will be 3 officials out of 9, and when reduced by 2 there will be one official as against 8. In the Examinations Committee there will be 7 out of 21, which when reduced by 2 will be 5 in 21. Officials, Sir, are long-term educationists as you and I are political educationists. I am certain that in time, after the working of this Board has been examined more fully, we may come to the conclusion to appoint more officials. Another point to which Mr. Wordsworth referred in his beautiful speech to-night, is that the tendency is now growing in every part of the world that the State should take more and more control over education because public instruction is a function of the State. The new English law and the great international law now being prepared by Mr. Cordell Hull and the American Congress show us the way how. (Interruption.) If they do not understand my argument it is not my fault. I will not try to take them out of the bog of ignorance they are in. As a matter of fact if they were only true to themselves, if they were only true to the principles, which I have held all my life time both as a Congressman and as a Muslim Leaguer, they will find that our Secondary Education Board will be the least controlled board in the world, in matters educational. I would again appeal to them not to grudge me my right to control the education of my boys and girls. They have been tried and found wanting. They denied us education. They have kept us out of it. The whole history of the Calcutta University, as given by Mr. Fazlul Huq himself, on several occasions and also the case of Nawab Sir Syed Shamsul Huda—tell us that the wretched Mussalman is not wanted. The Mussalman must eat out of their hands if he must have any intellectual food. We decline to do that. The time is coming when the tables will be turned against them. I hope I shall live to see that day.

As regards Separate Electorates, Mr. Pramathanath Bannerjee was very anxious to tell us what he thought about them. The whole law of the constitution in India is based on Separate Electorates and the Mussalman will rather die than surrender to Joint Electorate or Reservations. We have seen them. I make a present of one point to him. Before the Act of 1909, if any member shows me one Muslim returned to any Provincial or the Central

Legislature through Joint Electorates in India, I shall bow to the man for his research. I have not found one. The solitary name of Nawab Syed Mohammed Sahib, of Madras, was once mentioned to me. I doubt if that is correct. The Legislative Department could not find it out for me. That is the reason why we want Separate Electorate.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: A student of history should not misrepresent facts.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: I beg of you to stop all these interruptions. The statement of Dr. Sanyal is one which requires revision and reconsideration because there is no foundation to it. Such statements may be swallowed by people whom they consider as gullible but they may catch a Tartar somewhere, some day, and I hope in me, whom they can run down as much as they like, they have caught one. The Hindu in this country is responsible for our slavery. If he had absorbed us we would never have seen this day. We would not have been laughed at by people sitting there, but selfishness—a kind of social outlook on life—is a curse that has brought us where we are. (A VOICE: Nonsense.) One can go on talking indefinitely. As Mr. Fazlul Huq told you, in spite of the arrangements between the Whips, that he wanted unlimited time, I can go on telling people how mischievous they are, how malicious they are, how vindictive and how venomous they are in their invective and how grudging they are in releasing their monopolistic grasp over education. They do not realise what repercussions this attitude of theirs will create. They do not realise that we have come to stay. The Muslim worm has turned. Their so-called low class and low-born Hindu has become the Mighty Mussalman and he will live to control the destinies of Bengal as he should. May I make an appeal to Mr. Fazlul Huq to stick, if he can, to the principles to which he has held throughout a half century, to use his influence with his present masters and not to grudge us this little advancement in education in this province. We do not want much; we are not taking anything from them. These people have been given 50 although they are not 50 while I am given 50 although I am 56 at the moment. If they do not agree to come to reason then we shall know what to do with them.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Yes, we also know how to deal with you.

Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN SIDDIQI: We are not afraid and I do want to throw out any challenge to them. In spite of what Mr. Fazlul Huq said, in spite of their control over the finances of the Calcutta University, in spite of their control over the newspapers and over the news-agencies, these people who could not control famine and who could not bring back prosperity to this land, shall live to see the day when the Mussalman is rehabilitated in his own land.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-35 p.m. till 4 p.m. on Thursday, the 25th May 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

THE ASSEMBLY met in the Assembly House, Calcutta, on Thursday, the 25th May, 1944, at 4 p.m.

Present:

Mr. Speaker (the Hon'ble Mr. SYED NAUSHER ALI), in the Chair, 13 Hon'ble Ministers and 187 members.

STARRED QUESTION

(to which oral answer was given)

Assistant Directors of Public Health.

*343. **Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Public Health and Local Self-Government Department be pleased to lay on the Table a statement showing the—

(*i*) present number of (1) temporary and (2) permanent posts of the Assistant Directors of Public Health under the Director of Public Health, Public Health Department, Bengal;

(*ii*) the number of them that are held by (1) Muslims, and (2) non-Muslims;

(*iii*) the number of Muslims in permanent chain that have not yet been made permanent; and

(*iv*) the reasons for their not being confirmed?

(*b*) Is it a fact that the service of Dr. Fahimuddin has been placed at the disposal of the Central Government?

(*c*) If so, is the Hon'ble Minister considering the desirability of filling up the post by a qualified Muslim candidate?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD (on behalf of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Jalaluddin Ahmad): (*a*) (*i*) (1) Temporary 5 and (2) Permanent 5.

(*ii*) (1) Muslims—Temporary 4 and Permanent 1 (on deputation to Government of India).

(2) Non-Muslims—Temporary 3 and Permanent 4 (one officiating as Deputy Director of Public Health).

(*iii*) Two.

(*iv*) Because no permanent vacancy has yet occurred in these two posts.

(*b*) Yes.

(*c*) A Muslim is officiating in the post.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: With reference to answer (*a*) (*ii*) (*2*), will the Hon'ble Minister please state when these permanent posts were filled up, one by one?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice about the dates of the filling up of these permanent posts.

Mr. MIRZA ABDUL HAFIZ: Will the Hon'ble Minister please state when the last permanent post was filled up?

Khan Sahib HAMIDUDDIN AHMAD: I want notice.

Holding over of questions.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the House will agree to the holding over of the rest of the questions.

(The questions were accordingly held over.)

Special Motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, may I have your leave to move a motion under rule 102 of the Assembly Procedure Rules disapproving the policy of the Hon'ble Mr. Jalaluddin Ahmad, Minister in charge of Public Health and Local Self-Government Department in respect of his withholding consent from a special motion given notice of for raising a discussion on the situation in the Province created through the ravages of Cholera and Smallpox epidemics in the present year.

Sir, I have given notice of the motion. The Hon'ble Minister has withheld his consent in utter disregard of the situation in the Province created though the ravages of epidemics. This is atrocious, and I would like to have the leave of the House to move my motion disapproving the act of the withholding of the consent.

Mr. SPEAKER: The relevant rule, I think, is rule 102. Rule 102(*2*) says, "If the Speaker is of opinion that the motion is in order and is not an abuse of the procedure provided in sub-rule (*1*), he shall read the motion to the Assembly......". So it is the duty of the Speaker to read the motion.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I have not read the motion, Sir. I have only given the purpose. The motion is there of which I have given notice.

Mr. SPEAKER: Rule 102(*2*) says, "... and shall request those members who are in favour of leave being granted to rise in their places, and if not less than eighty members rise according ......".

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, I submit that the first stage is for the Speaker to find out if the motion is in order. If the Speaker finds it to be in order, then he will kindly ask me to move the motion. Then after I move the motion, members would be called upon to rise in their places.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think this is a matter which requires examination, and you have put in this motion, I understand, just a few minutes before we came here. I think the best course in the circumstances would be to see that the matter is examined in my office; then I shall deal with it tomorrow.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: All right, Sir.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, the leave might have been asked for today as it has been done. I submit, Sir, that according to the rules this cannot be held over.

Mr. SPEAKER: A point has been raised by the Chief Whip of the Government Party. Let me see what the rules say. I have been taken by surprise. We have got very urgent business today and I was not ready for this. In fact, it was handed over to my Secretary just a few minutes before we were to sit and I could not look into the rules. I have taken a few precious minutes of the House in looking into the rules. On the face of the rules, it appears that when leave is asked for, I have got to take certain steps and the steps are: "If the Speaker is of opinion that the motion is in order and is not an abuse of the procedure provided in sub-rule (*1*), he shall read the motion to the Assembly and shall request those members who are in favour of leave being granted to rise in their places. and if not less than

eighty members rise accordingly, the Speaker shall intimate that leave is granted and that the motion will be taken on such day, not being more than ten days from the day on which leave is asked, as he may appoint. If less than eighty members rise, the Speaker shall inform the member that he has not the leave of the Assembly." This is what rule 102(*2*) says.

Now, rule 102(*1*) says: "A motion expressing want of confidence in the Council of Ministers or in a particular Minister or a motion disapproving the policy of a Minister in a particular respect may be made subject to the following restrictions, namely:—

(*a*) leave to make the motion must be asked for after questions and before the list of business for the day is entered upon;

(*b*) the member asking for leave must, before the commencement of the sitting of the day, leave with the Secretary a written notice of the motion which he proposes to make."

Now, reading the different parts of rule 102, it appears to me that what is intended is that the Speaker should decide on the very day on which leave is asked for whether the motion is in order and shall also ask for leave of the House on that very day. There is no negative provision here that it cannot be done on any other day, but reading the rule as it is, it appears that it should be done on that very sitting. Of course, this motion was handed over to the Secretary at a very late hour and consequently neither my office nor myself had an opportunity of scrutinising the motion. It is very difficult for me to give any opinion about the admissibility or otherwise thereof, but still as I see for myself it should be done on that very day because the subsequent part of sub-rule (*2*) says definitely that the motion will be taken on such day, not being more than ten days from the day on which leave is asked. It may be stated that if this matter is postponed, the ten days should be counted from the day on which leave is asked. That is, of course, not inconsistant. The real trouble is whether I can do it here and now. That is the real position.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: You can do it. Now, whether it is obligatory for you to do it now, that is the question.

Mr. SPEAKER: Certainly. Whether I should do it here and now, that is the real position. If I can do it here and now, I should not ordinarily postpone the matter. That is my own honest conviction without going into this matter more carefully, but let me now look into the matter carefully. I thought there would be no objection from any side with regard to this matter because I was hopeful of a settlement to be frank and I asked the Chief Whip of the Government and Dr. Sanyal to meet together to talk over this matter and see if this matter can be settled amicably. It is with regard to consent being withheld.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, so far as I am concerned, I am perfectly prepared to be on the look-out for some honourable settlement and the only settlement that is here submitted for is the consent of the Minister-in-charge to take up the matter tomorrow—a non-official day—without infringing upon Government business and that is how I feel the matter can be settled in one minute. I submit, Sir, that the matter is of very grave importance to the whole of Bengal where a large number of people are dying daily from cholera and smallpox. I have no intention of raising a matter of no-confidence, but Sir, I feel very embarrassed because I have no other alternative under the rules. I am prepared to come up again tomorrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: Dr. Sanyal is absolutely clear now. He does not mean real no-confidence motion. If that is so, it can be settled up and I hope you will be in a position to settle it by the prayer time.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Sir, it is really not a genuine motion as would appear from the speech of the Chief Whip of the Congress Party. Therefore, it is an abuse of the procedure and by putting pressure on the Government by resorting to this abuse of procedure, he wants to have consent. No question of settlement does arise when the Chief Whip of the Congress Party resorts to a method which is questionable.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: Sir, it is extremely regrettable that the offer of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal has been seized upon by the Chief Whip of the Government to hurl abuses upon him with regard to this motion. He proceeded to deal with this matter in a perfectly *bona fide* and open-hearted manner making it perfectly clear that if the Hon'ble Minister sticks to his attitude of withdrawing his consent from this motion, then the question of no-confidence certainly arises and it will be a perfectly *bona fide* and not a spurious motion. This is the attitude which Dr. Sanyal has taken up. Well, if that course is adopted, even now Dr. Sanyal says he has no intention of pressing the matter of no-confidence. On the other hand, if consent is withheld, certainly he will press the matter as a matter of no-confidence. He has considerable reason on his side. It is not a spurious motion at all so far as Dr. Sanyal's statement is concerned to which the whole House has listened just now.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I can pass over this matter up to the prayer time. I will consider it during the prayer time and will give my decision afterwards.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Mr. Speaker, may I just say a few words. Government is not afraid of any motion. The question is if the motion——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. The Minister in charge of Public Health has, as I have already submitted, a swelled head and in this particular matter he is not the Government. I have not criticised any action of the Government.

Khan Sahib Maulvi MAFIZUDDIN AHMAD: Sir, he must withdraw the expression.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not like any further discussion on the matter.

Mr. A. F. STARK: Will this be expunged from the proceedings?

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: He must withdraw. Is it a parliamentary word?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have said many times that English is not our mother-tongue. I have never in my whole life used that expression and I do not know whether that expression is parliamentary or unparliamentary.

Dr. ABDUL MOTALEB MALIK: Then ask everybody to speak in Bengali so that we can understand our mother-tongue.

Mr. SPEAKER: Suppose for a moment a member of the Opposition says that a certain Minister is off his head or his brain is not quite in order, will that be unparliamentary?

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Not at all.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Moreover, it is perfectly parliamentary for a Minister to be as swelled-headed as possible!

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: On a point of order, Sir. May I draw your attention to a definite rule that no member should pass any reflection on any member of this House in the course of any statement that he makes in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I know there is a rule which speaks of personal aspersion or something like that. It is always desirable that no member should use any disparaging or offensive expression.

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, will it be parliamentary if it is said that Dr. Sanyal is a block-head?

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot say off-hand whether that expression is parliamentary or unparliamentary.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: Will you allow me to make my submission? In reply to Dr. Sanyal's remark I say that he has got a swelled head——

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi JALALUDDIN AHMAD: I would only explain my position that Government is not afraid of the special motion. The motion was handed over on the assumption that epimedic of cholera and smallpox has increased; on the other hand, contrary is the fact. I cannot accept it. Not only that; Government has not the time to collect the figures. My Department is not in a position to do that If Dr. Sanyal puts a short-notice question to know exactly what the position is in regard to the epidemic of cholera and smallpox, I am quite prepared to give all the details, and Dr. Sanyal should not be more anxious as to the health of the people than the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think we should now begin our ordinary business of the House today.

GOVERNMENT BILL.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944.

Mr. BANKIM MUKERJEA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, এ পর্যান্ত যাদের কোনো কেউ বলেনি,—আমি এমন একটা শ্রেণীকে represent করি এবং সেই শ্রেণীর এই Secondary Education Bill সম্বন্ধে আপাততঃ কোন স্বার্থ নেই, কেন না এই সর্ব্বহারা শ্রেণীর লোকদের ভিতর একজনেরও সম্প্রতি secondary education লাভের সুযোগ হবে না। অবশ্য তাদের এ বিষয়ে স্বার্থ আছে,—যদি primary education বাস্তবিক পক্ষে free এবং compulsory হয় এবং যদি secondary education সুলভ ও প্রসারিত হয়, তাহলে তারাও হয়ত একদিন secondary educationএর সুযোগ গ্রহণ করিতে পারিবে; কিন্তু সম্প্রতি তার কোন আশা দেখি না; এবং এই বিলের ভিতর দিয়ে এ রকম কোন পরিকল্পনা আমি দেখ্‌তে পাইনি। যা হোক, আমি আজ তাই সাধারণ নাগরিক হিসেবেই প্রথমে এই বিলটী আলোচনা করবার জন্য চেষ্টা করছি।

কাল মিঃ ইস্‌রাইল থেকে আরম্ভ করে মিঃ ওয়ার্ডস্‌ওয়ার্থ পর্যান্ত সবাই বলেছেন—যথেষ্ট আলোচনা হয়ে গেছে,—এটাকে circulationএ এবং select committeeতে দেবার জন্য—১৯৪০ সাল থেকে। আমাকে দুঃখের সঙ্গে জানাতে হচ্চে—আলোচনা শেষ হওয়া তো দূরের কথা, আরম্ভই হয়নি। ১৯৪০ সাল থেকে একটা বিল আনা হয়েছে—আমাদের সাম্‌নে, এবং তখন থেকেই এই আলোচনা চলছে যে এই শিক্ষা বোর্ডে সাম্প্রদায়িক অনুপাতটা কি হবে,—কেবল ভোটের উপর দিয়েই আলোচনা যা কিছু চলেছে। সমস্ত বাংলা দেশের জন্য শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে কি পরিকল্পনার প্রয়োজন,—মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাটা বাঙ্গালী সমাজের প্রয়োজনীয়তা ও চাহিদা অনুসারে কোন্‌ দিকে যাওয়া প্রয়োজন, কি কোরে সমাজের প্রয়োজনীয়তার সঙ্গে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষাকে সংযুক্ত করা যেতে পারে—যেগুলি হচ্ছে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষায় চিন্তার ও আলোচনার বিষয়—সে বিষয়ে গোড়া থেকে অর্থাৎ বিলটা আনার সময় থেকে কোন আলোচনাই হয়নি এবং হচ্চেও না।

কথা উঠেছে vested interest সম্বন্ধে। অমন যে vested interest বাংলা দেশের চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত তার সম্বন্ধে কোন বিল আসে না। একটা হয়েছিল সে সম্বন্ধে কমিশন, তারপর হয়েছে বড় একটা কমিটি, তার findingই বা হলো কি—সে সম্বন্ধে কোন উচ্চ বাচ্য নেই, অথচ যত vested interestএর কথা ওঠে educationএর বেলায়। Education আজ বাংলা দেশে এমন একটা জিনিষ তার সম্বন্ধে কমিটি বসিয়ে তার সব দিক পরীক্ষা কোরে ভালো কোরে সব দিকে দৃষ্টি প্রসারিত কোরে বুঝে দেখা উচিত, দুঃখের বিষয় তা দেখা হয়নি। এ বিষয়ে মস্ত বড় পরিবর্ত্তন হয়েছে ৪২ সন থেকে, এ সম্বন্ধে যে নূতন অবস্থার উদ্ভব হয়েছে তার সম্বন্ধে আপনারা কতখানি অবগত আছেন? জানেন আপনারা এই বাংলা দেশের মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা কতখানি লুপ্ত হয়ে এসেছে? Students' Federation বাংলাদেশের একটা census নিয়েছিল। স্কুলের যে census নিয়েছিল তাতে দেখা গেছে শতকরা ২০টা স্কুল বন্ধ হয়ে গেছে এবং যে স্কুলগুলি আছে তাতেও শতকরা ৪০ জন ছাত্রের attendance কমে গিয়েছে। শিক্ষকদের ভিতরও শতকরা ৩৩।৩৪ জন তাদের বৃত্তি ত্যাগ করেছে, কারণ তাদের আর সেই শিক্ষকতা বৃত্তিতে পোষায় না। তারপরে গত বৎসর থেকে যা হয়েছে কাপড়ের অভাব তার ফলে অনেক ছাত্রের স্কুলে আসা বন্ধ হয়েছে। তার পরে রয়েছে মহামারির প্রকোপ। গত বৎসরের মন্বন্তরে দেশের যে কি সাংঘাতিক অবস্থা পরিবর্ত্তন হয়েছে সেটা কারো অবিদিত নেই। তার উপর নানা রকমের আনুসঙ্গিক রোগ—ম্যালেরিয়া, কলেরা, বসন্ত প্রভৃতিতে বাংলা দেশের জীবন ও জীবনীশক্তি নষ্ট করে দিয়েছে, তা থেকে অবশ্য ছাত্রেরাও বাদ পড়েনি। এই যে একটা নতুন সমস্যা, এ সমস্যার সমাধান গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে সম্ভব নয়; এমন কি এ সমস্যার সমাধান বোধ হয় সমস্ত বাঙ্গালীর মিলিত চেষ্টা দ্বারাও সম্ভব নয়। কিন্তু যে ভাবে শিক্ষার কেন্দ্রগুলি উঠে যাচ্ছে, ছাত্রকুল নির্ম্মূল হয়েছে, তার প্রতিক্রিয়ায় সমস্ত বাংলার সকল শ্রেণীর উপরে লেগেছে আঘাত। এ বিষয়ে আমি গভর্ণমেণ্টকে কি জিজ্ঞাসা করতে পারি—১৯৪৪ সনের পরিস্থিতিটা কি? অনেকগুলি স্কুল উঠে গিয়েছে, অনেকগুলি ছাত্র আজ আর পড়ে না, অনেকগুলি শিক্ষক শিক্ষকতা ছেড়ে অন্য কিছু উপার্জনের পথ ধরেছে, কারণ এ বৃত্তিতে তাদের আর পোষায় না—এ সব সম্বন্ধে আমরা কে কিবা জানি বা খবর রাখি।

তারপর প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা,—সেটাও আজ অচল হয়ে উঠেছে। এই প্রাথমিক শিক্ষা সম্বন্ধে শিক্ষা বোর্ড স্থাপিত হওয়া সত্ত্বেও বাংলার গ্রামে গ্রামে প্রাইমারী স্কুল এবং education স্থগিত হয়ে যাচ্ছে। এই যে গুরুতর অনিষ্ট আজ বাঙ্গালী সমাজের হচ্ছে চলেছে তারই জন্য আজ নূতন করে আলোচনার প্রয়োজন। তার উপর যখন বাংলার বুকের উপর থেকে গত বৎসরের মহা মন্বন্তরের গ্লানি মুছে যায়নি, এবং রয়েছে তার উপর মহামারির আক্রমণ—তখন এই জিনিষটা—এই বিতর্কমূলক বিলটা আনা ঠিক হয়নি। এই অবস্থার ভিতরেও হয়তো শিক্ষার প্রসারের প্রয়োজন আছে; কিন্তু এই বিলের ভিতর দেখতে পাই কি? এই বিলের objectএর ভিতর কি আছে! বাংলা দেশের secondary education নাকি বড়ই rapid হয়েছে বা অত্যন্ত দ্রুত বিস্তৃত হচ্ছে—বাংলা দেশের secondary educationএর সম্বন্ধে আতঙ্ক কার জানি। মাননীয় তমিজুদ্দিন খান সাহেবের নয়। এ সম্বন্ধে আতঙ্ক—তাঁর পিছনে যে রাজপুরুষটা দাঁড়িয়ে থাকে তার (laughter, hear, hear,)। বাংলা দেশের secondary education যে rapid গভর্ণমেণ্টের নিজেদের resolutionএ 1937এ তাঁরাই বলেছেন—

The result for education has been disastrous. What was bad has become worse, and what was tolerable in many instances had become bad. Improvement, long meditated and long overdue, had to be postponed indefinitely. and instead of even normal progress, there was at many points a visible retrogression অন্য স্থানে—The whole period between 1921-37 was one of

extreme difficulties. Ninth Review on the progress of education in Bengal refutes rapid overrun theory. The quinquennial in education in Bengal—"At the end of the quinquennial (1937) the position is very nearly the same—it was 15 years ago", 1922.

এই পঁচিশ বছরের ভিতর বাংলা দেশে শিক্ষার বিস্তার ঘটেনি। অথচ এই সময়ের ভিতর আর একটা দেশ সোভিয়েট রাশিয়া, সেখানে দেখতে পাই কি?—সেখানে এই সময়ের ভিতর স্কুল প্রায় ৮ গুণ বেড়ে গিয়েছে। বাংলা দেশে ছাত্র সংখ্যা সকল রকমের স্কুলের ছাত্রদের ধরে ৩৫৪,৯৬৩, অথচ বাংলায় বালকের সংখ্যা ৭০।৭৫ লক্ষ অর্থাৎ শতকরা ৫।৭টি ছাত্রও শিক্ষা পায় কিনা সন্দেহ। স্কুলের সংখ্যা এখনি ৮ গুণ বাড়ানো প্রয়োজন। রাশিয়ার লোক সংখ্যা বাংলার তিন গুণ। ১৯২১-২২ সালে সেখানকার অবস্থা আমাদের দেশের মতনই ছিল। পরে সেখানে এরকম effective educational scheme এবং সেই schemeকে কার্য্যে পরিণত করার জন্য এমন সুব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হয়েছে যে সেখানে ৮০ লক্ষ থেকে ১৯৪১ সালে ৩ কোটি ৩০ লক্ষ ছাত্র-ছাত্রীর সংখ্যা দাঁড়িয়েছিল। বাংলার লোক সংখ্যার তিন গুণ হচ্ছে রাশিয়ায়। সে অনুপাতে বাংলা দেশের ছাত্র-ছাত্রীর সংখ্যা হওয়া উচিত এক কোটি ১০ লক্ষ এবং অন্ততঃ পক্ষে এক কোটি ছাত্র-ছাত্রী যদি এদেশে দেখতে পেতাম তাহলে মেনে নিতাম যে এদেশে rapid education হয়েছে। চীনের কথা আজ এখানে বিশদ-ভাবে তোলবার আমার অবকাশ হবে না। সেখানে Adult education মাত্র ক বছরের মধ্যে এতটা উন্নতিলাভ করেছে, এখানে facts and figure দেবার সময় নেই, যা দেখলে আপনারা আশ্চর্য্য হয়ে যেতেন। চীন এবং রাশিয়া এই উভয় দেশেরই শিক্ষার এই দ্রুত উন্নতির পিছনে আমরা কি দেখতে পাই—দেখতে পাই, সুষ্ঠু পরিকল্পনা ও সেই পরিকল্পনাকে কার্য্যকরী করার জন্য ঐকান্তিক ইচ্ছা। কিন্তু এখানে এই বিলে আমাদের দেশে শিক্ষা বিস্তারের জন্য কোন plan আমরা দেখতে পাচ্ছি না। সমস্তই বিশৃঙ্খলভাবে রয়েছে। এমন কি এঁরা Government of Indiaর Educational Control Advisory Board of Educationএর reportএর পর্য্যন্ত advice নেননি। এবং বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্টেরও Post-war Reconstruction Committeeর reportটা বিবেচনা করে দেখেন নি। এবং এতে Central Education Boardএর reportও নেওয়া হয়নি। এই অবস্থায় আজ এমন একটি বিল এসেছে যে বিলের সম্পর্কে অন্য সমস্ত জিনিষের উপর প্রায়ই লোকের দৃষ্টি যায় নাই। দৃষ্টি চলেছে একমাত্র নির্ব্বাচন প্রণালীর উপর। সাম্প্রদায়িক যে পৃথক নির্ব্বাচন এরই পক্ষে এবং বিপক্ষে সমস্ত বাংলার আকাশ-বাতাস মুখরিত হয়েছে।

Mr. Speaker, Sir, আমার মনে হয় এ বিষয়ে উভয় পক্ষ যথেষ্ট ভুল করছেন। এ বিষয়ে আমি যে মনোভাব পোষণ করি, তা হয়ত আমার পার্টি'র মত নয়। কিন্তু কংগ্রেসের নীতির বাইরে নয়। এখানে বর্ত্তমানে যা নাকি চলেছে তাতে কোরে এক পক্ষের introduction-এর কোন মানে হয় না, অপর পক্ষের oppositionএরও কোন মানে হয় না। যদি তলিয়ে দেখেন—৩০টি যে elected সিট আছে তার মধ্যে ৮টি হচ্ছে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের, ১০টি যে Legislatureএর সিট আছে তাতে যদি যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন করা হয় তাহলে হিন্দুদের জায়গায় নির্ব্বাচিত হবেন—নরেন্দ্র নারায়ণ চক্রবর্ত্তী ও অতুল চন্দ্র কুমার প্রভৃতি। সেটা যে হিন্দুদের প্রতিনিধিত্ব-মূলক হবে একথা কেউ স্বীকার করবেন না। সুতরাং এখানে যদি single transferable vote দ্বারা নির্ব্বাচিত হয় তাহলে separate বা joint electionএর কথা ওঠে না। তারপর Calcutta Universityর ভিতর separate electorate আসার কোন যুক্তিযুক্ত কারণ নেই। সেখানে যদি joint electorate করা যায় তাহলে কোন ক্ষতির কারণ নেই। তারপরে য়ুরোপীয়ানদের ভোটে যে দুজন যাবেন, সে সম্বন্ধে কোন

কখনই ওঠে না। তাঁরা তো মহাপ্রভুর জাত (laughter)। তাঁরা যখন কারোসজেহ বেলাযেৰ মা সুতরাং স্বতন্ত্র নির্ব্বাচনের ব্যবস্থা তাঁদের জন্যই রয়েছে। তারপর যে রয়েছে দশটি শিক্ষক, এর ভিতর তিনটি হচ্ছেন মাদ্রাসার মৌলবী ও টোলের পণ্ডিত। টোলের পণ্ডিতদের অবস্থা একমাত্র টোলের পণ্ডিতি যারা করেন তাঁরাই জানতে পারেন, আর মাদ্রাসার পণ্ডিতদের জানেন মৌলভী সম্প্রদায়। তারপর ৭টি শিক্ষক যে রয়েছেন, তার মধ্যে ৩টি মুসলমান teacher আমি মনে করি বাংলা দেশে শিক্ষকদের যা অবস্থা তাতে হিন্দু শিক্ষক রয়েছেন বেশী সংখ্যক এবং অতি অল্প সংখ্যক রয়েছেন মুসলমান শিক্ষক। এখানে যুক্ত নির্ব্বাচন হলে মুসলমান সমাজ যদি মনে করেন যাঁরা হিন্দু সমাজের সঙ্গে বেশী মেশেন তাঁদেরই নির্ব্বাচিত হবার সম্ভাবনা বেশী তাহলে তাঁদের সেরূপ মনে করাটা আমি যুক্তিযুক্ত বলেই বিবেচনা করি। কিন্তু এই যে আজ সমস্ত বাংলার আকাশ-বাতাস কলুষিত হয়ে উঠেছে এর কি কোন প্রতিকার নেই? ১৯৪০ সালের বিলও তা আপনারাই এনেছিলেন, তখন এ জেদ ছিল না কেন? Principle নিয়ে আমরা যতই মারামারি করি না কেন আসল উদ্দেশ্যটা ভুললে চলবে না। ভারতবর্ষের মতন সম্প্রদায়ে বিভক্ত দেশে আমরা সব সময় Parliamentary principle নিয়ে চুলচেরা আলোচনা করতে পারিনে। কিন্তু আজকে দেশের সামনে সব চেয়ে বড় জিনিষ হচ্ছে ঐক্য। সেই ঐক্যের দিকে দৃষ্টি রেখে গভর্ণমেণ্টের নিকট আমি আবেদন করছি—এই বিলটাকে ৮।১০ দিনের জন্য স্থগিত রেখে জিনিষটাকে settle করবার জন্য। কিন্তু যে কথার উপর সব চেয়ে বেশী জোর দিতে চাই, সেটা হচ্ছে এই বিল সম্বন্ধে সব চেয়ে সাংঘাতিক কথা, সেটা হচ্ছে এই যে এই বিলের মধ্যে শিক্ষা developmentএর কোনও scheme নেই। যে সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ আলোচনার দরকার সেটা কোন দল থেকেই তীব্রভাবে আলোচিত না হয়ে কেবল সাম্প্রদায়িক নির্ব্বাচন পদ্ধতির উপরই সকলের দৃষ্টি আবদ্ধ করা হয়েছে। আপনারা শুধু এটাকে নিজেদের জাতীয় আকাঙ্ক্ষা পরিপূরণের খেয়ালস্বরূপে চালিয়ে ভুল করছেন। এই বিলের উপর ২০।২৫ বছর থেকে দুটো জায়গা থেকে আসছে আক্রমণ। একটা হলো অনুন্নত সম্প্রদায়ের তরফ থেকে তারা তাদের জাতীয় উন্নতির আকাঙ্ক্ষাকে পূর্ণ করার কোন পরিকল্পনায় যে সুযোগ পাচ্ছে না, এটা তাদের দিক থেকে অত্যন্ত যুক্তিযুক্ত বিক্ষোভ। যে কোন বাঙালী বুদ্ধিমান ও বিবেচক তাদের এ বিক্ষোভকে সমর্থন করবেন এ আমি বিশ্বাস করি।

অন্য দিক থেকে যে আর একটা বিক্ষোভ চলেছে সেটা হচ্ছে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের বিক্ষোভ। এই সম্পর্কে মনে পড়ে সেই notorious ফুলার সার্কুলার—"যে বন্দেমাতরম্ গান গাইবে তাকে বেতিয়ে ছেড়ে দাও"। তখন থেকেই এ দেশের শিক্ষক ও শিক্ষার্থীদের উপর সার্কুলারের উপর সার্কুলার ছড়িয়ে আসছেন—Director of Public Instructionএর department. সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের মনে বরাবর এই আতঙ্ক রয়ে গেছে যে দেশবাসীর মধ্যে শিক্ষার যদি বিস্তার হয় তাহলে সেটা হবে ভারতবর্ষে সাম্রাজ্য রক্ষার পক্ষে ভীষণ একটা প্রতিবন্ধক। অতএব এর উপর কর্ত্তৃত্ব নিয়ে আসা দরকার। (Hear, hear.) সেই জন্যই এদেশের শিক্ষাপ্রণালীটাকে নিজেদের controlএ আনার জন্য রয়েছে তাদের এতটা প্রবল বাসনা। আশ্চর্য্য এই যে তাদের প্রতি আমাদের দৃষ্টি যতটা যাওয়া উচিত ততটা সতর্ক দৃষ্টি যাচ্ছে না। এ সম্বন্ধে যদি অবহিত হওয়া যায় তাহলে দেখা যায় যে মেকলের সময় থেকে যে নীতি তারা প্রবর্ত্তন করেছে—অর্থাৎ এদেশে য়ুরোপীয়ের পরিবর্ত্তে oriental পদ্ধতিতেই শিক্ষা হবে। কেননা এদের মধ্যে বিদ্রোহের মনোভাব কতকটা যা বজায় রয়েছে এইভাবে শিক্ষা-পদ্ধতি চালালে পর স্থায়ী হবে আমাদের সাম্রাজ্য; এইভাবে শিক্ষা চালালে পর এরা য়ুরোপীয় দীক্ষায় ও চালে চলতে পারবে না, এবং আমাদের সাম্রাজ্য স্থায়ী হবে। মেকলের কথা ছিল—"যদি আমরা এক দলকে য়ুরোপীয় শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত করে তুলতে পারি, তাহলে

তারা হবে আমাদের সাম্রাজ্যের স্তম্ভ।" ভেবে দেখুন আপনারা, শিক্ষার সুরু থেকে সমাজে শিক্ষা কি করে বিস্তারলাভ করবে, উদ্দেশ্য তা নয়; উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে শিক্ষা বিস্তারের বিরোধিতা করে সাম্রাজ্যবাদকে স্থায়ী করতে হবে!! সুতরাং আপনাদের এই বিলের ভিতর nominationএর কথা এসেছে। কিন্তু গণতন্ত্রেও nominationএর বিধান, এ শুধু সম্ভব এই দুর্ভাগা ভারতবর্ষে। আজ সমস্ত ভারতবর্ষ জুড়ে বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যের ভিতর প্রদেশগুলিকে কিছু কিছু স্বায়ত্ত-শাসন দেবার পরেও তাদের আতঙ্ক ঘোচে না,—স্বায়ত্ত-শাসন দেবার পরেও সঙ্গে সঙ্গে nomination দিয়ে থাকেন। সাম্রাজ্যবাদ সেটা করে থাকে কেন? তার কারণ জনগণকে তারা এত অবিশ্বাস করে যে জনগণ যে নির্বাচন করবে তার চেয়ে আরো ভালভাবে নির্বাচন করবে সেক্রেটারিয়েট। এখানে গভর্ণমেণ্ট পক্ষকে আমার জিজ্ঞাস্য এই যে আপনারা কতখানি share চাইছেন? স্পষ্টতঃই দেখা যায় আপনারা চাইছেন—lion's share কিন্তু সে shareটা আপনাদের ভাগে থাকছে না, lionএর সঙ্গে ভাব কোরে সেই পোয়াটা তাদেরই দিচ্ছেন—এই জন্যই চিন্তা। এই বিলের মধ্যে মেম্বরদের যে হিসাব দেখছি—৬ জন—এই ৬ জনই তাদের পাবার সম্ভাবনা, আর ৮ জন nominated এই হলো ১৪ জন আর ১০ জন যারা তারা সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর চর—অবশ্য শিক্ষার গুরু নয়। আর একজন হবেন প্রেসিডেণ্ট, নিশ্চয়ই তিনি কোন একজন সম্মানিত ব্যক্তি হবেন, নৈলে কি করে তিনি বাংলার মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা চালাতে পারবেন? আর যা বাকি থাকলো তা European Boardএর দুজন দ্বারা পূরণ হলে দেখা যায় ২৭টি সিট্‌ পুরোপুরি আমলাতন্ত্র পেয়ে যাবে। এখন গভর্ণমেণ্ট পক্ষের যাঁরা তাঁরা ভেবে দেখুন কি সাংঘাতিক বিপদ আপনারা ডেকে আনছেন, কি অনিষ্টকর বিধান আপনারা কোরতে যাচ্ছেন!!

এখন বাংলা দেশে শিক্ষা বিষয়ে গভর্ণমেণ্ট কি খরচ এ পর্য্যন্ত কোরে আসছেন দেখা যাক। এখানে প্রাথমিক শিক্ষার ছাত্র প্রতি ব্যয় হয়—ভারতীয় ছাত্রদের জন্য যেখানে মাথা পিছু ২·১ টাকা ব্যয় হয়, সেখানে য়ুরোপীয়ান ছাত্রদের মাথাপিছু ব্যয় হয় ৯৫৲ টাকা। এটা হয়ে আসছিল ১৯৩১-৩২ সাল পর্য্যন্ত। তারপর থেকে সেটা ১৯৩৬-৩৭ সাল থেকে কিছু কমতে আরম্ভ হয়—তখন থেকে ভারতীয় ছাত্রদের মাথাপিছু ব্যয় হয় ২৲ টাকা আর য়ুরোপীয়ানদের মাথাপিছু ৭৫৲ টাকা অর্থাৎ ৩৭ গুণ। এই রকম খরচের তারতম্য একটা backward communityর শিক্ষার সমাধানের জন্য স্বাধীন দেশের পক্ষে স্বাভাবিক। কিন্তু এখানে যারা vested interest নিয়ে আছে তাদেরই হাতে ক্ষমতা রয়েছে বলেই এই নির্লজ্জ ব্যবস্থা সম্ভব হয়ে এসেছে। এবং এই জন্যই আজ তাদের হাতে ক্ষমতা ছেড়ে দিতে আমরা এত আপত্তি করছি।

বাংলা দেশে বেসরকারী মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার জন্য ব্যয় হয় প্রায় ১ কোটি ২৫ লক্ষ টাকা। প্রায় ৩ লক্ষ ৫০ হাজার ছাত্রের পিছনে এই ১ কোটি ২৫ লক্ষ টাকা খরচ হয়। তার মধ্যে সরকার দিয়ে থাকেন ১৭ লক্ষ ৭৬ হাজার টাকা। ছাত্রেরা গড়ে ২৲ টাকা করে দিলেও প্রায় ২৫।৩০ লক্ষ টাকা ঘাটতি থাকে সেই ঘাট্‌তি পূরণ করে আসছে বাংলা দেশের জনসাধারণ। এইভাবে এদেশের জনসাধারণের দ্বারা পুষ্ট হয়েই শিক্ষায়তনগুলি চলে। আমার সময় নাই, নৈলে দেখাতে পারতাম যে সরকারী সাহায্য এ দেশের বেসরকারী হাই স্কুলে কতটুকু পায়, আর গভর্ণমেণ্ট নিজেদের গুটিকয়েক হাই স্কুলের জন্যই বা কতটা খরচ করেন, তাহলে আরো ভালো কোরে বোঝানো যেতো এইসব স্কুলগুলি সাধারণের সাহায্যে পুষ্ট হয়েই কি করে চলে। আর সেই মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার জন্য গভর্ণমেণ্ট বিলে ব্যয়ের বরাদ্দ কোরেছেন ৫ বছরের জন্য ১ কোটি ২৫ লক্ষ টাকা। When you do not pay for the piper why do

you order for the tune. অথচ কি বছরে এই ১ কোটি ২৫ লক্ষ টাকা বাংলা দেশের শিক্ষায়তনগুলি সংগ্রহ করে আসছে। আর আপনারা ২৫ লক্ষ টাকা বছরে বোর্ডকে promise করেছেন মাত্র; তার উপর পাঁচ বছরে ২০ লক্ষ, ২৫ লক্ষ এই রকম বিভিন্ন দফায় আর এক কোটি টাকা। অথচ এই ৫ বছরের মধ্যে স্কুলগুলি শুকিয়ে যাবে। এখন যদি বাংলার সকল দল এক হয়ে চলে তাহলেই সাম্রাজ্যবাদের কবল থেকে বাংলাকে মুক্ত করে শিক্ষার সুবন্দোবস্ত করা আপনাদের পক্ষে সম্ভবপর হবে। নৈলে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর অভিপ্সীত controlটাই শুধু হাতে আসবে এবং শিক্ষা যাবে মরে। এখানে আমি একটা সাবধান বাণী শুনিয়ে রাখছি। যেহেতু আজ বাংলা দেশের সরকারী কর্তৃত্বটাই আপনাদের হাতে এসেছে, অতএব আপনারা ক্ষমতার যথেচ্ছ প্রয়োগের দ্বারা আপনাদের সমাজের মঙ্গল করবেন, এই যদি আজ মনোভাব হয় তাহলে সেটা ঠিক হবে না। কেননা—আজও আপনারা দুর্ব্বল, ঘটনাচক্রে আজ আপনাদের হাতে আইন করার ক্ষমতা এসেছে, অতএব oppositionএর যা কিছু কথা থাক, সে যতই ন্যায্য হউক না কেন, যতই যুক্তিযুক্ত হোক না কেন, সে আমরা শুনবো না। এই যদি আপনাদের মনোভাব হয় যে শার্দ্দূলের চলে যাবো পদদলিত করে oppositionএর যা কিছু আশা আকাঙ্ক্ষা, সেগুলি যতই ন্যায্য এবং যতই ঠিক হোক না কেন, এবং বাংলা দেশের তপশীলভুক্ত দল এবং মুসলমান সমাজের উপর বহু প্রকারের নিপীড়ন ও উৎপীড়নের পরিবর্ত্তে যদি পাল্টা নিপীড়ন ও উৎপীড়নের পালা সুরু হয় তাহলে আমি বলে রাখছি সেদিক দিয়ে বাংলার ইতিহাসে যে রক্তের গ্লানিময় দাগ দিয়ে যাবে সেটা মুছে ফেলা সহজ হবে না। আমি আবারও বলছি আজকে বাংলা দেশে তফাৎ হয়ে যাওয়ার চেয়ে মিলনের প্রয়োজনটা হচ্ছে ঢের বেশী। সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর যে চাল সেটা যদি আপনাদের চোখে ধরা পড়ে না যায়, এবং যদি এই ভাবেই Secondary Education Bill পাশ হয় তাহলে সম্ভাবনা আছে হয়ত এই বিলটা পাশ হবার পর it will be a dead letter, যেহেতু এর দ্বারা বাংলার কোন উপকার হবে না। সমস্ত কিছু শিক্ষার ভিতর দিয়া আমাদের ছাত্র সমাজ তরুণ সমাজের মস্তিষ্ক বিকৃত হবে—অথচ সামান্য কয়টা সরকারী চাকুরীর মোহেতে তারা বিভ্রান্ত হবে মাত্র কেননা, সে চাকুরীও সকলের জন্য মিলবে না—এইরূপ একটা মোহ জাল বিস্তারের মূলেই রয়েছে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীর শিক্ষায়তনগুলিকে control করে নিজের দখলে রাখা। এই controlএ আনার বিরুদ্ধে ১৯০৫ সালের স্বদেশী আন্দোলনের সময় জাতীয় শিক্ষা প্রবর্ত্তন প্রচেষ্টার ফলস্বরূপে আমরা আজ পাচ্ছি যাদবপুর ইঞ্জিনিয়ারিং কলেজ। আর ১৯২১ সালের আন্দোলনের ফলে গড়ে উঠেছিল যে জাতীয় শিক্ষা পরিষদ তাথেকে আমরা আজ পেয়ে গেছি জাতীয় আয়ুর্বিজ্ঞান বিদ্যালয়। আর এবারকার আন্দোলনের ফলে আমাদের গড়ে উঠবে council of national education যার দ্বারা আমাদের জাতীয় শিক্ষা দীক্ষা সম্পূর্ণ হবে। আর আপনারা আজ যে সর্ব্বনাশ করতে যাচ্ছেন এই স্কুলগুলিকে সাম্রাজ্যবাদের ইচ্ছা মাফিক—তাদেরি আওতার ভিতর এনে ফেলবেন কাদের? বাংলার যুব সম্প্রদায়কে, সমাজের আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষার মূর্ত্ত প্রতীক তরুণ ছাত্রছাত্রীদের। যাঁদের পক্ষে বহু বৎসরের মধ্যেও সম্ভব হয় নাই—দেশব্যাপী বেসরকারী স্কুলগুলিকে শুকিয়ে শুকিয়ে মৃতপ্রায় স্কুলগুলিকে survivalএর পক্ষে সাহায্য করা, তাঁরা যে আজ সাম্রাজ্যবাদের আওতার ভিতরে তরুণ তরুণীদের ঠেলে দেবার চেষ্টা করছেন—তাঁরা নিজের সমাজের যে ক্ষতি আজ করছেন তা অবশ্যই নিজেরাও বুঝতে পারবেন, কিন্তু ৮।১০ বৎসর পরে। এবং এ বিষয়ে ভবিষ্যৎ সমাজের কাছ থেকে তিরস্কৃত হবেন এই বলে যে আপনারা বাংলা দেশের সমস্ত সম্প্রদায় মিলে স্বাধীন ও স্বস্ত আবহাওয়ার মধ্য দিয়ে নূতন একটা কার্য্যক্রমের দ্বারা তরুণ বাংলাকে সুস্থ সবল করে গড়ে যে তুলতে পারতেন—সে কাজটা কেন করেন নাই, এই অভিযোগ আপনাদের উপরেই আসবে। বিশেষ জোরে

আজকের দিনে দুর্ভিক্ষ ও মহামারির কথা যখন আমরা বলি সে সম্বন্ধে বিশেষ চিন্তা করে আশা করি আপনারা অবহিত হবেন—(red light) Sir, এই আমি শেষ করছি।

আমি আবার বলছি সামান্য কিছুদিনের জন্য বিলটাকে স্থগিত করে কয়েক দিনের জন্য joint ও separate electorateএর ঝগড়া বিস্মৃত হয়ে, যদি প্রকৃতই একটা মিলনের প্রচেষ্টায় আমরা অগ্রসর হই তাহলে একটা solution অবশ্যই হতে পারে। এটা এমন কিছু অসম্ভব ব্যাপার নয়। আজ যখন বাংলা দেশের শিক্ষার জন্য এইটুকু প্রয়োজন হয়েছে, তখন আমি আবেদন করি উভয় পক্ষের কাছে, আপনারা মাথা স্থির করে এ বিষয়টাতে যদি অবহিত হন তাহলে নিশ্চয়ই একটা কিছু solutionএ আসতে পারবেন। (Mr. CHARU CHANDRA ROY : কিন্তু আপনার এ আবেদন ও পক্ষেরা শুনবেন কি?) সমস্ত বাঙ্গালী সমাজ আজ কাতর ভাবে আপনাদের দিকে চেয়ে আছে, আজ যখন দুর্ভিক্ষ ও মহামারিতে বাংলা দেশ বিপন্ন সেই সময়ে Secondary Education Bill প্রবর্ত্তনের মধ্য দিয়ে বাংলা দেশকে আরো গভীরতম দুর্গতির মধ্যে টেনে আনবেন না,—এই আবেদন আজ সারা বাংলার সর্ব্বহারা সমাজের।

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we were so long hearing with rapt attention in the Assembly House and in the countryside we have seen how the demonstrations are being done, specially where 20 to 50 people gathering together are demonstrating against the Secondary Education Bill. Sir, this reminds me of a thing when 70 years ago during the time of Lord Ripon the Ilbert Bill was being passed in order to give some status to the Indian people. That was a petty Bill but even at that time the Europeans roused a great agitation against it and at that time our poet Hem Chandra Bandopadhya wrote in beautiful couplets—

গেল রাজ্য, গেল মান, ডাকিল ইংলিশম্যান,
ডাক ছাড়ে ব্রানসন, কেণ্ডরিক মিলার;
নেটিভের কাছে খাড়া নেভার, নেভার।
নেভার সে অপমান, হতমান বিবিজান,
নেটিভে পাবে সম্মান আমাদের জানানা,
দেহে প্রাণ বিবিজান কখন তা হবে না,
হুরে হিপ্ হুরে হো সিঙ্গা বাজে ভোঁ, ভোঁ, ভোঁ,
বৃটন স্বাধীন সদা—ফ্রীডম এভার
নেটিভের কাছে খাড়া নেভার, নেভার।

Those beautiful couplets depict the present picture of the enlightened communities. Sir, they are propagating that this Bill is an anti-national and reactionary one. How it is anti-national we do not understand. I do not understand what my friends of the advanced communities mean by nationalism. If they mean that nationalism is a thing to rule the country by the few against the masses, then that nationalism is well for them but not for the masses. If the Bill be a reactionary one I do not know what an "actionary" Bill is.

There is a most pitiable condition in the country. You must remember how the people are wanting the passing of this Bill. Nobody denies the utility of the passing of the Secondary Education Bill. In some way or other it must be passed.

Now, Sir, let me clear my point. I must say that my Hindu friends are agitating in the country by saying that Hindu unity is going to be drowned in the Ganges or somewhere in the Brahmaputra or somewhere in the ocean. I want to know from my friends how this Hindu unity will go if separate electorate is given to the Muslims or to the Scheduled Castes.

Sir, separation between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes is complete by this time. If there were any doubts in the past it is almost complete now. I will give some illustrations to show how the separation is complete by this time. I will cite an instance to show how the voting took place in the last Assembly election.

		Votes polled by Caste Hindus.	Votes polled by Scheduled Castes.
Burdwan	..	35,000	2,383
Burdwan (North-west)	..	37,000	2,332
Birbhum	..	34,000	4,800
Midnapore (Central)	..	70,000	1,551
Jhargram-Ghatal	..	33,762	1,171
Murshidabad	..	30,900	2,529
Malda	..	34,312	2,229
Rangpur	..	27,939	12,212

(In this connection I shall remind my friends that in the district of Rangpur out of 90,000 voters 68,719 or practically 69,000 are Scheduled Caste voters; still the Scheduled Castes secured the lowest number of votes.)

Pabna-Bogra	..	20,567	1,502
Mymensingh	..	33,078	11,822

There is also this remark from the Franchise Committee Report—"The Caste Hindus did not vote for the Scheduled Castes while the Scheduled Castes all voted for the Caste Hindus." I draw the attention of my Scheduled Caste friends in the Opposition to the fact that this possibly indicates that if there was a proper organisation of the Scheduled Castes they could capture more unreserved seats. Such an organisation of course would have to be on caste basis. The Scheduled Castes must form amongst themselves and not a general group with the Caste Hindus. From this we see that the separation between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes is complete and we want to ask our friend Dr. Mookerjee of the Hindu Mahasabha how the Hindus are going on together. I request him that when we have separated, when the earthen pot is once broken, let it be gone and let new things be created. A broken pot cannot be put together. Let us with all our fault, with all our deficiency, with all our drawbacks do something for our own community. Let us stand on our own legs. We do not want that we shall remain ever dependent. We will never forget that we are Hindus, and we shall always remain Hindus—

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is up.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: I want five minutes more to finish my speech.

Mr. SPEAKER: I will give you two minutes.

Babu KSHETRA NATH SINGHA: Sir, I would only wish that my friend will allow us to remain separate for the time being with the good intention and best purpose of being united as equals later on. There cannot be unity between unequals. Let the Scheduled Castes advance in education and otherwise and then let them be united together with the Caste Hindus like brothers, and then let them proceed hand in hand to fight for the independence of the country. Sir, I am very much surprised to hear that the Chief Minister is going to drop the Bill. I would request him not to do that. (Cries of "no, no" from the Coalition benches.) Then it is all right. Even though the Muslims may like to have joint electorate with reservation of seats, we the Scheduled Castes do not want that. We want a separate electorate. The Muslims are strong enough to be successful through the

system of joint electorate, but we, the poor Scheduled Castes, cannot stand alone with others in equal status, in equal strain. So, Sir, we want a separate electorate from our Caste Hindu friends. We must have some time to recoup our health and to regain our status; otherwise there cannot be any equality between the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes. Unless all are equal there cannot be any equality. We therefore demand that we must have separate electorate and we must have our own united voice in the field of education. (Appluase.)

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last fortnight I have observed a dignified silence, because I preferred to be guided by the superior wisdom and experience in this House of veteran leaders of public opinion, more especially of educationists of established reputation. Sir, after the most magnificant and brilliant speech delivered yesterday evening by my revered leader Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, making the most comprehensive survey of secondary education, tracing the history of secondary education in its various stages from the very beginning I thought, Sir, that all controversies would be set at rest. We hoped, Sir, that his fervent appeal to the Ministry, the party in power, would at least have the desired effect. But, Sir, it appears that they are not in a mood to listen to reason. It appears that they are impervious to any argument. Sir, Mr. Fazlul Huq appealed to them only to explore all avenues. He wanted them to rise to the height of the occasion to adjust at this juncture the conflicting interests of the two communities and just refer this Bill only for short time to a Select Committee. Perchance in the Select Committee, Sir, the various controversial provisions of the Bill from the Hindu point of view might be thrashed out and the Bill might be presented perhaps in a more acceptable and agreeable form. But, Sir, that too had no effect. Good sense did not dawn on them. Intoxicated with power they will have everything before them; with a comfortable majority behind them, they can carry everything at the present moment, we Musalmans on this side of the House can assure them that we are not opposed to Secondary Education Bill. We can assure them that a Secondary Education Bill which promotes the advancement of Muslim education and culture will have the willing support, will have the willing assistance from all sections of Muslims irrespective of any consideration whatsoever. But, Sir, this Bill is going to be rushed through especially at a time when there is a storm of protest from a major community. Our friends opposite have in season and out of season tried, in the matter of formation of a Cabinet, to placate the Hindus; they have tried to hobnob with the Hindus, they have tried to co-operate with the Hindus and knocked at their doors for coalition in however questionable a manner. But I do not see any reason why a particular Bill which is being opposed tooth and nail by the Hindu community should be rushed through in this manner. Why should they not seek assistance from that community for an agreed settlement?

Sir, I would not drag myself to the low level of Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqi in casting baseless aspersions, hopeless insinuations against Mr. Fazlul Huq who alone among his co-religionists has done more for the educational advancement of his community than anyone else His record in the field of education,—having established five colleges, having established 300 to 400 madrasah and schools, having lavishly spent out of public funds and out of his private resources for the students' welfare—Mr. Fazlul Huq's record outshines the records of half a dozen Siddiqis put together. A man indifferently acquainted with the province, a man not conversant with the affairs of the province, a man who does not know the provincial language, a man who never came in contact with the Muslim masses in Bengal, a man who never studied the conditions under which they suffer and labour, a man who never studied the needs and requirements of the Muslims of the province, a man not in any way conversant with anything that touches the affairs and conditions of the Mussalmans in Bengal at the

present moment—he should have the temerity to cast aspersions on one who alone among his co-religionists has promoted Muslim education and welfare apart from his positive contributions in various fields of activities, apart from his significant contributions as leader of public opinion, as Minister of Education, Chief Minister and President of the Muslim League. This vicious propaganda is being indulged in by a few unscrupulous designing politicians for their self-aggrandisement, for their personal dominition, for their coterie and family domination. Behind the scene, Sir, in the most questionable, in the most shady manner condemned by all canons of decency and propriety, they have pitchforked themselves into responsible positions. But that does not detract from the position, that does not detract from the dignity, that does not detract from the influence in any way, that does not detract from the services of Mr. Fazlul Huq to the Muslim masses in this province.

Sir, I would not be oblivious of the significant contribution of the Hindu community in various fields of activities, more especially in the educational sphere. I know that Muslims during last 170 years labouring under serious economic, administrative, political and educational disablities have sunk lower and lower in the scale of civilisation and culture. How can the Mussalmans labouring under serious economic, administrative, political and educational disabilities for the last 170 years or more come up the same level of thought and intelligence, culture and attainments that our Hindu brethren have attained with thousand and one facilities and opportunities thrown open to them. I am fully conscious of the fact that on the ruins of Muslim culture and civilisation the structure of other communities' supremacy has been reared up. I am still more conscious of the fact that Muslim boys and girls throbbing with genuine aspirations, pulsating with hopes inspired with an insatiable urge for spritual and moral reconstruction of their society, could not get the nourishment, the encouragement, the necessary facilities and opportunities for their self-expression. For this however the great Hindu community is not certainly responsible. I would not refer at this stage to that unfortunate tragedy which was enacted after the Sepoy Munity when scions of the noblest of families, of thousands of Muslim families from Rawalpindi to Bihar, were mercilessly butchered, pilloried and hanged and tortured with every refinement of cruelty, and barbarous savagery, and with them the noblest traditions of Muslim culture and civilisation disappeared like a dream and the magnificent system built up by Muslims crumbled to pieces like the baseless fabric of a vision. I would not refer either to that unfortunate cruelty perpetrated on the Begums of Oudh who were dragged from their harem in order to create awe and consternation in the minds of the Muslims. I would like, however, to refer to events of a far-reaching effect that occurred in Bengal which had dragged Muslims from the great height to inglorious depths

I would refer, Sir, to the Resumption proceedings which were pitilessly enforced in Bengal after the Wahabi movement resulting in confiscation of ¼th of the lands of Muslim *jagirdars* and *aimmadars* thus pauperising the well-to-do Muslim families and reducing them to sore economic straits. When the East India Company had established its military supremacy in Bengal and had, with the help of Muslim officers, who had hitherto completely staffed the civil administration of the country, assumed control of the revenue, judicial, civil and executive departments, the Court of Directors, not without considerable differences of opinion, replaced Persian and Urdu by English and Bengali with the result that not only Muslims were swept clean off the administration in one generation, but their culture and education received a terrible set back. The magnificent system of Muslim civilisation which is still bleeding from the wounds inflicted upon it by the Mongals in Abbaside Bagdad, received a terrible death blow as a result of the disastrous policy adopted by the East India Company. For the ruins of the Muslims, for the destruction of their culture, for its disintegration,

for the collapse of their civilisation the Hindus are not certainly responsible. There were other forces behind the scene operating which led to the disintegration of the political, social and educational systems of the Mussalmans and to the disruption and dissolution of the whole fabric. The attempt to encourage a particular section of people against another was done with the avowed object of dividing the Muslims and Hindus for the sake of tightening the grip of British imperialism in India, sucking the country dry, bleeding it white and completely crushing the Muslims out of cultural and political existence.

It would, therefore, be sheer madness to impose our will on the Hindu community whose contributions, apart from their activities in various other spheres of life, have been very significant in the educational sphere. It seems to me absolutely incongruous that when the constitutional advancement of the country, according to even my friends who believe in the fantastic scheme of Pakisthan, must be held up unless there is a settlement with the minorities, more specially with the Muslims of India, I do not see any reason why the Secondary Education Bill should be placed on the Statute Book in the teeth of the strongest opposition of a minority community, I mean the Hindus who are educated and cultured and have made sufficient contribution to the educational advancement of the province. It might suit Sir Nazimuddin and his confreres to hob-nob with the Hindus. They talk of co-operation in the Legislative Assembly, they talk of co-operation in the Calcutta Corporation, they talk of co-operation elsewhere but they slam the doors in the face not merely of the Hindu community on a contentious measure of this description, but shut out even some of the greatest Muslims of India from their fold all for their personal aggrandisement, all for their coterie or family domination. I make no apologies for emphasising the fact that Secondary Education Bill has been long long overdue. Even the Sadler Commission itself observed 25 years ago that the entire system of secondary and University education was suffering from an inertia or anaemia due partly to lack of funds and partly to lack of improved standard of teaching and educational opportunities. There is an absolute need for reconstruction of secondary education in the province on a sound basis. No improvement, they observed, could be possible without reorganisation and rebuilding of the whole system on a solid foundation. It is unfortunate that while other provinces in India, such as U. P., Madras, C. P. and Berar and even Burma have given effect to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, the Calcutta University has failed to carry into execution the weighty observations of the Sadler Commission.

The Calcutta University has certainly failed to reform and control secondary education because of the serious handicaps under which it has been labouring. The Bengal Government also during these 25 long years has done very little except Mr. Fazlul Huq to implement the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Even the present Bill which has been presented today in a truncated, modified and distorted form by the present Ministry is nothing but Mr. Fazlul Huq's Bill of 1940. Except for a short spell of time the Minister of Education in Bengal has been a Muslim during the last 25 years but from Sir Nazimuddin downwards no Muslim in Bengal has been able to do 1/10th or even 1/100th of what Mr. Fazlul Huq has done for the advancement of education of his community in this unfortunate province. Sir, we are in favour of a Secondary Education Bill. All that we want is that an agreed Bill which will be acceptable to both the communities, after it emerges out of a Select Committee, should be presented to the House. We have, therefore, only suggested a short reference to a Select Committee with a view to thrash out the Bill in a way satisfactory to all sections of the people, specially to Hindus and Muslims. No Bill should be introduced at this crisis of the country in the teeth of opposition and against the vital interests of a community regardless of the consequences, regardless of the repercussions it might have upon the relations

that subsist between Hindus and Muslims and upon the course of future cultural and political evolution of the country. As I said we are not opposed to a Secondary Education Bill, but I find the Bengal Government has only been able to provide a recurring grant of Rs. 25 lakhs to be raised to 50 lakhs towards the end which is little too insufficient for the purpose. Besides, the Bill must not be rushed through the Legislature without coming to a satisfactory settlement of the controversial aspects of the Bill.

The Bill of 1940 which was first introduced by no less a person than Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq when the Ministry was certainly more representative of Muslim public opinion than the present one—a Bill to which Sir Nazimuddin and 4 other members of his Cabinet including Mr. Tamizuddin Khan were a party, did not think of introducing separate electorate as a method of representation for election of members for various bodies like the Legislative Assembly, the Senate, the Academic Council of the University of Dacca and its executive council, etc. Sir, the question of separate electorate has got a history behind it. Mr. A. R Siddiqi yesterday while trying to discuss the Secondary Education Bill quoted chapter and verse from Mr. Huq's statement in 1940 when he introduced the Secondary Education Bill, to show that he had then condemned joint electorate altogether and that he was today advocating joint electorate. Sir, this completely confuses the issue and gives an incorrect and misleading statement of facts. There is no gainsaying the fact that Mr. Fazlul Huq definitely stressed that even personalities of the eminence of Nawab Sir Shamsul Huda, Sir A. F. Rahman could not be elected except through separate electorate.

This is the reason why inspite of the fact that Muslim opinion is sharply divided on the question of joint or separate electorates, inspite of the fact that Muslim divines like, Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmodul Hossain, Maulana Hossain Ahmed Madani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mohammed Ali before whose political sagacity and wisdom, before whose vision and imagination, before whose sacrifices and services half a dozen Muhammad Ali Jinnahs shrink into insignificance; in spite of their considered opinion about joint electorate, it could not be accepted as the method of representation for Muslims in the bigger political sphere of India It is unfortunate that whenever any attempt at settlement between Hindus and Muslims has been made the communal bubble has always burst, revealing to the world the most combustible substance of racial hatred and antagonism that lies beneath the apparently calm political surface of India.

Mr Fazlul Huq stated yesterday in no uncertain terms that he himself played an important role for introduction of separate electorate for Muslims in the historic sessions of the Round Table Conferences and it is for nothing that this method of representation has been incorporated in all the acts passed by the British Parliament from the Council Acts of 1909, 1919 to the Government of India Act, 1935. Even Mr. Gokhale, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and Deshbandhu C. R. Das, 3 of the greatest Hindus of modern India, accepted this as the only possible method of representation in the present temper of the country. So long as the present bitterness continues, so long as reactionary forces on both sides persist in their present fury and thrive and prosper on the hymn of hatred against one another, separate electorate must continue. Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi confuses the whole issue when he mixes up representation to the bigger political sphere with that to local bodies including the educational sphere. In Bengal joint electorate finds a place in district boards, municipalities local boards and union boards except in the Calcutta Corporation where introduction of separate electorate has only ended in the formation of a coterie of a very reprehensible character, a coterie bent upon pampering itself at the cost of the community and genuine representatives of Bengali Muslims. I might correct Mr. Siddiqi when he says that through joint

electorate no true representative of Muslims has ever been returned. I can cite instances of leading Muslims being returned to public bodies through joint electorates.

Let me come to another point. I do not understand the implications of the dangerous move that this Ministry has adopted in antagonising the strong and powerful minority in Bengal in the purely educational sphere consistent with the separatist tendencies that have been fast developing under the fantastic scheme of Pakisthan. Sir Nazimuddin proposes to ride roughshod over all considerations of decency and propriety without any regard for the sentiments and susceptibilities of the Hindus, but has he ever realised what will be the position of the unfortunate Muslims in the 7 Muslim minority provinces in India if the Hindus once take it into their head to impose not merely their political theories but also their educational and cultural system on the Muslims there. Minorities under the domination of an unsympathetic majority whether of Hindus or Muslims have no quarters, no shelter, no protection whatsoever. Unless the majority by a gesture for peace and reconciliation try to accommodate the minorities in the best possible form, minorities will be deprived of any voice, of any share in the administration of the country. I cannot in this connection help referring to the unfortunate treatment that has been meted out to the Muslims of Western Bengal during this century. The Muslims of Western Bengal who played an important role a century ago are now going down and down and are being shut out from positions of trust and responsibilities.

Across the Ganges, Sir, Muslims, however educated, however advanced, could hardly have any recognition in the Government of this province. In this connection I cannot help referring to an unfortunate fact. When the anti-Partition agitation was in its full swing, some of the veteran Muslim leaders of Western Bengal, the late Maulvi Abul Kasem, late Maulvi Mujibur Rahman and Maulana Akram Khan rallied round the banner of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee to unsettle the settled fact and once for all annulled the Partition of Bengal. A great Muslim leader of Eastern Bengal whose memory we all cherish with the greatest respect invited these Muslim leaders from Western Bengal—who were then youngsters—to a conference and enquired of them the reason why they had sided with the Hindus as against the Muslims of Eastern Bengal. Mr. Abul Kasem requested him to mark the attitude of the Hindus of Western Bengal towards the Hindus of Eastern Bengal and the attitude of the Muslims of Eastern Bengal towards the Muslims of Western Bengal.

The Hindus are in an absolute majority in Western Bengal For the sake however of protection of linguistic and cultural interest of the Hindus in Eastern Bengal where they are in a minority, Hindus of Western Bengal made all sacrifices to preserve the cultural hegemony and the political integrity of the entire Hindu community, whereas Eastern Bengal Mussalmans in order to have their interest safeguarded flung the Mussalmans of Western Bengal to the tender mercies of the Hindus there. The minority in this country is always in a horror of majority rule which the British Government have introduced in this country. To my mind, a majority of 51 per cent. of designing and unscrupulous politicians can conspire and plot against and impose their will on a minority of 49 per cent. well meaning people, however educated, however cultured, however disciplined, however morally elevated, and however spiritually high they may be. But this majority should bear in mind that it is not possible for them to crush minority completely out of existence. It may be possible for them to impose their will upon some in the political sphere: that is the unfortunate story everywhere, not in Bengal alone but in all other provinces in India. This is the cry of the Muslims in all the Congress Provinces in India. This is the cry that was raised throughout the length and breadth of India; this is the cry of the Sikhs in the Punjab; this is the cry raised by the Hindus in Bengal and this is the cry raised by Muslims in all Muslim minority provinces in India. There is no work possible anywhere unless

there is an agreement, unless there is peace and conciliation and unless there is an adjustment of conflicting views and interest. It has been said, Sir, by some of my friends on this side, Muslim friends especially, that this Bill does not interfere in any way with the cultural hegemony of the University of Calcutta or integrity of the educational system of the Hindus of Bengal.

If it does not disturb the cultural hegemony of the Hindus, if the Bill does not interfere in any way with the educational system of the Hindus of Bengal, why is this pother, this agitation, this commotion? So far as the Hindu opinion is concerned, it has expressed itself in the most emphatic terms against the Bill. So far as the Muslim opinion is concerned, a considerable volume of Muslim opinion, nay the majority of Muslims is in favour of Secondary Education Bill in any shape or form. There is no mistake about that. But simply because we happen to be in a clear majority in the Province at the present moment, we on this side of the House are not prepared to force this Bill on the great Hindu community. That will only embitter our relations. In the interest of the entire Muslim community and in the interest of the future generation of Muslims and Hindus, we should realize that this Bill rushed through in the teeth of opposition would have a disastrous effect upon the country as a whole.

Sir, I am not prepared to discuss the provisions of the Bill at this stage, because this Bill is nothing more or less than a reproduction of the 1942 Bill

Now, Sir, lest I am misunderstood, I would like to make my position perfectly clear that there is nothing new, nothing original to add to what has been said by my revered leader yesterday. So far as the political sphere is concerned, Muslims, the largest proportion among the Muslims in this House, are in favour of separate electorate even at this stage. This is a very big question where opinion is very sharply divided. The greatest Muslim leaders of either views have expressed their opinion on this Bill. Sir, it may be that one view is as honest as the other. There is no questioning the *bona fides* of the great leaders. Even Mr. Jinnah was a great advocate of joint electorate in 1928 but he changed his views in 1935 and advocated the cause of separate electorate as a method of representation. Mr. Jinnah did not advocate the introduction of separate or communal electorate in the field of local bodies or District Boards. Sir, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi was referring to the Calcutta Corporation that no Muslim of any status was ever returned through joint electorate to that body. I can refresh his memory that Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed, and Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin were all returned through joint electorate. Introduction of separate electorate in the Calcutta Corporation has got a history behind it. It was due to half a dozen Muslims who wanted to have a coterie and wanted to establish their dominion over the Muslims in the name of Islam. I however appeal to my friends over there to have regard for a higher ideal, higher culture, and higher enlightenment. In other words, your heart must be purified, must be purged of all dross so that the stream of love and amity may flow on in its pristine purity. No sectional patriotism, no narrow nationalism should disturb the contentment of the entire country; nothing should embitter our relations; nothing should harm the future hopes of India; nothing should affect the cause of India; nothing should affect the cause of truth, the cause of justice or of education. I appeal to them as a brother to a brother, as a colleague to a colleague to work together for the educational advancement, for the political evolution and cultural development of the entire country. There should be reconciliation not only between Muslims and Muslims, not only between Muslims and Hindus, but between all classes and communities. We appeal that for communal harmony, whether in the political

sphere, or in the educational sphere or in the social sphere or in the intellectual sphere there should be a combined effort of all the communities in India. We cannot build anything without this communal harmony. Islam has never encouraged fashionable dissipations, midnight orgies or wild revels which today pass current in the name of Neo-Islam. Islam has never encouraged either parochial patriotism which has emboldened the self-deluded leaders to drive away some of the greatest Muslims who have made the most positive, significant and remarkable contributions to the political advancement of the country. Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to my friends opposite, whatever might be their pretensions, to settle up all differences.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for fifteen minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, may I appeal to you to give me five minutes' time?

Mr. SPEAKER: Five minutes is too much. You were speaking about something. I will allow you to finish your sentence.

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Thank you very much.

Sir, I was referring to this fact that at this critical juncture in the life history of this country, it is necessary to compose communal differences, it is necessary, Sir, to explore the avenues of a settlement, it is necessary to adjust the conflicting interests and divergent claims of various classes and communities and it is necessary all the more because of the international situation which has assumed serious proportions. There are no longer distant rumblings of thunders far away on the western front, but nearer home. The clash and clatter of arms, the booming of guns and the various forces that have accumulated and gathered in intensity and volume should have roused them to the gravity of the situation. At this critical juncture the storm is brewing up. It might burst upon us at any moment. It is time that statesmen of vision and imagination, all statesmen of broad outlook will rise to the occasion, rise to the height of the situation and try to compose the differences. The Bill might have been introduced at any other moment. A Bill was actually introduced in the year 1940 when the situation was not critical, so grave. But the situation now is graver still. It might not have any appeal to my honourable friends over there. If the sobs and groans of even the dead and the dying which created a sombre gloom in Bengal, if the deliberate bungling, swindling and inefficient handling of the food situation which resulted in the death of millions in Bengal, did not produce any impression upon their minds, I am afraid my appeal will also go in vain. But I would still appeal with folded hands, with eyes full of tears, in the name of the security of the country, in the name of peace and tranquillity, in the name of peaceful evolution, in the name of constitutional advancement of the country, in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity that I cherish with the greatest regard, specially when even today one of the greatest leaders of India who has been released is prepared to come to terms with the great leader of the Muslim Lague——

Mr. SPEAKER: Your time is over.

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Sir, one more sentence and I finish. Without any adjustment, without any settlement, without any understanding with the University of Calcutta, the Bill is bound to be infructuous, the Bill is bound to be inoperative because the Sadler Commission itself has observed that without a strong movement of public opinion and if public opinion is to be true, it must reflect all sections of opinion and all forms of opinion no such Bill will be of any practical effect—no Bill, no piece of legislation, however great, however pregnant with possibilities for the

future, can be of any use, of any avail to the country, unless all castes and communities at this critical juncture compose their differences and by their united efforts evolve an agreed solution.

Sir, I have finished. I thank you.

Maulana Md. MANIRUZZAMAN ISLAMABADI : স্পীকার মহোদয়, মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিল সম্বন্ধে আমি সংক্ষেপে কয়েকটি কথা বলিব। আমার বক্তব্য কোন দল বিশেষের উদ্দেশ্যে হবে না। বিলে কোন কথা আমার মতে গ্রহণযোগ্য বিবেচিত হইলে, উহার সমর্থন এবং যাহা গ্রহণযোগ্য হইবে না, উহার প্রতিবাদ করিব। অবশ্য এ সকল হইবে আমার ব্যক্তিগত মত; দলগত নহে।

Secondary Education Billএর খুঁটিনাটি বিষয় বাদ দিলে, প্রথমতঃ আলোচ্য বিষয় দাঁড়াইবে দুইটি; একটি হইল বোর্ডের গঠন প্রণালী, এবং দ্বিতীয়টি নির্ব্বাচন প্রথা। গঠন প্রণালীতে আলোচ্য বিষয় হইবে সাম্প্রদায়িক সংখ্যানুপাতের এবং সরকারী, অর্দ্ধ সরকারী ও জন-প্রতিনিধি সদস্যদের সংখ্যানুপাতের কথা। বোর্ডের গঠন প্রণালী ভাল হইয়াছে বা মন্দ, তাহা বুঝিবার সুবিধাকল্পে কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের "সিনেট" ও "সিণ্ডিকেটের" গঠন প্রণালীর সহিত তুলনা করা যাইতে পারে। প্রথমতঃ কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের গঠন প্রণালীর উল্লেখ করিতেছি। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পরিচালন, ম্যানেজমেণ্ট, পরীক্ষা গ্রহণ, পাঠ্য পুস্তক প্রণয়ন ও পুস্তক নির্ব্বাচন ইত্যাদি উদ্দেশ্য সাধনকল্পে সেনেট নামে একটি বৃহৎ বোর্ড আছে। বাংলার প্রাদেশিক গভর্ণর হইতেছেন উহার "মুখ্য ব্যক্তি" অর্থাৎ Chancellor, সভাপতির উপাধি হইতেছে Vice-Chancellor, ইহার পর হইতেছেন Ex-officio Fellows. ইহাদের সংখ্যা হইতেছে মোট ১১ জন। তন্মধ্যে মুসলমান আছেন মাত্র একজন। এই এগার জনের মধ্যে বাংলা ও আসামের গভর্ণর, বাংলা ও আসামের শিক্ষা-মন্ত্রী, বড়লাট বাহাদুরের শিক্ষা-মেম্বার, বাংলার শিক্ষা-সেক্রেটারী, চিফ জষ্টিস্, লর্ড বিশপ, বাংলা ও আসামের শিক্ষা-ডাইরেক্টার আর প্রেসিডেন্সী কলেজের প্রিন্সিপ্যাল্।

সেনেটে এই Ex-officio ১১ জন ব্যতীত Honorary Fellows আছেন ৪ জন, তন্মধ্যে মুসলমান হচ্ছেন একজন। ইহার পর হইতেছে ordinary Fellowsএর পালা। ইহাদের সঠিক সংখ্যা নির্ণয় ক্ষেত্রে কিঞ্চিৎ বাধা আছে। কেহ মৃত্যুমুখে পতিত, কেহ আছেন পদত্যাগী। যাহা হউক, ১৯৪৩-৪৪ সালের মোটামুটি সংখ্যা হইতেছে ১১৫ জন, তন্মধ্যে মুসলমান আছেন ২৮ জন। এ সকল ব্যতীত বিভিন্ন Facultyর ফেলো সংখ্যা, যথা Faculty of Arts হইতে নির্ব্বাচিত সদস্য সংখ্যা ৭৩ জন, তন্মধ্যে মুসলমান ১৯ জন, Faculty of Science হইতে নির্ব্বাচিত সদস্য মোট ৩৫ জনের মধ্যে মুসলমান দুই জন, Faculty of Law হইতে নির্ব্বাচিত ৩২ জন সদস্যের মধ্যে ৬ জন মাত্র মুসলমান, Faculty of Medicine হইতে নির্ব্বাচিত ২১ জন সদস্যের মধ্যে মুসলমান দুইজন মাত্র। Faculty of Engineering হইতে নির্ব্বাচিত সদস্য ১০ জনের মধ্যে মুসলমান আছেন একজন মাত্র। অতএব সেনেটের মোট সদস্য সংখ্যা ২৯৭ জনের মধ্যে মুসলমান হচ্ছেন ৫৯, আর অবশিষ্ট অমুসলমান। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের মূল বস্তু বা প্রাণ হইল Syndicate বা কার্য্যনির্ব্বাহক কমিটি। ইহার গঠন তন্ত্র, যথা চেয়ারম্যান অমুসলমান, এবং পদমর্য্যাদা হিসাবে শিক্ষা বিভাগের ডাইরেক্টার হইতেছেন মেম্বর। সেনেট্ কর্ত্তৃক নির্ব্বাচিত সদস্য সংখ্যা চারজনের মধ্যে মাত্র এক-জন মুসলমান, এবং Faculty of Arts কর্ত্তৃক নির্ব্বাচিত চারজন সদস্যের মধ্যে মাত্র এক-জন মুসলমান। Science বিভাগ কর্ত্তৃক নির্ব্বাচিত দুইজন সদস্যের মধ্যে মুসলমান সদস্য একজনও নাই। Faculty of Law হইতে নির্ব্বাচিত দুইজন সদস্যের মধ্যে, এবং Faculty of

Medicineএর দুইজন সদস্যের মধ্যে ও Engineering বিভাগ হইতে দুই জন নির্ব্বাচিত সদস্যের মধ্যে কোন মুসলমান সদস্য নাই। মোটের উপর কলিকাতা ইউনিভার্সিটির সিণ্ডিকেটের মোট ১৮ জন সদস্যের মধ্যে মুসলমান হইতেছেন দুইজন মাত্র। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উচ্চ অফিসারের মধ্যে, যেমন রেজিষ্ট্রার, এসিসটেণ্ট রেজিষ্ট্রার, কণ্ট্রোলার, অডিটার, ইনস্পেক্টার, সেক্রেটারী প্রভৃতির মধ্যে মুসলমান কেহ নাই। ইহার সহিত বর্ত্তমান মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলের বোর্ডে সদস্য গ্রহণ করা হইয়াছে মোট ৫৩ জন। ইহার মধ্যে Ex-officio ১৩ জন সদস্য ব্যতীত, সর্ব্বত্র হিন্দু ও মুসলমান সমসংখ্যক গ্রহণ করা হইয়াছে। "সিডিয়ুল্ড কাষ্ট" বা অনুন্নত হিন্দু, বৌদ্ধ এবং ইউরোপীয় ও এংলো-ইণ্ডিয়ানদের প্রতিনিধিত্বের প্রতিও বিশেষ লক্ষ্য করা হইয়াছে। আমার মতে, হিন্দু, মুসলমান সংখ্যানুপাতে কোনরূপ পক্ষপাতিত্ব করা হয় নাই। বিলের এই অংশটুকু সমর্থনযোগ্য। ইহা কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নির্ব্বাচন প্রণালী হইতে অধিকতর প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক হইয়াছে। এখন দেখিতে হইবে, সরকারী ও বেসরকারী সদস্যবর্গের অনুপাত কিরূপ হইয়াছে এবং উহা আপত্তিজনক কি না। মোট ৫৩ জন সদস্যের মধ্যে Ex-officio President সহ ১৩ জন, ইহারা সরকারী লোক। · বাংলা গভর্ণমেণ্ট মনোনীত করবেন ৮ জন, এই ২১ জন সরকারী পক্ষে ভোট দিবেন ইহা নিশ্চিত। তদ্ব্যতীত ৪ জন সাহায্যকৃত উচ্চ বিদ্যালয়ের হেড্ মাষ্টার ও দুইজন হেড মিষ্ট্রেস্ সদস্য, ইহারা স্কুলের স্বার্থের জন্য সরকারের বিপক্ষে যাইতে পারিবেন না। মোট ২৭ জন সরকারী সদস্যদের সংখ্যাধিক্যসহ সমুদয় সদস্যগণ মিলিয়া যে ২ জন স্ত্রীলোককে কো-অপ্‌ট্ করবেন তাহারা যে সরকার পক্ষে ভোট দিবেন ইহা স্বাভাবিক, উহা যোগ করিলে ২৯ জন হইল, এতৎসঙ্গে যোগ হইবেন ইউরোপীয়ান ও এংলো-ইণ্ডিয়ান মেম্বর ২ জন। ইহা ছাড়া মাদ্রাসা ও টোলের প্রতিনিধি তিন জন, ঢাকা ইউনিভার্সিটির প্রতিনিধি দুই জন মিলিয়া মোট ৩৬ জন সরকারী সদস্য হইবেন। সুতরাং ৫৩—৩৬=১৭ জন হইবেন বেসরকারী সদস্য। অতএব এই বোর্ডে সর্ব্বদাই সরকারী মতের প্রাধান্য থাকিবে। কোন সময় তাঁহারা জনমতের নিকট পরাজয় স্বীকার করিবেন না। সরকারী লোক হিন্দু হউন আর মুসলমানই হউন, তাঁহারা চির-কাল বৈদেশিক গভর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে অন্ধভাবে ভোট দিবেন। শিক্ষা বিভাগ সম্পূর্ণভাবে গভর্ণমেণ্টের কন্ট্রোলে যাওয়া কখনও উচিৎ নহে। বিলের ইন্-চার্জ্জ মন্ত্রী ; তিনি যে ক্ষেত্রে বিলের উদ্দেশ্য ও হেতুবাদ বর্ণনা করিয়াছেন, সেখানে এই কন্ট্রোলের যথেষ্ট দোহাই দিয়াছেন, তাহাতেই সরকারেব প্রকৃত উদ্দেশ্য ফুটিয়া উঠিয়াছে।

শিক্ষা বিভাগ সরকারের কর্ত্তৃত্বাধীনে থাকিলে যে কি সর্ব্বনাশ সাধিত হয় তাহা বুঝাইবার জন্য যথেষ্ট সময় আবশ্যক। মোটামুটি এইটুকু বলিলেই যথেষ্ট হইবে যে ইংরেজ আমলে রচিত ভারতের ইতিহাসে হিন্দু এবং মুসলমান যুগকে "অন্ধকার যুগ"রূপে বর্ণনা করা হইয়াছে। এলফেনষ্টাইন, কটন, ইলিয়ট্, লেথব্রিজ, হাণ্টার প্রভৃতি ঐতিহাসিকগণ মুসলিম কৃষ্টি, সভ্যতা ও শিক্ষা গৌরবের বস্তুগুলিকে যেভাবে মুছিয়া ফেলিয়া মোসলেম যুগের শাসন যুগকে কলঙ্ক-কালিমায় লেপিত করিয়া গিয়াছেন তাহা আজও দূরীভূত হয় নাই। হিন্দু লেখকগণ চর্ব্বিত চর্ব্বণ মাত্র করিয়াছেন বরং হিন্দু লেখক অক্ষয় কুমার মৈত্র ও মনীষি যদুনাথ সরকার প্রভৃতি ঔরঙ্গজেব ও সি[illegible] কলঙ্ক-কালিমা মোচনের যে চেষ্টা করিয়া গিয়াছেন মুসলমান লেখক দ্বারা তাহাও হইতে পারে নাই। আমরা মাদ্রাসায় আরবী অধ্যয়ন কালে ব্যবস্থা শাস্ত্রের জেহাদ, দণ্ডবিধি, বিচার, শাসন পদ্ধতি ইত্যাদি বহু অধ্যয়ন বাদ দিয়া ধর্ম্ম সংক্রান্ত পাঠ্য বই অধ্যয়ন করিতে বাধ্য হইয়াছি। তখন সরকারী মাদ্রাসায় মোস্‌লেম মূল ধর্ম্মশাস্ত্র কোরাণ ও হাদিস পড়া নিষিদ্ধ ছিল। স্বাধীনভাবে কোন ইতিহাস পড়তেও দেওয়া হইত না। ইতিহাস বলিতে আমাদের যুগে আরবী "সিরিয়া বিজয়" ও "তৈমুরলঙ্গের দস্যু জীবন কাহিনী" মাত্র পাঠ্য ছিল। ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস সম্বন্ধে আমরা একটা অক্ষরও পড়িবার

সুযোগ পাই নাই। শিক্ষা বিভাগকে বৈদেশিক গভর্ণমেণ্টের অধীন করার অর্থ এই হয় যে, আমাদের সন্তানদিগকে শিক্ষাকালে স্বাধীনতার আবহাওয়ার সীমা হইতে দূরে, বহু দূরে সরাইয়া রাখিয়া দাসত্ব জীবন অতিবাহিত করার আদব-কায়দা শিক্ষা ব্যতীত আর কিছুই হয় না। বিশেষ করিয়া শিল্প, বাণিজ্য, জ্ঞান, বিজ্ঞান ও হাতে কলমে কার্য্যকরী শিক্ষা হইতে বহু দূরে থাকিতে হইবে। যে শিক্ষার দ্বারা গাধার পুস্তক বহন মাত্র সার, সেই শিক্ষাই আমাদের অবলম্বন হইবে। তাই স্বাধীন দেশের শিক্ষার সহিত আমাদের শিক্ষার এত পার্থক্য। মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা বিলে সরকারী সদস্য সংখ্যা অধিক হওয়ায় ইহাতে যে মারাত্মক ফল ফলিবে, তাহা খোসামদজীবী শ্বেতাঙ্গদের চরণামৃত সেবনকারী ব্যক্তিগণ বুঝিতে পারিবেন না।

বিলের নির্ব্বাচন প্রণালীর কথা—স্বতন্ত্র নির্ব্বাচন বিলের শিরায় শিরায় প্রবাহিত করিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। হিন্দুদের মধ্যে যেমন কাষ্ট হিন্দু ও সিডিউল্ড কাষ্ট হিন্দুকে দুই ভাগে বিভক্ত করিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে, তেমনি মুসলমানগণের মধ্যে সিয়া, সুন্নি, হানাফী ও মোহাম্মদী ভাগ করিয়া দিলে স্বতন্ত্র নির্ব্বাচনের মহিমা ষোলকলায় ফুটিয়া উঠিত। তাহা বোধ হয় এমেণ্ডমেণ্টের ধাপে পূর্ণ করা হইবে। ইহার ফলে কোন সম্প্রদায়েরই উদারচেতা, স্বাধীন মতবাদী, নিরপেক্ষ লোক নির্ব্বাচিত হইতে পারিবেন না। সাম্প্রদায়িক কলহ, বিবাদ দেশে চিরকাল বিরাজমান থাকিবে। গত দুই বৎসরের মধ্যে ঢাকায় সাম্প্রদায়িক বিরোধের ফলে হিন্দু মুসলমানের যে ক্ষতি সাধিত হইয়াছে তাহা শত বর্ষেও পূর্ণ হইবে না। মুসলীম লীগ ইহাতে কি সুবিধা পাইতেছেন জানি না। তাহারা বলিবেন, মিশ্র নির্ব্বাচনে খাঁটি মুসলমান নির্ব্বাচিত হইতে পারিবেন না, হিন্দুর ফেনচাটা লোকই নির্ব্বাচিত হইবে। কিন্তু স্বতন্ত্র নির্ব্বাচনে সঙ্কীর্ণচেতা, কলহপ্রিয় ও সরকারের খয়েরখাঁ লোক ব্যতীত কোন স্বাধীনচেতা যোগ্য ব্যক্তি যে মেম্বর নির্ব্বাচিত হইয়া আসিতে পারিবে না ইহা কি সত্য নহে? মিশ্র নির্ব্বাচনে যদি হিন্দুর ফেনচাটা মুসলমান নির্ব্বাচিত হয়, তাহা হইলে ঐরূপে মুসলমানের ফেনচাটা হিন্দুও নির্ব্বাচিত হইবে। বিষে বিষ নামাইবে।

Mr. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of great shame I must admit that at a time when this world is passing through a crisis, when Bengal has become the battle ground of nations, we in this Assembly are fighting over a controversial Bill, viz., the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. It is said that the Bill has been long delayed, it is long overdue. As has already been stated Ministers after Ministers administered this Province but up till now they could not get such a measure through the Legislative Assembly or the then Council. This Bill could have waited a few months more.

Sir, so far as my party is concerned, I can say this that the Chief Minister called a conference of the different party leaders a few days back. We thought that he wanted to have a discussion and to arrive at a conclusion. We found practically that his mind was made up. Sir, before starting for Delhi I told Sir Nazimuddin "well, why not refer the Bill to the Select Committe for a short while, say for a month and then try to bring some sort of adjustments. If you fail, then you have got a majority, you can easily put it before the House and get this Bill passed". I made this request to him and I left for Delhi. When I came back I saw that nothing came out of the conference and the Bill was under discussion before the House. For the last few days the Bill has been discussed. Speakers after speakers from both the Opposition benches and from the Ministerialist benches have spoken against and in favour of this Bill. I wonder why such a controversial Bill has been foisted on us just at this moment. I will not pursue Mr. Tamizuddin Khan though he is the father of the Bill. I will foist everything on the shoulder of Sir Nazimuddin's Ministry. I know Mr. Tamizuddin is a good and serviceable gentleman. He was elected on League ticket. Then he wanted to contest the Speaker's seat,

He came to the Krishak Proja Party; we gave him the ticket. After having failed there he joined the Ministerialist Party. Then when he found that he got no job, he formed an Independent Proja Party and joined the Opposition. Then arrangements were made and when I entered the Cabinet of Mr. Fazlul Huq in 1938, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan also followed suit on certain terms and conditions. When those terms and conditions were not fulfilled, I resigned my seat in the Cabinet, but Mr. Tamizuddin Khan stuck to his post like a leech. What happened afterwards I do not know. Possibly he is a leaguer. So I find no difficulty with my friend Mr. Tamizuddin Khan. He will bring in any measure which his Chief will ask him to do. For a long time Sir Nazimuddin has in his mind the idea of bringing this Bill. Really I have tried in vain to find out why at this critical juncture of the nation's history he has brought this Bill. I do not know the exact date when this Bill was brought in. But the Bill was put before the House one or two days earlier than the scheduled date. Possibly Nawab Faroqui's election caused some flutter in the dovecots of the Ministerialist Party. However, I leave it at that. Now, I will come back to Sir Nazimuddin. I was reading the speech delivered by Sir Nazimuddin at Gaya (Mr. PRAMATHA NATH BANERJEE: For giving *pindas* to the Hindus possibly) in the first Pakisthan Conference. I thought that Sir Nazimuddin was trying just to usher in Pakisthan in this Province, and possibly this is the beginning. Sir, before I speak about the clauses of the Bill I should like to read some portion of the speech that Sir Nazimuddin delivered:

Mr. ABDULLA-AL MAHMOOD: Where?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: At Gaya. Sir Nazimuddin said that "Great Britain which had accepted and conceded the principle of Pakisthan for India would be forced to concede the Muslim demand in full in view of having to recognise similar demands from other parts of the world".

Then he goes on to say "We have the commitment of the British Cabinet and it is our duty to see that we do not allow the British Cabinet to go back on their words." He goes on again to point out "I also believe in the history that it is the duty of the Muslim Ministry in the majority provinces to so govern and administer that non-Muslim minorities will have no reason to oppose the scheme of Pakisthan. (A VOICE: Rightly said.) I do not know the enunciation of the principle by which a particular Ministry can be called Muslim Ministry. I do not know whether this is Muslim Ministry. I have yet to learn that Mr. Goswami abjured his faith as a Hindu and that Mr. Pain has renounced his faith. The so-called Muslim Ministry at best might be called a Coalition Ministry and the Coalition Ministry has to concede to the demands of the minorities. Then Sir, he goes on. "I am one of those who maintain that unless we Indians could come to an agreement amongst ourselves we cannot force the issue on Great Britain. As long as we do not come to terms and present a united demand the trump card will remain in the hands of the British Government and we shall be fighting a losing battle. Therefore we come back finally to the proposition whether we want to remain under foreign domination or attain independence". Once at least Sir, I have heard Sir Nazimuddin talking of foreign domination and independence.

Mr. KIRAN SANKAR ROY: He says that outside this province—one language there and another here.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: He has also said about minority communities. I am coming to that.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ISRAIL: Is it relevant?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Relevancy is not a monopoly of Mr. Israil. We know something about relevancy. Is it relevant to secure votes by whatever method possible—by giving contracts or by giving money?

Mr. SPEAKER: Do not bring in extraneous matter. Please come to the point.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir Nazimuddin wants to govern this province. I say, yes, let him govern as the Chief Minister of this province. But the Hindus of Bengal no matter what Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakrabarty may say about Pakisthan—to a man are opposed to this Bill. Look at the other parties even amongst the Muslims. In this very House the Muslims are divided. (Cries of "Ha, ha" from the Government Benches.) I know what that "Ha, ha" means. Forty members belonging to the Muslim community are opposed to this Bill. Now, Sir, what is being asked? What are we debating now? We are asking that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee where people can sit together, discuss and talk across the table and if possible find a solution. At this time we want peace. Sir Nazimuddin, an honorary Major—he might not fight in a battle but still he is a Major—wants to rule this province. I think that he and his Government want peace in this province. Is this the way to create a peaceful atmosphere? Is this the way to go about the business? Are they not by throwing in an apple of discord in the shape of Secondary Education Bill causing disunity at a moment when all forces of different communities should have been harnessed together to fight the war? From that speech of Sir Nazimuddin I should have expected that he would have consideration for the minority communities in a major province of which he is the Chief Minister. If wisdom had dawned on him he would not have without consulting the Hindu community brought in this Bill. I am leaving Sir Nazimuddin there.

Now let me see what the history of secondary education is. The speakers from the Ministerialist Benches have talked about Hindu domination in the University, Hindu domination in the Legislature, Hindu domination in the administrative offices and Hindu domination elsewhere. But Sir, my friends have forgotten History. Even Sir Nazimuddin has forgotten history. He has said somewhere that he has never known in the past that there has been a united India with a central Government. If Sir Nazimuddin had read any history, either Hindu or Muslim, he would have known that in the Hindu period as well as in the Muhammadan period all rulers, all emperors had tried to rule India from a central place. Harshavardhan, Chandragupta and Asoka ruled from a central place. As soon as the central authority was weakened, disruption overtook the country. Akbar, Shahjahan and Aurangazeb all ruled from Delhi, not from Dacca. Therefore, I say that Sir Nazimuddin has forgotten history. I am telling him that he ought to re-read History. There was a central Government in the past in India and in future Hindus and Mussalmans have got to live in this land. They have got to inhabit this land of theirs. They may belong to different faiths. All the same they will have to live in this land. You cannot divide the Ganges, you cannot divide the Brahmaputra, you cannot divide the Himalayas and you cannot divide politically the Bengalee race, Hindu and Muslim, and thereby create a division. My friends opposite have come to the Legislature, may I ask by whose votes? By the votes of the "chashas." The Krishak Proja Party adopted the principle and they stand for the abolition of permanent settlement as that would lead to the betterment of the masses. We accepted the principle of abolition of permanent settlement. We carried that in the Cabinet. We announced that on the floor of the House when the last Ministry of Mr. Fazlul Huq ruled this province. Why has Sir Nazimuddin given that up? Because he feels and he knows very well that if that goes, his hold on the province will go. He cannot speak th/

tongue of the people, he cannot live the life of the people and he cannot think in terms of the needs of the masses of this province. Therefore, Sir, he wants to divert the attention of the people from the thing which the Hindus and Mussalmans want. What has this Ministry done? It has doubled the sales tax and imposed the agricultural income-tax. Instead of abolishing the permanent settlement, it is imposing tax after tax and on top of it bringing this measure. Why, because the members of the Cabinet feel that in order to keep their seats on the treasury benches, they must bring about disunity amongst Hindus and Mussalmans. We want reforms in this country. We do not want disunion between Hindus and Mussalmans. These people have forgotten history. From 1757 to 1857, during that period of one hundred years, it was not the Hindus that crushed the Muslims, but it was the British Imperialism that crushed the Muslims. Read history and then say "ha", "ha". After that what follows?—Islamic culture, Islamic education was crushed and then English education followed. Today I am speaking in the English language. (A VOICE: Why do you speak in that language?) English is a foreign language to me. I have learnt that language. I should have spoken in my mother tongue, but I cannot do it. Therefore, it is a misfortune but time is coming when we will speak in our mother language. If you think that Hindus are enemy No. 1, fight them openly, but if you feel that they are not enemy No. 1, then there is somebody else behind the screen——

Nawabzada K. NASARULLAH: Who?

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Don't you know who he is?

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Have you forgotten Sir John Herbert who installed Sir Nazimuddin in the *gadi* through the backdoor? (Cries of "shame", "shame" from the Opposition benches.) In the most shameful way it was done. Sir Nazimuddin approached Dr. Mookerjee, Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and this man and that man. Sir Nazimuddin spoke at the Ochterloney Monument: "Shamsuddin, the Krishak Proja Party leader, has no following: do not talk to him".

Mr. SPEAKER: You have got only a few minutes more. Kindly come to the point.

Mr. M. SHAMSUDDIN AHMED: Sir, this is the only point that is to be discussed, because I know that this Ministry wants to live on communal discord. The day when communal discord goes, this Ministry goes out of office. That is the reason why they want to divert the attention of the people of the country. They will not take up any measure for the abolition of the Permanent Settlement, but they will bring such a measure before the House. What will happen?—Heaven will not fall. Sir Nazimuddin will not be pushed out of office if you suspend this Bill. Let the leaders of the different parties sit together. Let Sir Nazimuddin sit together with representatives of different parties for the common good of the montherland; for the good of the country; and for the common good of the land we live in.

Sir, the position that has been created by this Ministry will be intolerable. Let us visualise the situation that is going to arise. Sir Nazimuddin thinks that with his majority in the House he can rush the Bill through. The Hindu community refuses this Bill. They refuse to abide by the decision. They have their own Council. Well, Sir, you know that the Congress started agitation in 1920. They did many things. Even today if the Congress and other bodies of the House do combine they can run a National Council of Education and thereby educate their boys. How many schools have been started by the friends over there in Bengal? How many schools are run by Sir Nazimuddin who belongs to a family of zemindars, in his zemindary? How many schools are his friends running in their zemindaries? Mr. Abdul Rahman Siddiqi talked about Islam

yesterday, and so did Mr. Ispahani. Let Mr. Ispahani go to Ispahan and let Mr. Siddiqi go to Sind and take the place of Allah Bux or somebody else. Let us, Bengali Hindus and Muslims, sit together and think out what is required for the good, for the future good of Hindus and Muslims in respect of the education of this Province—not the education that is contemplated under the Primary Education Act.

(At this time the member reached his time-limit but was allowed two minutes more to finish his speech).

You know the Primary Education Act that was passed a few years back. This sapped the foundation of Primary Education. The numbers of schools have dwindled, and grant has not been increased. Therefore what do we find? No question of finance but only that of control. I ask how much money will be given to the schools? What you contemplate is only control. What is to be controlled? Well, Sir, these are all tricks. Therefore, even at this late hour I would repeat the advice which I gave Sir Nazimuddin the other day and ask him to consider in all seriousness whether in this atmosphere when peace is wanted they should rush a Bill of this nature through the legislature; if he will sit down for fifteen days or a month for the consideration of the Bill, I do not think the Muslim community will go to rack and ruin or the Hindus will vanish from Bengal. Therefore, Sir, I am supporting the motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. I hope Sir Nazimuddin will think twice, thrice or four times before he takes up this adventurous task of creating a Pakistan in education. Even Mr. Jinnah will fail in his Pakistan. The British Government will give Mr. Jinnah a push when they think it necessary. The other day he has got it in the Punjab. I am therefore asking Sir Nazimuddin in all seriousness to reconsider the matter and retrace his steps and to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: Hon'ble Mr. Goswami.

(As soon as the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami rose to speak there were loud noise and cries of "Sit down, sit down; we won't hear you" from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I have called upon Mr. Goswami to speak.

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Sir,—

(Again there was loud noise from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAYA: On whose behalf he is speaking, Sir?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I am speaking on my own behalf——

(Again there was tremendous noise from the Opposition benches.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: A renegade and a traitor!—

(Loud noise and counter-noise from both sides.)

The Hon'ble Mr. BARADA PRASANNA PAIN: I know your history——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: I also know your history of defrauding the Howrah Municipality as its Chairman——

(Loud noise and counter-noise.)

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Get out——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: You get out, you have no right to be here——

(Again loud noise from both the sides of the House.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I hope, gentlemen, you will allow Mr. Goswami to speak.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, we do not like to hear him, he is a traitor. Let us hear the Muslim point of view——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Please let him speak.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On whose behalf is he speaking, Sir? He does not represent anybody.

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I am speaking on my own behalf——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We won't hear a traitor and a hireling (Loud noise and counter-noise from both sides of the House). Resign and seek re-election. (Loud noise.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I am sorry, gentlemen, that when I have called upon the Hon'ble Mr. Goswami to speak——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: He has no *locus standi*—he does not represent anybody.

Mr. SPEAKER: You have expressed enough resentment, but perhaps you are going beyond limit. He has got every right to speak; and he shall have the right to speak so long as he is a member of this House and he is still a member of this House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That is a very unfortunate part of it. Let him resign and seek election——

(Loud noise from the Government Benches.)

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Let him get a mandate from his constituency.

(At this stage the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami attempted to speak but his voice was drowned by the loud noise and table thumpings from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite understand you don't want him to speak——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Let us hear the Leaders. We are not prepared to sit late till 10 o'clock to allow this buffoonery to go on. Let us hear the Leaders. He could have taken other days. This is the Leaders' day.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope you all realise the dignity of the House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: This is the Leaders' day and we do not want anybody else to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: When I am on my legs, it is only fair to the Speaker that you will kindly allow him to finish.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: Let him come with a clear mandate from his own constituency.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Goswami.

(At this stage the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami again attempted to speak but his voice was drowned by the loud noise, cries of "No" "No", and table thumpings from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot allow this sort of things to go on *ad infinitum*.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We also don't want. Let Sir Nazimuddin speak. We will listen to him.

Mr. BIRAT CHANDRA MANDAL: Let him embrace Islam.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We will hear Mr. David Hendry but not him. He is a traitor.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I can appeal to the honourable members to bear in mind (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: That there are traitors in this House.) to keep the dignity of this House and also their respective responsibility. It is not for me to shut out a member from speaking. It is certainly not for me to shut out anybody.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: We do not like to hear him.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Opposition may not like a certain gentleman to be heard but that is no reason why he should not be allowed to speak.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Not on the Leaders' day. He will have other opportunities.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you allow me to finish? The point is that, as I see from the agreed list of speakers that was agreed to by the Whips of different parties, he will speak today and I called upon him to speak. It is not fair——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We want to listen to Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Mr. David Hendry. We want to listen to Sir Nazimuddin but not traitors.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope that the Opposition will not create any more disturbance and allow Mr. Goswami to speak.

(At this stage the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami attempted to speak but his voice was drowned by the cries of "No" "No" and table thumpings.)

Khan Bahadur Haji BADI AHMED CHOWDHURY: মিঃ স্পীকার, Sir, আমি এ বিষয়ে এই বলিতে চাই। মন্ত্রী এবং সেক্রেটারিগণ গভর্ণমেণ্টের বেতনভোগী। যে বিলটা গভর্ণমেণ্ট কর্ত্তৃক আনীত হবে বিভাগীয় মন্ত্রী শুধু সেই বিলটা পাঠ করিবেন ও সে সম্বন্ধে যাহা বলার বলিবেন অন্য বিভাগীয় মন্ত্রী সে বিষয়ে বলিবেন কেন? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. SPEAKER: অন্য মন্ত্রীগণও এই হাউসের member, তাঁদের বলবার পক্ষে আইনে কিছু বাধা নাই।

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I would request the Opposition to give Mr. Goswami a hearing——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On whose behalf? He does not represent anybody.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: On his own behalf as a member of the Cabinet. We feel that if Mr. Goswami is not allowed to speak without interruption, then we on our part are not going to make any speech but would request you, Sir, to put the motion to vote immediately that the question be now put and I would appeal to you——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: If you do not speak, there are other Leaders ready to speak. If you do not speak, we have got a right to speak.

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: The only thing for us is to move that the question be now put and the motions be put to vote because I apprehend that a similar treatment may be meted out by my members if

speakers on the other side speak. There will be absolute chaos and nothing is to be gained. Therefore, I suggest that either Mr. Goswami be given a hearing or you put the question to vote.

Mr. ATUL CHANDRA SEN: You speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would like Mr. Fazlul Huq just to help me in this affair.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Would you adjourn the House for 10 minutes and let me have some time to talk to these gentlemen. I am not very happy about what is happening?

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: We have no objection.

(At this stage the House was adjourned for 10 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir. We understand that Mr. Atul Chandra Kumar, a member of this Assembly, has tendered his resignation from the Government party, because his constituency demanded such resignation. Is that correct? We are also entitled to know whether Mr. Goswami is going to follow the lead that Mr. Kumar has given and tender similar resignation as his constituency has also demanded his resignation. (Cries of "Resign, resign" from the Opposition Benches.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, Mr. Fazlul Huq.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir, I have to the best of my ability utilised the ten minutes' time that you were pleased to give me to try and find out if there was any means of putting an end to what has been happening during the last few minutes.

I am desired by all the different sections in opposition to tell you that in whatever might have happened no disrespect was meant to the Chair. (Cries of "Hear, hear" from the Opposition Benches.) The members who took part in the demonstration felt very strongly that the Hon'ble Mr. Goswami should not be allowed to speak.

Sir, as to the ethics of the decision I have got nothing to say. I am only telling the facts. As far as I have been able to ascertain they adhere to that decision.

In these circumstances, I respectfully suggest that you confine the debate to the leaders of the various groups and, if I am permitted to say so, I would request my esteemed friend Mr. Goswami not to address the House in the present temper of the House.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Mr. Speaker, Sir,——

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope there is not going to be a speech.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: No, Sir. Lest, Sir, you feel that we are taking recourse to unconstitutional conduct on the part of the Opposition I want to make it perfectly clear, particularly because I am the Whip of the party to which Mr. Goswami formerly belonged. I want to explain our attitude since Mr. Goswami has made it perfectly clear half a dozen times that he will speak on his own behalf and since the arrangement was that only party leaders would speak and since there is a unanimous demand from his constituency to oppose this Bill or to resign therefore, Sir, we are determined not to allow him to speak, and we are not prepared to hear him.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you resume your seat? I do not think that this is the time for a speech. I have said all that I had got to say. What do you say, Sir Nazimuddin?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: Sir, I have made it absolutely clear that we will be forced to ask you to put the question to vote. (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Under the rules that cannot be done.) I think this point is quite clear. The subject has been discussed for the last 10 or 15 days and if any member obstructs any further debate then, Sir, I think you have got no option but to put the question to vote and have a decision of the House, because the other alternative will be chaos which no responsible Speaker can permit.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Is that a threat to the Chair?

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: On a point of order, Sir,——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order; it is not a question of threat to the Chair. The Hon'ble Leader of the House has explained his view and the learned Leader of the Opposition has also expressed his views. It appears to me that I am in a very difficult position. The difficulty arises in this way. I got a list which I thought was agreed to by all the Whips, and I called honourable members of this House according to that list. Mr. Goswami's name came immediately after Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Much water has flown after that.) It may be so, but I am not aware of that. Now the position appears to be this. The Opposition, if I have understood aright the Leader of the Opposition, is not willing to hear Mr. Goswami (Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Or any one but the leaders) and the ministerialist party think that it is unfair that he should not be heard. (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Why?) That is what was said.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We shall not allow Government to set up a caste Hindu hireling to support this Bill. (Uproar.) We have seen the performance of another traitor and hireling.

Maulvi ABDUL LATIF BISWAS: Dr. Sanyal, use your language guardedly.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Leader of the House has practically stated that if Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami be not allowed to speak, the only other alternative is that the question be now put.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: He cannot coerce you.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Under the rules it is impossible.

Mr. SPEAKER: Therein I have got some difficulty. The difficulty is that many of the leaders including the Leader of the European Group Mr. Hendry have not yet spoken. But I find it extremely difficult to reconcile myself to ask an honourable member, who is a member of the Cabinet whom I have called to speak, not to speak. That is extremely difficult for me. (Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Many difficult things have got to be done.) I hope the entire House will assist me to get out of this difficulty.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: We have not created this difficulty. Let him who has made him a Minister solve this difficulty.

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the Opposition will realise that every member of this House has got an equal right of audience.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Not at this stage. Leaders stand on a different footing.

Sj. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: One who betrays his party and his constituency should not be allowed to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. I am on my legs. If a member of this House is not allowed to speak because of certain conduct of his in respect of his duty as a member I think that will be taking the law practically into one's own hands.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: In a constitutional manner.

Mr. SPEAKER: If you say today that Mr. T. C. Goswami should not be allowed to speak tomorrow somebody else may say that another member should not be allowed to speak. There have been occasions in this House of members changing parties. Various honourable members have changed parties.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: They have not lost the confidence of their constituencies.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is another matter. So far as I am concerned standing here as the Speaker of this House I do not think I can debar any member of this House from speaking.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: We won't listen to him.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the Opposition takes up that attitude and causes obstruction then my position will be extremenly difficult. Still I will have to find some solution of the difficulty. I would appeal to you all gentlemen to reconsider the position very carefully. If you say that a member of this House should not be allowed to speak I do not think it is fair for me to ask him not to speak. I find it extremely difficult to adopt that course. I hope you will give him a hearing. You may take outside this House any step against him that is in your power constitutionally. (Interruption.)

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is your point of order?

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: The point of order is this. We all want to put one question to you. Is it the only solution that you have found to this that you want to inflict a speech of a member upon the unwilling ears of the Opposition? Please find out some other solution of the difficulty. (Interruption.)

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir NAZIMUDDIN: I formally move that the question be now put.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Under the rules it is impossible.

Mr. A. F. STARK: On behalf of the European Party I second the motion of the Hon'ble the Chief Minister.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: The European party may indulge in any amount of nonsense.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Leader of the House has moved the question be now put.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: The Leader of the House has no *locus standi* in that respect.

Mr. SPEAKER: Every member has got the right to move when any motion is under discussion that the question be now put. Rule 46 says "When any motion is under discussion any member may move (Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Yes, as a member) that the question be now put, and unless it appears to the Speaker that the request is an abuse of these rules or an infringement of the rights of reasonable debate or of the rights of the Opposition the question that the question be now put shall be put forthwith without debate thereon. If such motion be carried the question shall be put accordingly provided that the Speaker may, unless the time if any allotted to the original motion is thereby exceeded, permit the mover of such motion to exercise such right of reply as provided in these rules".

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Before you give your decision won't you hear us on the closure motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: What is it that you want to say?

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: I was going to point out to you two expressions in that rule. It is entirely left to your discretion, Sir, whether you will accept the closure motion or not. But there are two expressions in that rule to which I will invite your attention. First, it must not be an infringement of the right of reasonable debate, and in that connection, Sir, I would point out to you that many leaders of the parties in the Opposition have not yet spoken. Secondly, there is another expression "Unless it be an infringement of the rights of the Opposition" and many important speakers on this side of the House, particularly the leaders of the Opposition parties have not yet spoken. Are you going to use your discretion in favour of the closure motion ignoring these points and facts?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: May I just add a word to what has just been stated by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri? So far as the question of reasonable debate is concerned, the House has the right to listen to the reply of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Bill before it can make up its mind. We are still waiting for that opportunity. Therefore you cannot say that there has been a reasonable debate on the Bill. Secondly, so far as the rights of the Opposition are concerned, it is open to the members of the Opposition to claim that their leaders should be given a hearing before the Hon'ble Minister speaks in reply. In these circumstances I would submit, Sir, that the rule is clear and easy for you to decide that there has been no reasonable debate and that this closure motion is entirely premature.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. S. SUHRAWARDY: On this point of order, Sir, I may humbly submit that the Opposition has disentitled itself to any further right to speak by obstructing the debate.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Under which rule?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am sorry, I am in an extremely painful position. On the one hand it has been stated that the leaders have not spoken. It is a fact that leaders have not spoken, but I think the Opposition will realise at the same time that if a member of the Cabinet is not allowed to speak by the Opposition, what attitude the ministerialist party may take when the leaders will speak.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Who is he to speak with regard to this Bill?

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: Who are you?

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: Have you not yet realised who we are?

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: We are not traitors and betrayers like you——

(Loud noise and counter-noise from both sides of the House.)

Khan Bahadur MOHAMMED ALI: Sir, the question that the question be now put is before you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I know that. May I again appeal to the Leader of the Opposition and other leaders of the different groups in Opposition just to reconsider the matter.

(At this stage the House was adjourned till 7-30 p.m.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SPEAKER: I regret I kept the House waiting. I was discussing with the leaders——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: But, Sir, why did the Whip of the European Party go to your chamber and abuse you?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is not before the House.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Sir, he had no right to go there and insult you. He must apologise.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, since Dr. Sanyal has raised that question, it is a question of the dignity of the House and we are here to protect your dignity, and we want to know the real state of things. The European Group can domineer over the Government but they have no right to domineer over the Speaker.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: Sir, the House demands from you to know whether or not it is a fact that Mr. Stark went to your chamber uninvited and insulted you. If that is so, we are not going to allow the proceedings of the House to be taken up unless he makes sufficient amends for it.

Mr. DAVID HENDRY: Sir, since this has happened, I have already apologised for the incident and I can assure you that Mr. Stark is also ready to apologise on his own behalf.

Mr. A. F. STARK: I am certainly sorry, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is really very sad that there has been no agreement between the Leader of the House and the leaders of the different Opposition groups. I tried my best but it appears that no agreement has been possible. In these circumstances I have got to give my decision in this matter. This Bill and the motion for consideration as well as the amendments have been discussed for quite a number of days and quite a large number of members have spoken on this Bill.

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Excluding the leaders.

Mr. SPEAKER: It was required practically by an agreement that this should be put to vote today. The agreed programme put up before me includes the names of certain members including some leaders of the parties, which include the name of the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: That was a mistake. He was not a leader of a party.

Mr. SPEAKER: I was simply following that programme. Suddenly when I called Mr. Goswami it appeared that the Opposition was not in a mood to give him a hearing. The Government side naturally resented this idea, and it appears that both the parties are adamant. I expected some sort of agreement and I expected that this would be finished today. I still hope that it will be finished today, but if it be the attitude of the members of this House that they will not allow any further discussion, either on this side or on that side, I will have no other alternative but to allow the closure motion. That is the only course possible.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sir, we are ready to hear the Leader of the House and Mr. Tamizuddin Khan.

Mr. SPEAKER: I quite understand the attitude of the Opposition. It means that they are not willing to give a hearing to the Hon'ble Mr. Goswami. The reasons may be clear to the Opposition but they are not so clear to the Government side. The practical effect of this is that the Government side do not desire that Mr. Goswami should not be allowed to speak.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: That is unreasonable.

Mr. SPEAKER: They are prepared to allow the Opposition leaders to speak according to the programme that has been agreed to. In these circumstances I do not think that I can proceed any further in a House which is not in a mood to hear him.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Adjourn the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would have done that if this had not been the last day for the discussion of this measure. This has been discussed more than enough and I want to know from the Leader of the Opposition whether he will allow Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami to be heard.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: How can he?

Mr. SYED BADRUDDUJA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, he has in no uncertain terms expressed the views of the Opposition that the Opposition is not in a mood to give Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami a hearing. He has said that in so many words.

Mr. SPEAKER: After discussion for so long a time I want it to be stated before the House what is the attitude of the Leader of the Opposition which I take would be the attitude of the Opposition.

Rai HARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI: If we do not hear Mr. Goswami are we to lose our rights under the rules as a penalty?

Mr. SPEAKER: I will give my decision later on. I want to know from Mr. Fazlul Huq——

Dr. NALINAKSHA SANYAL: Before the Leader of the Opposition speaks I would like to speak about the agreement and the agreed list because I think I owe an explanation to the House as to how the agreed list has been prepared. The list bears my signature as well as the signature of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the Chief Whip of the Government. Sir, the list was prepared three days ago and as you know we have accommodated certain members in addition to the list on this day only because yesterday those members could not find much time to speak. Furthermore, Sir, the list was prepared with a clear idea that certain Hindu representatives representing certain constituencies will put forth their views of the constituencies. When we found the other day that one member of the Government side spoke in a manner extremely distasteful and contrary to the opinion of his constituency we had to decide, Sir, not to permit any Hindu show-boy of

the Government side to be put up as a supporter of the Bill. As the Muslim members of the Government side would not like any one, as they have made it clear, to voice Muslim opinion as a show-boy of the Hindus; so we also like that nobody should be allowed to speak here representing a viewpoint which that constituency has not allowed him to speak. Sir, let Mr. Goswami take his constituency's views and give that to the House. Mr. Chattopadhyay on this side at the beginning asked him whom he was representing. He said in reply he was representing only himself and it was on that statement that he was not representing anybody but himself that we took the decision not to allow him to speak.

The Hon'ble Mr. TULSI CHANDRA GOSWAMI: You are not speaking the truth. That is a lie.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: Sir,——(Interruptions from Coalition benches.) The Speaker has asked me to say something and I do not think it is fair to me and fair to the Speaker for any one to interrupt me.

Sir, I have already explained to you the circumstances and also the reasons for which certain members on this side of the House do not think that they can allow the Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami to speak. Sir, I am not expressing any opinion as to whether they are right or whether they are wrong. I am only stating a fact. Unfortunately, Sir, the situation that has arisen in this House has a parallel also in what has occurred on previous occasions when we were in office and these gentlemen who are now sitting as Ministers or as supporters of Ministers were in Opposition. I recall one instance in which Dr. Mookerjee, a Minister, was not allowed to speak and he himself surrendered his right and that put an end to the disturbance that had arisen. In September, 1942, when Mr. Badrudduja wanted to move an amendment to a certain resolution there were uproarious scenes in the House and when the Deputy Speaker, who was then presiding, wanted to put the motion to the vote, about a dozen members rushed to his seat and wanted actually to assault him. All these things happened so that we are not without a precedent. But, Sir, I fail to see why because as between one member and another there may be a feeling that one member should not be allowed to speak the debate should be stopped. Now, Sir, may I point out to you, as you have observed more than once, that the right of members to speak must not be interfered with. Now, as I read the rules, I understand that that means that no extraneous authority should interfere, for instance the Speaker must hold the balance even between a member and a member, but, Sir, supposing certain sections of the House form certain opinion about certain members you are not here to interfere and to judge who is right and who is wrong.

So far as leadership is concerned, no leader can claim that he has got any right to dictate to the feelings and sentiments of those who are his supporters or followers. Leadership ends with political allegiance but when it comes to a matter of feeling—religious, social, political or otherwise —I think it is beyond my jurisdiction to dictate to those of my friends who have accepted my leadership and who are willing to follow not for their religious or other sentiments but so far as political exigencies are concerned. Therefore, Sir, I cannot impose my will on the will of those gentlemen who have accepted me as a leader. I have tried my best. I think I have made my position clear. I suppose the best course would be not to stop the debate but you can adjourn the House——(Cries of "ha" "ha" from the Coalition benches.) You have got a majority, you will carry. Why do you cry "ha" "ha". You have a most dishonest majority. I have proof in my pocket to show what sort of majority that is. There are gentlemen who have got contracts, who have money in their pockets. I damn that majority.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think I have got much more to say. As far as I have been able to understand the views of the Government as well as

of the Opposition, both sides seem to be adamant. There is a suggestion from the Leader of the Opposition that the House might be adjourned and that the debate may be continued, if I have understood him aright. Well, I am prepared to allow the debate to continue but if you do not allow how can I carry on? That is the whole trouble. Therefore, that point is out of the question altogether.

Mr. HARIPADA CHATTOPADHYAY: Why not keep him aside for the time being?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not for me to keep him aside in this way. Unfortunately if things had not been arranged in this way, perhaps I could have done something. However, if debate is to go on, my considered view is that, however short the time may be, Mr. Goswami must be allowed to speak.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: No point of order arises. Will you kindly resume your seat? It may be that he may not talk long, but he should be allowed to talk. That is my decision, but if that is not conceded, then the only other alternative that appears to me to be practicable is to close the debate and put the question to vote.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. SPEAKER: There cannot be any point of order on a statement made by the Speaker.

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: On a point of order about the proceedings. Sir, may I request you not to be guided by passion? At least there should be one man in the House who is above heat and passion. I was raising the point of order only to help you out of the difficulty. Sir, there is no hard and fast formula about the order of speeches. In the past you have changed orders of speeches many times. In your wisdom without coming to decision on the present controversy for the time being, you can ask the Hon'ble Mr Tulsi Chandra Goswami to wait for some time. We can proceed with the debate and you can call upon the other members to speak. But for the time being to insist upon Mr. Goswami to speak is practically amounting to taking side with the Government. We appeal to you, Sir, not to be guided by the passion of Government or by the passion of anybody else. You are here to hold the scales even. You have got to help the situation and if you want real debate to proceed, in your sympathy for all members, you cannot do injustice to the whole House. So, Sir, we call upon you to continue the debate. We want to hear the Leader of the Opposition, we want to hear other members of the Opposition. Why are you debarring us?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have said what I had to say. I do not think I have got anything more to add. I again appeal to the Leader of the Opposition if he can help me in this difficult situation.

Mr. A. K. FAZLUL HUQ: There is much practical sense in what my young friend Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal has said. You do not decide anything adverse to the Hon'ble Mr. Goswami. That point will come up later. Just now if you let other speakers go on, it may be that this temper may come down and it may be possible for us to persuade those on this side of the House who are not allowing Mr. Goswami to speak to listen, and allow him to speak for some time. Meanwhile, without wasting time let us hear one or two speakers, then let us hear Mr. Hendry without prejudice to the right of Mr. Goswami. I consider that to be a good suggestion.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think, this is in any way helpful to me, because that will be simply putting off the matter. I do not think Government side will agree to that.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: Mr. Goswami will be in possession of the House. We cannot agree to any other suggestion.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: What is it, Sir, that Mr. Fazlur Rahman said.

Mr. FAZLUR RAHMAN: My point is that the question be put to the House immediately.

Mr. SPEAKER: Over this matter precious time has been wasted. I have consulted the leaders separately and collectively, and I am not hopeful that any further delay will improve matters. Therefore I am in a painful position of having to give my decision here and now. I do not think that the Government and the Opposition will be in a mood to accommodate each other—I mean either the Government or the Opposition. Both sides are adamant and in these circumstances and in view of the fact that this is the last day for discussion of this matter I am compelled to put the matter——

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Before you put the question, Sir, let us understand the situation clearly. Are we to understand that you want to debar the Opposition from their right of reply. That is the clear cut question and we want a definite answer.

Mr. SANTOSH KUMAR BASU: May I draw your attention to rule 46? We are not going to yield an inch of our right. We are not going to compromise even at the whims of the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the position taken up by the Opposition is that they are not going to obey my ruling (Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: If your ruling is not reasonable) if I say that the motion be now put to vote. That is the position. I understand it, but I think that I have been painfully driven to that position. I have no other alternative but to put the question and therefore I put the question——

Mr. SASANKA SEKHAR SANYAL: Sit as an impartial judge and not as a partisan. That is my final appeal to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have now found out. Both sides are adamant and I have got a very painful duty to put the question. (Desk thumping and interruptions from the Opposition benches.)

The question that the question be now put was then put and agreed to.

(Opposition members were shouting and thumping their desks all the time. Mr. Haripada Chattopadhyaya lifted the mace from its place and deposited it at one end of the Chamber.)

(At this stage, the House was adjourned for 15 minutes.)

(After adjournment.)

Mr. SPEAKER: The House stands adjourned till 4-45 p.m. on Friday, the 26th May, 1944.

Adjournment.

The House was then adjourned at 8-40 p.m. till 4-45 p.m. on Friday, the 26th May, 1944, at the Assembly House, Calcutta.

BGP-44/5-6423A-400

Index to the

Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings.

(Official Report.)

Vol. LXVII—No. 5—Eighteenth Session, 1944.

(The 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th May 1944.)

[(Q.) Stands for question.]

Abdul Hafiz, Mr. Mirza

- Assistant Directors of Public Health (Q.) p. 500
- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp 452-456.
- Bengal Weights and Measures of Capacity Bill, 1944, Introduction of— p. 196.
- Staff of Civil Transport Department of Calcutta Police (Q.) p. 354.
- Staff employed in different branches of Motor Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police (Q.) p. 350
- Staff of Public Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police (Q.) p. 407

Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, Maulvi Md.

- Extension of service of Chief Engineer, Public Health (Q.) p. 62.
- Number of sale-deeds registered in Dacca district (Q.) p. 361

Abdul Jabbar, Maulvi

- Cattle epidemic in Dinajpur district (Q.) p. 298

Abdul Karim, Mr.

- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp 419-423
- Permits issued for removal of rice from Jamalpur. (Q.) p. 238

Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulvi

- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 437-440
- Supersession of orders of District Magistrate of 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 97.

Abdul Wahed, Maulvi

- Adjournment motion of Mr Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca. pp. 335-337
- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp 288-293.

Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.

- Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 84-86
- Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 45-46 and 47.

Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Mr.

- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 494-499.
- Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: pp. 328-329.

Abdur Rauf, Khan Bahadur Shah

- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp 449-452

Abdur Razzak, Maulvi

- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp 426-429.

Abu Hossain Sarkar, Maulvi

- Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of—from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board pp 71-75
- Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp 280-285.
- Issue of a circular debarring clerks of district office from applying for jobs elsewhere (Q.) p. 146.
- Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers, in the fire accident in Bombay: p 329

Abul Hashim, Maulvi

- Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control pp. 39-40.
- Filling up of the post of Assistant Superintendent, Bengal Government Press: (Q.) p. 353.

Abul Hosain Ahmed, Maulvi

- Excise shops in Mymensingh district. (Q.) p. 365.
- Teaching staff of Mymensingh Zilla School: (Q.) p. 362.

Abul Masud, Kazi

- Government expenditure for maintaining the Kanchrapara Technical Institute (Q.) p 366.

Adjournment motion:

- Arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 63-91
- Communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 301-313 and 329-347.

Gratis

Adjournment motion—*concld.*
Maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 29-31 and 32-49.

Agricultural loans
For Faridpur district: (Q.) pp. 296-298.

Ahmed Ali Mridha, Maulvi
Agricultural loans for Faridpur district: (Q.) p. 296.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 400-403.

Ahmad Hossain, Mr.
Bengal Close-season for Fishes Bill, 1943. Reference to Select Committee of the—: pp. 194-196.

Ahmed Khan, Maulvi Syed
Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 41-42.

Allowances
Of prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818: (Q.) p. 241.

Amount
Spent for relief works in districts (Q.) p. 93.

Applications
For grant of study allowance by security prisoners Srijut Nanichand Mitter and others: pp. 294-295.
For leave by security prisoners (Q.) pp. 359-360.

Appointment
Of clerks in Commissioner's Office, Chittagong: (Q.) p. 410.

Assembly Department
Grant of allowance to staff of— (Q.) pp. 263-264.

Asimuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Adjournment motion of—regarding arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board pp. 63 and 71.
Adjournment motion of Dr Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp 36-37.

Assistant Directors
Of Public Health. (Q.) p. 500.

Badi Ahmed Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur Haji
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: p. 527.
Penalty in respect of arrear revenue in the districts of Chittagong Division: (Q.) p. 135.

Badrudduja, Mr. Syed
Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 87-88.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 512-519, 533.
Scale of pay of Assistants of Home Department: (Q.) pp. 360-361.

Badrudduja, Mr. Syed.
Transfer and deputation of officers of Home Department: (Q.) pp. 266-268.

Banerjee, Mr. Pramatha Nath
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 306-307.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 372-378.

Banerjee, Mr. Satyapriya
Application for grant of study allowance by security prisoners Srijut Nanichand Mitter and others: p. 294.
Petitions for leave and allowance from security prisoners: (Q.) p. 10.
Proposed removal of prisoners from Dum Dum Jail: (Q.) p. 355.

Banerjee, Mr. Sibnath
Petitions for family allowance from security prisoners of Midnapore district: (Q.) p. 24.

Banerjee, Dr. Suresh Chandra
Family allowance of security prisoner, Sj Priyaranjan Das Gupta (Q.) p. 22.
Number of attacks and deaths from Cholera in Bengal during last five years and inoculation of people: (Q.) pp. 412-413.

Banerji, Mr P.
Adjournment motion of Dr Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control. p 46.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp 271-277.
Outbreak of diseases in Chandibarpur union in Jessore and petition for a permanent dispensary. (Q.) p. 405.

Barma, the Hon'ble Mr. Premhari
Excise shops in Mymensingh district: (Q.) pp. 365-366.

Barma, Mr. Puspajit
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp. 384-386.
Medical treatment of security prisoner, Srijut Nanigopal Sen. (Q.) p. 414.
Union boards inspected and audited by Circle Officer, Pirojpur: (Q.) p. 136.

Barman, Mr. Upendra Nath
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944. pp. 465-468.

Basu, Mr. Santosh Kumar
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp. 531, 532, 536.
Enquiry regarding communal disturbances at Dacca: p. 416.
Point of order on the motion for consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, to be followed by a speech on a subsequent day: pp 98-100.
Special motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situation arising out of Cholera and smallpox epidemics: p. 503.

[illegible] Government nomination
Of two stenographers for post of a Reporter in Central Assembly: (Q.) pp. 323-326.

[illegible], Dr. Gobinda Chandra
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 417-419.
Breach in the Cossye river embankment and Government measures to check future breaches: (Q.) p. 177.

Bill(s) (non-official)
Advocates' Robes—, 1943, of Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu: pp. 189-193.
Bengal Close-season for Fishes—, 1943, of Mr. Ahmad Hossain: pp. 194-196.
Bengal Land-Revenue Sales (Amendment)—, 1944, of Khan Bahadur Jasimuddin Ahmed. Introduction of—: p. 196.
Bengal Money-lenders (Amendment) —, 1944, of Khan Bahadur Jasimuddin Ahmed. Introduction of—: p. 196.
Bengal Tenancy (Amendment)—, 1944, of Khan Bahadur Jasimuddin Ahmed. Introduction of—: p. 196.
Bengal Tenancy (Amendment)—, 1944, of Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu. Introduction of—: p. 196.
Bengal Tenancy (Amendment)—, 1943, of Maharaja Srischandra Nandy, of Cossimbazar: p. 194.
Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment)—, 1944, of Khan Bahadur Jasimuddin Ahmed. Introduction of—. p. 196.
Bengal Weights and Measures of Capacity—, 1944, of Mr. Mirza Abdul Hafiz. Introduction of—: p. 196.

Bill(s) (official)
The Bengal Secondary Education—, 1944. Consideration motion moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, Minister in charge: p. 32.
The Bengal Secondary Education—, 1944: pp. 103-132, 149-176, 209-234, 246-262, 268-293, 313-322, 371-403, 417-456, 504-536 and 458-499.

Biswas, Mr. Surendra Nath
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 125-129.

Bombay Fire Tragedy
Enquiry about the special motion on the—: (Q.) p. 188.

Breach
In the Cossye river embankment and Government measures to check future breaches: (Q.) p. 177.
Of traffic rules by military lorries: (Q). p. 27.

Calcutta police: (Q.) pp. 348-349.
Staff employed in different branches of Motor Vehicles Department of—: (Q.) pp. 350-352.
Staff of Public Vehicles Department of—: (Q.) pp. 407-410.

Cattle epidemic
In Dinajpur district: (Q.) pp. [illegible]-300.

Chakraberty, Babu Narendra Narayan
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 386-394.

Charging
Of exorbitant prices for certain foodstuffs in Calcutta markets: (Q.) pp. 370-371.

Chattopadhyay, Mr. Haripada
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 307, 308, 310.
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 340-345.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 525, 527, 529, 530, 531, 536.

Chaudhuri, Rai Harendra Nath
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 303.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 429-437, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533.

Chief Engineer, Public Health
Extension of service of—: (Q.) p. 62.

Cholera in Bengal
Number of attacks and deaths from—during last five years and inoculation of people: (Q.) pp. 412-413.

Circular
Issue of a—debarring clerks of district offices from applying for jobs elsewhere: (Q.) p. 146.

Clerical staff
Of Commerce, Labour and Industries Department: (Q.) p. 197.

Comilla-Daudkandi Road
Motor accidents on—: (Q.) p. 28.

Commissioner's office, Chittagong
Appointment of clerks in—: (Q.) p. 410.

Communal disturbances
Enquiry about—in Dacca made by Mr. Atul Chandra Sen: p. 245.

Construction of roads
In certain parts of 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 145.

Das, Rai Sahib Kirit Bhusan
Resolution of Institution of Chemists of India: (Q.) p. 92.

Das, Rai Sahib Monmohan
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 443-445.
Distribution of money to distressed people of Dacca: (Q.) p. 133.

Das, Mr. Radhanath
Treatment of prisoners in Alipore Central Jail: (Q.) p. 2.

Das Gupta, Sj. Narendra Nath
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 333-334.
Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 42-44.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 222-230.

Das Gupta, Sj. Narendra Nath
Increased family allowance to security prisoner, Sj. Nalini Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 187.
Relief measures in Bakarganj: (Q.) p. 59.

Datta, Mr. Dhirendra Nath
Illness of security prisoner Sj. Promode Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 1.

Deaths
Due to starvation: (Q.) p. 136.

Delimitation of constituencies
Of Bakarganj District Board: (Q.) pp. 353-354.

Destitutes
Removed from Calcutta: (Q.) p. 134.

Dhurong Canal
Re-excavation scheme: (Q.) p. 205.

Distressed people of Dacca
Distribution of money to—: (Q.) p. 133.

Distribution of quinine
And clothes in Chandibarpur union of Jessore: (Q.) p. 412.
In Gopalganj subdivision: (Q.) pp. 406-407.

Dutta Mazumdar, Mr. Niharendu
Searching of women political prisoners' yard in the Dinajpur District Jail: (Q.) p. 183.
Women political prisoners of Dinajpur Jail: (Q.) p. 57.

Dutta, Mr. Sukumar
Supply of yarn to weavers at controlled rates: (Q.) p. 205.

Dutta-Gupta, Miss Mira
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 259-260.
Condition of health of security prisoner, Mrs. Leela Roy: (Q.) p. 242.

Duty allowances
In High Court: (Q.) pp. 413-414.

Edbar, Mr. Upendra Nath
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 174-176.

Election
Of members of union boards in Gopalganj Circle, Faridpur: (Q.) p. 18.

Enquiry
About communal disturbances in Dacca: p. 245.
About the special motion on the Bombay Fire Tragedy: (Q.) p. 188.
Regarding present situation at Dacca: p. 416.
Regarding a special motion: p. 31.

Excise
Shops in Mymensingh district: (Q.) pp. 365-366.

Extension of service
Of Chief Engineer, Public Health: (Q.) p. 62.

Family allowance
For persons detained under Defence of India Rules: (Q.) pp. 358-359.
Increased—to security prisoner, Sj. Nalini Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 187.
Increment of—of security prisoners: (Q.) p. 22.

Family allowance
Of security prisoner, Sj. Priyaranjan Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 22.
Petitions for—from security prisoners of Midnapore district: (Q.) p. 24.
Petition for grant of—by certain security prisoners: (Q.) p. 26.
To political security prisoners and Regulation III prisoners: (Q.) p. 187.

Fazlul Huq, Mr. A. K.
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: p. 311.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 485-494, 528, 534, 535.
Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: p. 327.

Fazlul Quadir, Khan Bahadur
Supply of yarns to handloom weavers: (Q.) p. 51.

Fazlur Rahman, Mr.
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 303-304.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 479-484.
Special motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situation arising out of cholera and smallpox epidemics: pp. 501, 503.

Filling up
Of the post of Assistant Superintendent, Bengal Government Press: (Q.) p. 353.

Financial assistance
To Calcutta Dental College and Hospital: (Q.) pp. 404-405.

Firing
In Dacca Central Jail: (Q.) p. 139.

Food crops
Yield of—in different districts of Bengal: (Q.) p. 239.

Free-kitchens in Bengal
Opening of—: (Q.) p. 235.

Ganguli, Mr. Pratul Chandra
Deaths due to starvation: (Q.) p. 136.
Increment of family allowance of security prisoners: (Q.) p. 22.
Supply of foodstuffs to security prisoners at a higher rate than controlled one: (Q.) p. 357.

Ghose, Mr. Atul Krishna
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 304, 309, 312.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill: pp. 234 and 246-250.
Opening of free-kitchens in Bengal: (Q.) p. 235.
Political prisoners: (Q.) pp. 364-365.

Giasuddin Ahmed, Mr.
Grievances of hut-owners of Calcutta: (Q.) p. 53.

Golam Sarwar Hosaini, Mr. Shah Syed

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 460-464.

Goswami, The Hon'ble Mr. Tulsi Chandra

Bengal Government nomination of two stenographers for post of a Reporter in Central Assembly: (Q.) pp. 323-326.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 525, 526, 531, 534.

Filling up of the post of Assistant Superintendent, Bengal Government Press: (Q.) p. 353.

Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: p. 327.

Government expenditure

For maintaining the Kanchrapara Technical Institute: (Q.) pp. 366-367.

Grant

Of allowance to staff of Assembly Department. (Q.) pp. 263-264.

Grievances

Of hut-owners of Calcutta: (Q.) p. 53.

Griffiths, Mr. C.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 255-257.

Gupta, Mr. Jogesh Chandra

Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 331-333.

Enquiry regarding communal disturbances at Dacca: p. 416.

Handcuffs

Alleged travel under—in third class of a certain class of prisoners during transfer from one jail to another: (Q.) p. 240.

Handloom weavers—

Supply of yarns to—: (Q.) p. 51.

Health

Of Srijut Radharaman Mitra, security prisoner: (Q.) pp. 295-296.

Hendry, Mr. David

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: p. 532.

High Court

Duty allowances in—: (Q.) pp. 413-414.

Horse-Racing

(Q.) p. 198.

Hut-owners of Calcutta

Grievances of—: (Q.) p. 53.

Illness

Of security prisoner, Sj. Promode Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 1.

Inundation

Of certain parts of Contai subdivision: (Q.) p. 21.

Issue of a circular

Debarring clerks of district offices from applying for jobs elsewhere: (Q.) p. 146.

Jalaluddin Ahmed, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Maulvi

Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 88-91.

Assistant Directors of Public Health: (Q.) p. 500.

Deaths due to starvation: (Q.) p. 136.

Delimitation of constituencies of Bakarganj District Board: (Q.) p. 354.

Distribution of quinine and cloths in Chandibarpur union of Jessore: (Q.) p. 412.

Distribution of quinine in Gopalganj subdivision: (Q.) pp. 406-407.

Election of members of union boards in Gopalgunj Circle, Faridpur: (Q.) 16.

Extension of service of Chief Engineer, Public Health: (Q.) p. 62.

Financial assistance to Calcutta Dental College and Hospital: (Q.) pp. 404-405.

Number of attacks and deaths from cholera in Bengal during last five years and inoculation of people: (Q.) p. 413.

Outbreak of diseases in Chandibarpur union in Jessore and petition for a permanent dispensary: (Q.) pp. 405-406.

Outbreak of malaria in Chandibarpur union, Jessore: (Q.) pp. 457-458.

Resolution of Institution of Chemists of India: (Q.) p. 92.

Special motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situation arising our of cholera and smallpox epidemics: pp. 503, 504.

Supply of quinine in Noakhali: (Q.) p. 198.

Union boards inspected and audited by Circle Officer, Pirojpur: (Q.) p. 136.

Vital statistics in Bengal: (Q.) p. 18.

Jalaluddin Hashemy, Mr. Syed

Grant of allowance to staff of Assembly Department: (Q.) pp. 263-264.

Jalan, Mr. I. D.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 458-460.

Jasimuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur

Amount spent for relief works in districts: (Q.) p. 93.

Bengal Land-Revenue Sales (Amendment) Bill, 1944. Introduction of—by—: p. 196.

Bengal Money-lenders (Amendment) Bill, 1944. Introduction of—: p. 196.

Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944. Introduction of—: p. 196.

Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill, 1944. Introduction of—: p. 196.

Syllabus of primary schools: (Q.) pp. 300-301.

Jonab Ali Mazumdar, Maulvi

Expenditure incurred for relief works in the unions of Habiganj police-station: (Q.) p. 12.

Jute Regulation Department

Staff of—: (Q.) p. 136.

Kali, Babu Ashutosh:
Petition for grant of family allowance by security prisoner—: (Q.) pp. 265-266.

Kaliganj Drainage Scheme
Expenditure incurred for—: (Q.) p. 21.

Kalighai Scheme
Amount sanctioned and spent for—in Midnapore: (Q.) p. 56.

Kundu, Mr. Nishitha Nath
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 302, 308.
Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 35-36.
Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943: pp. 189 and 93.
Regarding applications for the leave by security prisoners: (Q.) p. 359.
Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill, 1944. Introduction of—: p. 196.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 230-234, 381-384.
Family allowance for persons detained under Defence of India Rules: (Q.) p. 358.
Letters from—: (Q.) pp. 50-51.
Secondary education of girls in Calcutta and Government subvention to certain girls' schools: (Q.) pp. 363-364.

Lahiri, Mr. Ashutosh
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 209-213.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 313-316.

Letters
From Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, M.L.A.: (Q.) pp. 50-51.

Light restriction
In Calcutta: (Q.) p. 2.

Maiti, Mr. Nikunja Behari
Family allowance to political security prisoners and Regulation III prisoners: (Q.) p. 187.
Medical treatment of Mr. Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar: (Q.) p. 179.
State prisoners in Bengal: (Q.) p. 5.
Vital statistics in Bengal: (Q.) p. 18.

Maji, Mr. Adwaita Kumar
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 399-400.

Majumdar, Mr. Jnanendra Chandra
Firing in Dacca Central Jail: (Q.) p. 139.
Petition for grant of family allowance by certain security prisoners: (Q.) p. 26.
Petition for grant of family allowance by security prisoner Babu Ashutosh Kali: (Q.) p. 265.

Mal, Mr. Iswar Chandra
Amount sanctioned and spent for Kalighai Scheme in Midnapore: (Q.) p. 56.

Malaria
Outbreak of—in Chandibarpur union, Jessore: (Q.) pp. 457-458.

Mandal, Mr. Birat Chandra
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 440-443.
Procedure for making applications by permanent Government servants for posts in departments other than their own: (Q.) p. 266.

Mandal, Mr. Jagat Chandra
Appointment of clerks in Commissioner's office, Chittagong: (Q.) p. 410.
Distribution of relief in certain parts of Tippera district: (Q.) p. 62.

Mandal, Mr. Krishna Prasad
Expenditure incurred for Kaliganj Drainage Scheme: (Q.) p. 21.
Occasional inundation of certain parts of Contai subdivision: (Q.) p. 21.

Maniruzzaman Islamabadi, Maulana Md.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 519-21.
Purchase of permanently-settled estates in Chittagong by Government: (Q.) p. 14.

Medical treatment
Of Mr. Niharendu Datta Mazumdar: p. 179.
Of security prisoner Srijut Nanigopal Sen: (Q.) pp. 414-415.

Message
From the Bengal Legislative Council on the Bengal Embankment (Amendment) Bill, 1944: p. 31.
From the Bengal Legislative Council on the Bengal Orphanages and Widows' Homes Bill, 1944: p. 371.

Military lorries
Breach of traffic rules by—: (Q.) p. 27.

Mookerjee, Dr. Syamaprasad
Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: p. 328.

Motor accidents
On Comilla-Daudkandi Road: (Q.) p. 28.

Mozammel Huq, Maulvi Md.
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 337-340.

Muazzamuddin Hosain, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Saiyed
Cattle epidemic in Dinajpur district: (Q.) pp. 298-300.
Charging of exorbitant prices for certain foodstuffs in Calcutta markets: (Q.) pp. 370-371.
Shortage in fish supplies in Calcutta and urban areas: (Q.) pp. 367-370.
Staff of Jute Regulation Department: (Q.) p. 136.
Yield of food crops in different districts of Bengal: (Q.) p. 239.

Muhammad Israil, Maulvi
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 257-259.

Mukerjee, the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath
Agricultural loans for Faridpur district: (Q.) pp. 296-298.
Amount spent for relief works in districts: (Q.) p. 93.

Mukherjee, the Hon'ble Mr. Tarak Nath—concld.
Appointment of clerks in Commissioner's office, Chittagong: (Q.) p. 410.
Distribution of relief in certain parts of Tippera district: (Q.) p. 62.
Construction of roads in certain parts of 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 145.
Destitutes removed from Calcutta: (Q.) p. 134.
Distribution of money to distressed people of Dacca: (Q.) p. 133.
Expenditure incurred for relief works in the unions of Hajiganj police-station: (Q.) p. 12.
Grievances of hut-owners of Calcutta: (Q.) p. 53.
Issue of a circular debarring clerks of district offices from applying for jobs elsewhere: (Q.) p. 146.
Opening of free kitchens in Bengal: (Q.) p. 235.
Penalty in respect of arrear revenue in the districts of Chittagong Division: (Q.) p. 135.
Relief for famine-stricken people of certain places in Tippera: (Q.) pp. 411-412.
Relief measures in Bakarganj: (Q.) p. 59.
Supersessions of orders of District Magistrate of 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 97.

Mukherjee, Mr. B.
Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 41-45.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 504-510.

Mukherjee, Dr. Sharat Chandra
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 423-426.

Mullick, Sj. Ashutosh
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 445-449.

Mullick, Mr. Mukunda Behary
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 250-255.

Musharruff Hossain, the Hon'ble Nawab Khan Bahadur
Duty allowances in High Court: (Q.) p. 414.
Point of order raised by—on the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943: pp. 189-191.

Muslim Officers of Police and use of half pants:
(Q.) p. 3.

Mymensingh Zilla School
Regarding teaching staff of—: (Q.) pp. 362-363.

Nandy, Maharaja Srischandra, of Cossimbazar
Yield of food-crops in different districts of Bengal: (Q.) p. 239.

Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 301, 302, 312.

Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir
Alleged travel under handcuffs in third class of a certain class of prisoners during transfer from one jail to another: (Q.) p. 240.
Allowance of prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818: (Q.) p. 241.
Applications for grant of study allowance by security prisoners Srijut Nanichand Mitter and others: pp. 294-295.
Applications for the leave by security prisoners: (Q.) pp. 359-360.
Arrangements for the treatment of Mrs. Leela Roy: pp. 208 and 209.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 527-528, 529, 530.
Breach of traffic rules by military lorries: (Q.) p. 27.
Calcutta Police: (Q.) p. 348-349.
Condition of health of security prisoner, Mrs. Leela Roy: (Q.) p. 242.
Enquiry about the special motion on the Bombay Fire Tragedy: (Q.) p. 188.
Family allowance to political security prisoners and Regulation III prisoners: (Q.) p. 187.
Family allowance for persons detained under Defence of India Rules: (Q.) pp. 358-359.
Family allowance of security prisoner, Srijut Priyaranjan Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 22.
Firing in Dacca Central Jail: (Q.) p. 139.
Health of Srijut Radharaman Mitra, security prisoner: (Q.) pp. 295-296.
Horse-racing: (Q.) p. 198.
Illness of security prisoner Srijut Promode Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 1.
Increased family allowance to security prisoner Srijut Nalini Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 137.
Increment of family allowance of security prisoners: (Q.) p. 22.
Letters from Mr. Nishitha Nath Kundu, M.L.A.: (Q.) pp. 50-51.
Light restriction in Calcutta: (Q.) p. 2.
Medical treatment of Mr. Niharendu Dutta-Mazumdar: (Q.) p. 179.
Medical treatment of security prisoner Srijut Nanigopal Sen: (Q.) pp. 414-415.
Motor accidents on Comilla-Daudkandi Road: (Q.) p. 28.
Muslim officers of Police and use of half pants: (Q.) p. 3.
Petition for family allowance by certain security prisoners: (Q.) p. 26.
Petition for grant of family allowance by security prisoner Babu Ashutosh Kali: (Q.) pp. 265-266.
Petitions for family allowance from security prisoners of Midnapore district: (Q.) p. 24.
Point of order raised by Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu on the motion for consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, to be followed by a speech on a subsequent day: p. 100.
Political prisoners: (Q.) p. 265.

Nazimuddin, the Hon'ble Khwaja Sir—concld.
Procedure for making applications by permanent Government servants for posts in departments other than their own: (Q.) p. 266.
Prohibition of cycle-rickshaws in Calcutta: (Q.) p. 354.
Proposed removal of prisoners from Dum Dum Jail: (Q.) pp. 356-357.
Reply to enquiries regarding communal disturbances at Dacca: p. 416.
Road-accidents in Dacca city: (Q.) p. 200.
Robbery in rivers of Khulna and 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 353.
Scale of pay of assistants of Home Department: (Q.) p. 361.
Searching of women political prisoners' yard in the Dinajpur District Jail: (Q.) p. 183.
Special motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situations arising out of cholera and smallpox epidemics: p. 503.
Staff employed in different branches of Motor Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police: (Q.) pp. 350-352.
Staff of Civil Transport Department of Calcutta Police: (Q.) pp. 354-355.
Staff of Public Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police: (Q.) pp. 407-410.
State prisoners in Bengal: (Q.) p. 5.
Supply of foodstuffs to security prisoners at a higher rate than controlled one: (Q.) pp. 357-358.
Transfer and deputation of officers of Home Department: (Q.) pp. 267-268.
Transfer of Mrs. Leela Roy to Presidency Jail: pp. 193 and 194.
Treatment of prisoners in Alipore Central Jail: (Q.) p. 2.
Women political prisoners of Dinajpur Jail: (Q.) p. 57.

Nomination of two stenographers
Bengal Government—for post of a Reporter in Central Assembly: (Q.) pp. 323-326.

Number
Of attacks and deaths from cholera in Bengal during last five years and inoculation of people: (Q.) pp. 412-413.
Of sale-deeds registered in Dacca district: (Q.) pp. 361-362.

Outbreak
Of diseases in Chandibarpur union in Jessore and petition for a permanent dispensary: (Q.) pp. 405-406.
Of malaria in Chandibarpur union, Jessore: (Q.) pp. 457-458.

Pain, the Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prasanna
Amount sanctioned and spent for Kalighai scheme in Midnapore: (Q.) p. 56.
Breach in the Cossye river embankment and Government measures to check future breaches: (Q.) p. 177.
Dhurong canal re-excavation scheme: (Q.) p. 205.
Expenditure incurred for Kaliganj Drainage Scheme: (Q.) p. 21.
Occasional inundation of certain parts of Contai subdivision: (Q.) p. 21.

Pain, the Hon'ble Mr. Barada Prasanna
Penalty in respect of arrear revenue in the districts of Chittagong Division: (Q.) p. 135.

Permanently-settled estates in Chittagong
Purchase of—by Government: (Q.) p. 14.

Permits
Issued for removal of rice from Jamalpur: (Q.) p. 238.

Petition(s)
For family allowance from security prisoners of Midnapore district: (Q.) p. 24.
For grant of family allowance by security prisoner Babu Ashutosh Kali: (Q.) pp. 265-266.
For grant of family allowance by certain security prisoners: (Q.) p. 26.
For leave and allowance from security prisoners: (Q.) p. 10.

Point of order
Raised by Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu on the motion for consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944, to be followed by a speech on a subsequent day: pp. 98-103.
Raised by the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, on the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943: pp. 189-193.
Raised by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding a special motion: pp. 31-32.

Point of Privilege
Raised by Mr. Charu Chandra Roy regarding the detention in prison of ten members of the House on the occasion of the consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: p. 98.

Political prisoners
(Q.) pp. 264-265.

Prisoners
Detained under Regulation III of 1818. Allowance of—: (Q.) p. 241.
Treatment of—in Alipore Central Jail: (Q.) p. 2.

Procedure
For making applications by permanent Government servants for posts in departments other than their own: (Q.) p. 266.

Prohibition
Of cycle-rickshaws in Calcutta: (Q.) p. 354.

Proposed removal
Of prisoners from Dum Dum Jail: (Q.) pp. 355-357.

Public Vehicles Department
Regarding staff of Calcutta Police: (Q.) pp. 407-410.

Purchase
Of permanently-settled estates in Chittagong by Government: (Q.) p. 14.

Quinine
Supply of—in Noakhali: (Q.) p. 198.

Ramizuddin Ahmad, Mr.
Motor accidents on Comilla-Daudkandi Road: (Q.) p. 28.

Relief

istribution of—in certain parts of Tippera district: (Q.) p. 62.
or famine-stricken people of certain places in Tippera: (Q.) pp. 410-412.
[easures in Bakarganj: (Q.) p. 59.

Relief works

Amount spent for—in districts: (Q.) p. 93.
Expenditure incurred for in the unions of Hajiganj police-station: (Q.) p. 12.

Resolution (Government)

Regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: pp. 327-329.

Resolution

Of Institution of Chemists of India: (Q.) p. 92.

Road accidents

In Dacca city: (Q.) p. 200.

Robbery

In rivers of Khulna and 24-Parganas: (Q.) pp. 352-353.

Roy, Mr. Charu Chandra

Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: p. 304.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 129-132, and 278-280.
Health of Srijut Radharaman Mitra, security prisoner: (Q.) p. 295.
Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: pp. 327-328.

Roy, Mr. Dhananjoy

Clerical staff of Commerce, Labour and Industries Department: (Q.) p. 197.
Staff of Jute Regulation Department: (Q.) p. 136.

Roy, Mr. Kamal Krishna

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 394-399.

Roy, Mr. Kiran Sankar

Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 304, 311.
Allowance of prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1918: (Q.) p. 241.
Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay: p. 327.

Roy, Mrs. Leela

Arrangements for the treatment of—: pp. 208-209.
Condition of health of security prisoner—: (Q.) p. 242.
Transfer of—to Presidency Jail: pp. 193-194.

Roy, Mr. Manmatha Nath

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 321-322.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 371-372.

Roy, Mr. Patiram

Construction of roads in certain parts of 24-Parganas: (Q.) p. 145.
Robbery in rivers of Khulna and 24-Parganas: (Q.) pp. 352-353.

Sadaruddin Ahmed, Mr.

Delimitation of constituencies of Bakarganj District Board: (Q.) pp. 353-354.

Sahabe-Alam, Mr. Syed

Breach of traffic rules by military lorries: (Q.) p. 27.
Light restriction in Calcutta: (Q.) p. 2.
Prohibition of cycle-rickshaws in Calcutta: (Q.) p. 354.
Road accidents in Dacca city: (Q.) p. 200.

Salim, Mr. S. A.

Calcutta Police: (Q.) p. 348.
Horse-racing: (Q.) p. 198.

Sanaullah, Dr.

Dhurong canal re-excavation scheme: (Q.) p. 205.
Duty allowances in High Court: (Q.) pp. 413-414.
Muslim officers of Police and use of half pants: (Q.) p. 3.

Sanyal, Dr. Nalinaksha

Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 75-78.
Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311-312.
Adjournment motion of—regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 29, 32-35.
Arrangements for the treatment of Mrs. Leela Roy: p. 208.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 156-174, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533-534.
Destitutes removed from Calcutta: (Q.) p. 134.
Enquiry about the special motion on the Bombay Fire Tragedy: (Q.) p. 188.
Point of order raised by the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, on the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943: pp. 191-192.
Special motion regarding situation arising out of cholera and smallpox epidemics: pp. 501, 502, 503.

Sanyal, Mr. Sasanka Sekhar

Bengal Government nomination of two stenographers for post of a Reporter in Central Assembly: (Q.) p. 393.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 149-156.
Grant of allowance to staff of Assembly Department: (Q.) p. 263.
Special motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situation arising out of cholera and smallpox epidemics: pp. 502, 503.

Sarkar, Babu M[illegible]

Distribution of emergency stipends by Inspector of Schools, Dacca Range: (Q.) p. 203.

Scale of pay

Of assistants of Home Department: (Q.) pp. 360-361.

Searching

Of women political prisoners' yard in the Dinajpur District Jail: (Q.) p. 183.

Secondary education

Of girls in Calcutta and Government subvention to certain girls' schools: (Q.) pp. 363-365.

Security prisoner(s)

Increment of family allowance of—: (Q.) p. 22.

Medical treatment of—Srijut Nanigopal Sen: (Q.) pp. 414-415.

Petitions for leave and allowance from —: (Q.) p. 10.

Illness of—Srijut Promode Das Gupta: (Q.) p. 1.

Sen, Mr. Atul Chandra

Adjournment motion regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 301, 302, 312, 329-331.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 216-222.

Enquiry about the communal disturbances in Dacca: p. 245.

Sen, Mr. Dhirendra Nath

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 213-216.

Sen, Rai Bahadur Jogesh Chandra

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 316-321.

Shahabuddin, the Hon'ble Mr. K.

Clerical staff of Commerce, Labour and Industries Department: (Q.) p. 197.

Government expenditure for maintaining the Kanchrapara Technical Institute: (Q.) pp. 366-367.

Supply of yarns to handloom weavers: (Q.) p. 51.

Supply of yarn to weavers at controlled rate: (Q.) p. 205.

Shahedali, Mr.

Relief for famine-stricken people of certain places in Tippera: (Q.) pp. 410-411.

Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondkar, Mr.

Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 78-80.

Adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 37-39.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 260-263, 268-271, 378-380.

Distribution of quinine in Gopalganj subdivision: (Q.) p. 406.

Election of members of Union Boards in Gopalganj Circle, Faridpur: (Q.) p. 16.

Shamsuddin Ahmed, Mr. M.

Adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 310, 311.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 521-525.

Shortage in fish

Supplies in Calcutta and urban areas: (Q.) pp. 367-370.

Short-notice questions

Statement by Mr. Speaker on—: 31.

Singha, Babu Kshetra Nath

Adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 81-83.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 510-512.

Smart, Mr. J. N.

Charging of exorbitant prices for certain foodstuffs in Calcutta markets: (Q.) p. 370.

Speaker Mr. (the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Nausher Ali)

Observations and rulings of—on the adjournment motion of Mr. Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca: pp. 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313.

Observations of—on the adjournment motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control: pp. 32, 33.

Observations of—in the course of the debates on the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 108, 109, 121, 123, 125.

Rulings and observations by—on the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534-535, 536.

Observations of—in connection with the counting for leave to move the adjournment motion of Mr. Asimuddin Ahmed regarding the arbitrary removal of Mr. Abu Hossain Sarkar from his office as Chairman, Rangpur District Board: pp. 63-64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71.

Observations by—on the enquiry about the communal disturbances in Dacca made by Mr. Atul Chandra Sen: p. 245.

Observations by—on the point of order raised by the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruff Hossain, Khan Bahadur, on the Advocates' Robes Bill, 1943: p. 192.

Observations of—on the point of order raised by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding a special motion: pp. 31, 32.

Observations of—on the point of privilege raised by Mr. Charu Chandra Roy regarding the detention in prison of ten members of the House on the occasion of the consideration of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: p. 98.

Speaker Mr. (the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Nausher Ali)—*contd.*
Statement by—on short-notice questions: p. 31.
Observations on the special motion of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situation arising out of cholera and smallpox epidemics: pp. 501, 502, 503, 504.

Special motion
Of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding situation arising out of cholera and smallpox epidemics pp. 501-504.

Staff
Of Civil Transport Department of Calcutta Police: (Q.) pp. 354-355.
Employed in different branches of Motor Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police. (Q.) pp. 350-352.
Of Public Vehicles Department of Calcutta Police (Q.) pp 407-410.

Stark, Mr. A. F.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill 1944 p 530, 532
Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay p 328

State prisoners in Bengal: (Q.) p 5.

Stipends
Distribution of emergency - by Inspector of Schools, Dacca Range (Q.) p 203

Suhrawardy, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S.
Adjournment motion of Mr Atul Chandra Sen regarding communal disturbances in the city of Dacca pp. 345-347
Adjournment motion of Dr Nalinaksha Sanyal regarding maladministration in the distribution of essential articles under Government control pp 30, 47-49
Permits issued for removal of rice from Jamalpur (Q.) p 238

Supersession of orders
Of District Magistrate of 24-Parganas (Q.) p. 97

Supply
Of foodstuffs to security prisoners at a higher rate than controlled one (Q.) pp 357-358
Of quinine in Noakhali (Q.) p 198.

Supply of yarns—
To handloom weavers (Q.) p. 51.
To weavers at controlled rates (Q.) p. 205.

Sur, Mr. Harendra Kumar
Alleged travel under handcuffs in third class of a certain class of prisoners during transfer from one jail to another (Q.) p. 240.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp. 285-288.
Supply of quinine in Noakhali: (Q.) p. 198.

Syllabus
Of primary schools: (Q.) pp. 300-301.

Tamizuddin Khan, the Hon'ble Mr.
The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 103-121.
Distribution of emergency stipends by Inspector of Schools, Dacca Range: (Q.) p. 203.
Number of sale-deeds registered in Dacca district: (Q.) p. 362.
Purchase of permanently-settled estates in Chittagong by Government: (Q.) p. 14.
Secondary education of girls in Calcutta and Government subvention to certain girls' schools: (Q.) pp. 364-365.
Syllabus of primary schools: (Q.) p. 301.
Teaching staff of Mymensingh Zilla School (Q.) pp. 362-363.

Teaching staff of Mymensingh
Zilla School (Q.) pp. 362-363.

Thakur, Mr. Pramatha Ranjan
Resolution regarding conveying message of sympathy to the sufferers in the fire accident in Bombay p 329

Thorman, Mr. C. M.
Financial assistance to Calcutta Dental College and Hospital (Q.) p. 404.

Traffic rules
Breach of— by military lorries: (Q.) p 27

Transfer and deputation
Of officers of Home Department. (Q.) pp 266-268.

Travel under handcuffs
Alleged in third class of a certain class of prisoners during transfer from one jail to another (Q.) p 240.

Treatment
Of prisoners in Alipore Central Jail (Q.) p 2.

Union Boards
Election of members of in Gopalganj Circle, Faridpur (Q.) p. 16.
Inspected and audited by Circle Officer, Pirojpur (Q.) p 136

Unions of Hajiganj police-station
Expenditure incurred for relief works in the (Q.) p. 12.

Vital statistics
In Bengal (Q.) p. 18.

Waliur Rahman, Maulvi
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944 pp. 468-472.

Walker, Mr. J. R.
Shortage in fish supplies in Calcutta and urban areas. (Q.) p. 367.

Women
Political prisoners of Dinajpur Jail: (Q.) p. 57.

Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1944: pp. 472-479.

Yield
Of food-crops in different districts of Bengal: (Q.) p. 239.

Zaman, Mr. A. M. A.
Distribution of quinine and cloths in Chandibarpur union of Jessore: (Q.) p. 412.
Outbreak of malaria in Chandibarpur union, Jessore: (Q.) p. 457.

BGP-45/6-360A-600